

Universal
HISTORY
OF THE WORLD

VOLUME SIX

UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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all Branches of Historical Knowledge

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From the Reformation to
the Age of Louis XIV



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Seventh Era

THE WORLD ENLARGED

1492—1660

Chronicle XXIII—THE EPOCH OF THE REFORMATION, 1492-1555

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WITH the close of our Sixth Era we reach the point at which, by general consent, 'Modern History' opens: the moment when the two halves of the world, hitherto unaware of each other, became suddenly conscious of each other's existence; when the hitherto pathless ocean became for the first time a highway and a battlefield, because the adventurous peoples of the West had discovered at once new outlets for expansion and new fields of rivalry, even at the moment when new intellectual and moral horizons were revealing themselves, and Europe politically was organizing itself upon the Great Powers basis. The Seventh Era is the first phase of the new order. In it the most prominent feature is the struggle which vainly hurled nations against each other and divided them against themselves for the mastery of one or the other of two rival religious ideals, only to learn that neither could be mastered by the other; while the oceanic expansion was less conspicuously shaping the lines on which future rivalries were to develop.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXIII

- 1492 Acc. Pope Alexander VI (Borgia).
Lorenzo de' Medici d.
Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella.
ends Moorish dominion in Spain.
Christopher Columbus discovers West Indies.
- 1493 Frederick III (emperor) d.; Maximilian succeeds
but is never crowned by pope.
Pope Alexander issues bull granting to Spain a
territories discovered west of a line drawn down
the Atlantic, all east of it to Portugal.
- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas completes partition of the
New World between Spain and Portugal.
Asia: acc. Babar in Ferghana.
Charles VIII of France invades Italy.
- 1495 Charles occupies Naples, but withdraws and has
to fight his way back to France.
- 1496 French expelled from Naples.
Archduke Philip of Burgundy, son of Maximilian
m. Joanna, dr. of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 1497 The Cabots discover Labrador and Newfoundland.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut in India.
France: acc. Louis XII (duke of Orléans).
Savonarola burned at Florence.
Louis XII claims and takes Milan.
- 1499 India: the Sikh brotherhood founded by Nanuk.
1500 Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci; S. American coast
line explored.
Treaty of Granada between Louis XII and Ferdinand
of Aragon.
- 1501 Louis and Ferdinand seize Naples.
Cesare Borgia in Romagna.
- 1502 Disagreements between Louis and Ferdinand.
- 1503 Alexander III d.; Julius II pope. Fall of Cesare.
War between Louis and Ferdinand; Gonzalvo de
Córdova, the 'Great Captain,' wins battle of
Garigliano.
James IV of Scotland m. Margaret Tudor; origin
of the Stuart succession in England.
- 1504 Ferdinand secures Naples permanently. Isabella
d.; Joanna proclaimed queen of Castile, and
her husband Philip king.
Asia: Babar makes himself king of Kabul.
- 505 Ivan III of Moscow d.
- 1506 Philip of Castile d.; Ferdinand regent for Joanna
and her son Charles.
- 507 Portuguese seize Ormuz (Persian Gulf).
- 508 League of Cambrai for dismemberment of Venice.
- 1509 Henry VIII acc.; m. Katharine of Aragon.
D'Albuquerque viceroy of the Indies.
- 510 Portuguese establish themselves at Goa.
- 511 The Holy League formed against France.
- 512 Rise of Wolsey in England.
Medici family return to Florence.
Gaston de Foix killed at battle of Ravenna; ex-
pulsion of French from Italy.
Ferdinand annexes Navarre s. of Pyrenees to
Aragon. N. Navarre remains independent.
Ottomans: Selim I deposes his father Bajazet II
and massacres most of his kinsmen.
- 1513 Julius II d.; acc. pope Leo X (Medici).
James IV of Scotland killed at Flodden.
Balboa discovers the Pacific from Darien.
- 514 Selim routs Persians and drives them behind the
Tigris.
- 515 Acc. Francis I in France. He captures Milan,
after winning battle of Marignano.
D'Albuquerque d.
- 516 Ferdinand of Aragon d.; his grandson Charles of
Castile and the Netherlands, inheriting Aragon
and the Sicilies, becomes Carlos I of Spain.
Selim I overthrows the Mamelukes in Syria.
- 517 Martin Luther at Wittenberg denounces indul-
gences.
Selim conquers Egypt, deposes and deports the
khalif to Constantinople, and assumes the
Khalifate, to be retained by the Ottoman
sultans for four centuries.
- 1519 Maximilian I d.; his grandson Carlos I of Spain
succeeds to the Austrian inheritance, and is
elected Emperor Charles V.
Magellan sails on first voyage of circumnavigation.
Cortés begins conquest of Mexico.
Babar makes an exploratory raid on Punjab.
- 520 Selim I d. while besieging Rhodes; acc. Suleim;
the Magnificent.
Field of the Cloth of Gold.
Christian II of Denmark massacres Swedish nobles
at 'blood-bath of Stockholm.'
- 1521 War begins between Charles V and Francis I.
Luther burns Leo X's bull of excommunication.
Diet of Worms begins battle of Reformation.
Charles transfers Austrian inheritance to his brother
Ferdinand.
Suleiman captures Belgrade.
Adrian VI (Burgundian) pope.
Zwingli at Zurich.
Suleiman takes Rhodes.
- 1522 Gustavus Vasa elected king of Sweden.
- 1523 Knights' War in Germany.
Clement VII (Medici) pope.
Peasant revolt in Germany.
- 1524 India: Babar invades Punjab, but retires.
- 1525 Albert of Hohenzollern, last grand master of
Teutonic Knights, made duke of Prussia.
Francis I defeated and taken prisoner at Pavla.
Diet of Speier recognizes religious authority of
princes - 'cujus regio ejus religio.'
- 1526 Lewis of Hungary and Bohemia killed at Turkish
victory of Mohacs. His brother-in-law Ferdi-
nand of Austria succeeds to both crowns.
Babar destroys Lodi empire of Delhi at Patalpat.
- 1527 Rome sacked by Imperialist troops.
Babar defeats the Rajputs.
- 1529 Protest of Speier follows reactionary diet.
First unsuccessful siege of Vienna by Turks.
Henry VIII resolves to discard papal authority
Fall of Wolsey.
Peace of Cambrai between Charles and Francis.
Diet and Confession of Augsburg.
Charles V crowned by pope. Ferdinand II. of
Romans.
- 1530 Babar d.; acc. Humayun at Delhi.
- 1531 League of Schmalkalde. Peace of Cappel (Swiss).
- 1533 Pizarro conquers Peru. End of Inca empire.
- 1534 Paul III (Farnese) pope. Final repudiation of papal
authority in England.
- 1535 Charles V's Tunis expedition.
Jacques Cartier on the S. Lawrence.
Calvin's Institutes.
- 1536-9 Dissolution of English monasteries.
- 1540 Paul III institutes Jesuit order.
Sher Shah expels Humayun from India.
- 1541 Calvin permanently established at Geneva.
Disastrous Algerian expedition of Charles.
Religious compromise of Ratisbon.
- 542 James V of Scotland d.; infant Mary queen
War of Charles and Henry with France.
Portuguese ships visit Japan.
- 544 Peace of Crespoy.
- 1545 Council of Trent opens.
Sher Shah d.
- 546 Luther d. Outbreak of Schmalkaldic war.
- 1547 Henry VIII and Francis I d.; acc. Edward VI
and Henry II.
Defeat of Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg.
Council of Trent, sitting at Bologna, adjourns.
Moscow: acc. Ivan IV the Terrible.
- 1548 Mary q. of Scots sent to France. Mary of Lorraine
regent in Scotland.
Charles V issues Interim of Augsburg.
- 1550 Acc. Pope Julius III.
- 1551 Council of Trent reassembled by Julius.
- 1552 Maurice of Saxony, in agreement with France,
rises against Charles and drives him out of
Germany. Henry occupies Metz, Toul and
Verdun. Charles is compelled to accept Pacifica-
tion of Passau.
- 553 Maurice d. England: acc. Mary.
- 1554 Mary of England m. Philip, crown prince of Spain.
Begins persecution of Protestants.
- 555 Settlement of the religious question in Germany
by the peace of Augsburg.
Acc. Pope Paul IV (Caradja).
Charles resigns Netherlands and Italy to Philip.
India: Humayun returns and retakes Delhi.
Charles abdicates; acc. Philip II (Spain) and
Ferdinand (Empire).
India: Humayun d.; acc. Akbar.

Chronicle XXIII

THE EPOCH OF THE REFORMATION 1492-1555

THE practically simultaneous discoveries, a few years before the fifteenth century closed, of the ocean routes from Europe to the East and to a vast unknown continent beyond the western ocean are taken, so far as any date can be taken, to mark the dividing line between the medieval and the modern worlds. Both discoveries resulted indeed inevitably from the oceanic activity inaugurated early in the century by Henry the Navigator, and could not have been long deferred after the impulse given by him; but without it they might have been postponed for centuries. Hitherto the whole 'world' of which Europe had any consciousness was contained within the compass of the northern half of one hemisphere. By this double discovery the existence of the other three-quarters of the globe was at one stroke revealed; and the event was sufficient in itself to inaugurate a vast revolution among the nations of the known world. That is what gives it its unique character among the events and movements which differentiate the medieval from the modern world.

Effect of the Maritime Discoveries

THE printing press facilitated the diffusion of knowledge; the fall of Constantinople gave an accidental impulse to humanism by the attendant dispersion of Greek books; the conquest of Granada and Charles VIII's invasion of Italy were significant of the new stage of national consolidation arriving in western Europe; Luther's denunciation of indulgences gave the Reformation movement the character of a direct challenge to the Papacy: but all these were merely notable incidents in the course of a group of movements which in combination amounted to a political and intellectual revolution, and a long interval of time separated the first of them from the last. None of them had the individual significance or the unexpectedness of the double maritime discovery.

The effect, however, did not immediately make itself felt in the European situation. Portugal for the time monopolised the advantages to which she was fully entitled in the east, and Spain in the far west. An English expedition, under the Genoese or Venetian captains John and Sebastian Cabot, was the first actually to reach the American mainland, but the discovery was not followed up, since the region, Labrador, seemed not to be worth exploiting. The Portuguese Cabral, carried west when he meant to go east, discovered and annexed Brazil, which fell to Portugal under the bull of partition issued in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI; otherwise Spain had the New World to herself until her exclusive rights were challenged by the Elizabethan seamen. How she dealt with the civilizations she found there before her, of which an account is given in Chapter 132, we shall presently see.

'Balance of Power' in Europe

HENCE there is no apparent convulsion in European politics; yet in actual fact a revolution has already been accomplished in the European system. Four 'great powers' have come into being, and the relations between them, primarily between three of them—Spain, France, the Hapsburgs—are the determining factor; England is comparatively, but only comparatively, detached from the rest because she no longer has direct territorial interests on the Continent; but various portions of Italy and Burgundy never cease to provide bones of contention among the other three. For a long time to come England's main concern is to prevent either France or Spain from gaining such a preponderance over the other as to create a menace to herself; a new formula is taking shape—the 'balance of power.'

It is important, however, to remark that the division into great powers is not so much national as dynastic. For French and English, dynasty and nation



A VERSATILE EMPEROR

Maximilian I (1459-1519)—see also page 3144—became emperor in 1493. A versatile man, he included the writing of books in his activities, employing among others for their illustration Albrecht Dürer, who drew this portrait of him.

British Museum

are indistinguishable or very nearly so ; but Spain definitely includes, dynastically but not nationally, the island of Sicily, and there is no Hapsburg nation. The Hapsburg power is not the German nation, for there is no German nation ; it is the lordship of two German groups (at the close of the fifteenth century)—the eastern conveniently labelled Austria and the western labelled Burgundy—since the young archduke of Austria is heir to the headship of the house of Hapsburg, and, accompanying these lordships, to the hegemony of the German principalities expressed in the title of 'emperor,' to which it has no actual hereditary right. And, further, the Italian and Burgundian territories for which the three continental powers are going to contend have no national connexion with any one of them ; their titles to possession are purely dynastic.

The point is emphasised when, within a few years, the heir apparent of the

Hapsburgs is also the heir presumptive of the Spanish kingdoms ; when the two powers are for a time united under one Hapsburg prince ; and when, at the close of this Chronicle, they remain linked together though no longer actually united, as the Spanish Hapsburg power which retains Burgundy, and the Austrian imperial Hapsburg power, which has attached to itself Czech Bohemia and Magyar Hungary.

Our present Chronicle falls into two definitely distinct divisions, marked by the accession of Charles V as emperor in 1519 at the moment when the Papacy was taking up the challenge which had just been flung down to it by Martin Luther. The first division corresponds with the imperial reign of Maximilian, who succeeded Frederick III in 1493, the second with that of his grandson who abdicated in 1556. It was Maximilian's death that combined Spain, Burgundy and Austria under the Hapsburg, and it was the abdication of Charles that again divided the Hapsburgs into eastern and western. It was Luther's challenge that suddenly created a new line of cleavage in Europe, neither national nor dynastic, but religious, of which there had been no symptom while Maximilian lived—a line vague at first, but just reaching definition when Charles abdicated.

International Importance of Dynasties

HAVING reached the point at which four dynastic powers have developed, we have come also to the point at which dynastic rights of succession, whether domestic or in relation to claims to external territory, acquire international importance, and genealogies cannot be neglected. In our first period Maximilian's son Philip has inherited Burgundy, not from his father, but from his mother. But he is also his father's heir. By his marriage to Joanna, the daughter and heiress of both Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile—kingdoms still separable—his son Charles becomes heir presumptive to both in addition to his Hapsburg inheritance. Philip dies before Maximilian, and thus it is Charles who in 1519 succeeds to the whole Hapsburg

The Epoch of the 'Reformation

and Spanish heritage (though he makes over Austria to his brother Ferdinand), a vast assortment of heterogeneous territories and nationalities with no territorial continuity and no common traditions.

Henry VII of England marries his daughter to the king of Scots; with the result, due to the matrimonial eccentricities of his son Henry VIII, that where our Chronicle ends the young queen of Scots is in one view the legitimate heiress-presumptive to the English throne, to which at the beginning of the next century her son actually succeeds. The kings of France and Aragon both lay claim to the crown of Naples, the former as representing the house of Anjou, which had reigned there till the accession of Alfonso of Aragon, the latter as the legitimate heir of Alfonso himself, who had left it to his own illegitimate offspring. And Louis XII of France claims the duchy of Milan as grandson of Valentina, the legitimate sister of the last Visconti duke, Filippo Maria, whereas the reigning



'FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE'

Like Charles VIII, whom he succeeded in 1498, Louis XII occupied himself disadvantageously with Italian affairs, although in France his rule was popular. This miniature in a French manuscript depicts his entry into Genoa in 1507. *Bibliothèque Nationale; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France'*



CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE

Charles VIII (1470-98) succeeded his father, Louis XI, in 1483, and until 1491 his sister, Anne of Beaujeu, ruled France. Against her advice Charles then embarked upon his Italian schemes, which brought him small credit.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

Sforza family are the children or grandchildren of his illegitimate daughter Bianca.

Italy, at the very height, during our first period, of her intellectual brilliance, matching that of the Greeks of the fifth century before the Christian era, is also the main stage of the political drama; but her political history is even literally poisonous. Italian patriotism and even the conception of Italian unity have no place in it. The one statesman who was possessed with that idea, Niccolò Machiavelli the Florentine, could see no hope of its realization except in the appearance of a despot who would shrink from no crime that would help to make his power irresistible. There was no lack of candidates with this necessary moral qualification, but something else was needed in which they were wanting, and they never achieved irresistible power. How they might have used it is another question. In fact, only one of them, Cesare Borgia,



A POLITICAL GAME OF CARDS IN 1500

This French caricature—perhaps the earliest example of a political cartoon—shows Louis XII playing cards with the Swiss and Venetian rulers, anxiously watched by his ally, Pope Alexander VI. The emperor stands by with a fresh pack and Henry VII of England converses aside with Ferdinand of Spain.

From Jaime, 'Musée de la Caricature'

came near to achieving eminence, and his fall was as sudden as his rise had been rapid. His father, Roderigo Borgia—Pope Alexander VI, 1492-1503—was disqualified by his office, not by his character.

The fighting in Italy was actually started by the misrule of the reigning dynasts of Naples, King Ferrante (Ferdinand) and his son who succeeded him as Alfonso II in 1494. The nobles resolved to offer the crown to a prince with a legitimate title, and they fixed upon Charles VIII of France. He accepted the offer as the lawful representative of the house of Anjou, in which capacity he was already in possession of Provence to the exclusion of his cousin René of Lorraine, who had been disinherited by his father, the last really Angevin king of Provence. In 1494 Charles crossed the Alps at the head of a French army, meeting no effective opposition, but rather welcomed in north Italy. Alfonso ran away, and early next year Charles was master of the kingdom.

The rapidity of his success alarmed the north into form-

ing a league against him. He marched thither, leaving the government of his new kingdom in French hands, and found that he had to fight his way back to France. He did nothing more in Italy, died in 1498, and was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Louis XII (of Orléans). Meanwhile, the French made themselves so unpopular in Naples that Ferdinand II, son of Alfonso, recovered the crown there with little difficulty, but, dying next year, passed it to his uncle Frederick.

Louis as duke of Orléans had already attempted unsuccessfully to assert his shadowy claim to Milan. His domestic administration in France not undeservedly won

him the name of the father of his people, but unhappily he could not resist the lure of Italy, where misfortune awaited him. He evicted Lodovico Sforza from Milan and then turned to Naples, but found that Ferdinand of Aragon was now disposed to assert his own claim there. The pair thereupon made an unholy bargain for the partition of the kingdom by the treaty of Granada (1500), and Frederick, seeing that resistance was hopeless, surrendered Naples to Louis. Here the French king's successes ended. Friction with the Spaniards developed into war.



'BEHOLD, I WILL BRING A SWORD UPON YOU'

While preaching one of his Advent sermons at Florence, in 1492, Savonarola beheld a vision of the sword of the Lord descending towards the earth while voices promised vengeance to the wicked and mercy to the faithful. The vision is recorded on a contemporary medal of the school of Niccolò Fiorentino.

British Museum

The Epoch of the Reformation

The young Spanish commander, Gonsalvo de Córdoba, whose brilliance won him the name of the Great Captain, gained repeated victories against heavy odds, the French were ejected, and the whole kingdom of Naples was annexed (1503) to Aragon.

Meanwhile, Savonarola in Florence and the Borgias in central Italy had run their tragic courses. Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492. His younger son was made a cardinal, and became Pope Leo X in 1513; the elder son, Piero, succeeded to Lorenzo's position, but made himself so unpopular that the Medici were expelled from Florence. The Dominican Savonarola, who had acquired immense influence as a reformer of morals, unhappily assumed the character of a political leader; his political sagacity was not equal to his moral enthusiasm; he found himself in collision with Pope Alexander; the hot fit of emotional fervour which he had aroused among the Florentines cooled down; in 1498 he was condemned as a heretic and executed as a traitor. Fourteen years later the Medici were restored in Florence.

Alexander (Roderigo Borgia) was the nephew of a previous pope, Calixtus III, who had set an evil example by raising him to the cardinalate in spite of notorious vices—so completely had the Council of Constance failed, in restoring the Papacy, to restore its spiritual character. He was the father of sundry illegitimate but acknowledged children, among them Cesare and Lucrezia, who enjoys a lamentable and probably quite undeserved fame as an expert in the use of poison for political or sentimental purposes. Nevertheless, intrigue brought him the tiara on the death of Innocent VIII in 1492. His primary object was to convert the



'DESPOT UNDER THE FORMS OF LAW'

Subtlety of intellect and strength of will were principal characteristics of Henry VIII (1490-1547) and both are suggested in this portrait of him attributed to Holbein. In his intervention in European affairs and also in his breach with Rome, he was largely influenced by zeal for the greatness of England.

National Portrait Gallery, London

numerous principalities of the Romagna (once the Ravenna exarchate), actually independent but nominally under papal sovereignty, into a solid principality for Cesare, whose successful methods in pursuing that object filled Machiavelli with admiration and hopes which were disappointed. For he was planning to add Tuscany to the Romagna when, in 1503, he and his father—as it was universally believed—drank of the wine they intended for an adversary. Alexander died; Cesare recovered; but in the meantime another adversary secured his own succession to the papal throne as Julius II. The Borgias were Spaniards; Cesare fell into



GASTON DE FOIX, DUKE OF NEMOURS

Gaston de Foix (1489-1512), scion of a historic family and nephew of Louis XII, ranks almost with Bayard as a French national hero. His death in the moment of victory at Ravenna was an irreparable loss to France.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence: photo, Alinari

the hands of Julius' ally Ferdinand of Aragon, and disappeared into Spain, where he was killed in a skirmish a few years later. Julius appropriated the Romagna as a papal domain.

The reign of Julius (1503-13) was mainly devoted to the attempt to make the pope the leading secular prince in Italy. Ferdinand, after Isabella's death in 1504, was much occupied with securing his own control over Castile, where he was not king, as regent for his daughter Joanna and her son Charles; but he, Louis XII, Maximilian and the Venetian republic, as well as the pope, all had diverse interests in the Italian question. The result was the League of Cambrai (1508), a league of the other four powers against Venice, with intent to a partition between them of her subject territories. But when she had been duly stripped the league broke up. Julius wanted to turn the French out of Italy; and in 1511 the Holy League between Julius, Ferdinand and Venice set about that project, Ferdinand, according

to his custom, throwing the burden of the work upon his allies. The young king of England, Henry VIII (1509-47), and Maximilian were both drawn into the league, that they might effect a diversion by attacking French Flanders and Guienne.

The French at first won brilliant victories under a young captain of genius, Gaston de Foix. But with his death in 1512 the tide turned. The French were driven out; the Sforza and the anti-French Medici were restored in Milan and Florence; the Switzers, whose infantry hardly knew what it meant to be defeated, and had rendered invaluable service, were rewarded with control over the principal Alpine passes; and Ferdinand incidentally annexed the Spanish portion of the kingdom of Navarre. The former subjects of Venice were restored to her. When Julius died in 1513 he had established the Papal State, but the foreigner was as firmly planted in Italy as ever.

Two years later the French were back in Milan. The coalition against them dissolved when the fighting pope died and the various members had no common object in view. Louis died at the very beginning of 1515 and, leaving no male heir of his body though thrice married, was succeeded by his cousin Francis I (of Angoulême). Francis forthwith set about the recovery of Milan, invaded Italy, and at the stubbornly contested battle of Marignano (September, 1515) for the first time defeated, though he could not rout, the hitherto invincible Swiss who were fighting for the duke, Maximilian Sforza. Milan opened its gates, and Milan, together with Parma and Piacenza, passed again into French possession. At the same time Francis came to an agreement with Pope Leo whereby certain rights surrendered by earlier popes to the French church were transferred to the crown; with the later result that all the higher ecclesiastical appointments became a preserve for the French noblesse.

King of Spain becomes Emperor Charles V

FERDINAND had kept his hold on the regency of Castile in spite of the efforts first of his son-in-law the archduke Philip and then, on the death of Philip,

The Epoch of the Reformation

of his father, Maximilian. Ferdinand died in 1516; Joanna was insane; and the boy Charles, already lord of Burgundy, succeeded to the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and Naples. Three years later the death of Maximilian gave him at the age of nineteen the rest of the heritage of the Hapsburgs. No other German prince was willing to be a candidate for the imperial crown; the kings of France and England offered themselves; but Germany preferred an untried boy who was a Hapsburg to a Valois or a Tudor; and Charles (Carlos I of Spain) became the emperor Charles V.

A GENERAL council had restored the Papacy, and the restored Papacy had scotched the 'conciliar' movement (see page 3135), and with it all prospect of that systematic reformation of which the Church was in crying need. Since the earnest efforts of Pius II to awaken once more the ancient crusading spirit had failed, the popes had one and all been dead to their spiritual functions even when they were not notoriously evil livers. But they had fostered the intellectual movement in Italy which made the period one of the most brilliant in history; and so far as that movement was directed to religion it was preparing a revolution.



FRANCIS I IN ROYAL SPLENDOUR

Superficially Francis I (1494-1547), who succeeded Louis XII in 1515, was a very kingly king, with a splendid air, brave, witty and courteous. His real frivolity appeared in his addiction to gallantry and dress. This portrait was painted by Jean Clouet, shortly before the king's disaster at Pavia in 1525.

The Louvre, Paris; photo, Archives photographiques

The fact was not immediately apparent. The scholars such as Erasmus and Thomas More conceived that ignorance was at the bottom of the trouble, and that the



FRANCIS I LEADING A CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF MARIGNANO

Immediately after his accession Francis I prepared for his Italian campaign and early in September, 1515, reached Marignano, ten miles from Milan, where he was confronted by the Swiss mercenaries in the service of Sforza. Battle was joined on September 13, and during the day Francis in person led his men-at-arms in a tremendous charge upon the Swiss—the incident recorded in this bas-relief on his tomb at St. Denis. Resumed at dawn on September 14, the battle ended in a French triumph.

Photo, Guandon



EMPEROR CHARLES V

From his election as emperor in 1519 until his abdication shortly before his death, Charles V (1500-1558) was the dominant figure in Europe. This attractive portrait of him in his young manhood is by an unknown Flemish artist.

The Louvre, Paris ; photo, Giraudon

way to reform was through education. Stereotyped misinterpretations of the Scriptures, crude distortions of pure doctrine, and cheap superstitions would perish under the shafts of enlightened ridicule and the illuminating exposition made possible by the study of the New Testament in the original Greek, and orthodoxy would be unimpaired by the disappearance of these alien excrescences. And the scholars were gaining ground rapidly, many of the higher clergy being notable educationists.

What they might have effected if matters had been left in their hands for a few years longer, and a spiritually-minded pope had been raised to the pontificate, is an interesting and highly debatable question; but the fighting Julius II was followed by the cultured pagan Leo X, who was quite unaware that moral issues were at stake. And the intellectuals were thrust on one side by the explosive energy of a man for whom

nothing counted except the moral issues, whose emergence from the obscurity of a professorship at Wittenberg rent Europe into hostile religious camps for a century and a half. The final line of cleavage was laid down by the Council of Trent, which closed its sittings in 1563—acceptance or rejection of the unqualified spiritual supremacy of Rome and of the validity of all dogmas affirmed by Rome. No name can be applied to either party without offending some school of religious opinion; but Romanist for those who maintained, and Protestant for those in protest against, the claim of Rome seem to be the labels least open to objection.

The immediate occasion which brought Luther (see Chap. 131) to the front was the official sale, on an unprecedented scale, of indulgences; the object being the replenishment of the papal treasury. According to the popular belief, which the distributors of the indulgences were at no pains to dispel, the purchase of an indulgence carried with it absolution for the sins of the purchaser. This was in 1517. Martin Luther denounced indulgences as implying that the pope had the power, possessed by none but God, to forgive sins, and he persuaded the elector of Saxony to forbid the sale in his duchy. He was denounced as a heretic, and retorted by a vigorous and uncompromising propaganda against other current doctrines and papal claims, one point in which appealed strongly to secular princes—that the customary contributions to the papal treasury were unjustifiable. These matters stood at the moment when Charles V was elected emperor in 1519.

Selim the Ottoman conquers Egypt

IN the east and in the far west, the same chronological line of division between the two periods may be accepted. For thirty years after the death of Mohammed the Conqueror, the Ottomans under the inactive Bajazet II made no advance either in Europe or in Asia. The Turks grew restive and the troops mutinous, until in 1512 Bajazet's energetic son Selim I took matters into his own hands, deposed his father, put all his inconveniently near relations to death, and

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opened a new era of conquest. He quickly brought to subjection the petty princes of Asia Minor who did not acknowledge the Ottoman sovereignty, and in 1516 flung himself upon Syria, where the Mameluke sultans of Egypt still held sway. The issue was decided by the defeat and fall of the sultan Kansuh in the fierce battle of Marg Dabik.

Selim swept on to Egypt, where the Mamelukes made a desperate stand and met with utter overthrow close to Cairo (1517). Egypt was annexed to the Ottoman dominion, though it was left practically as a tributary state in the hands of the Mamelukes. But Selim seized the opportunity to end the puppet Abbasid Khalifate which the Mamelukes had revived and kept in being, carried off the last of the line to Constantinople, and himself assumed the office and the title, which remained with the 'Grand Turk' until the twentieth century. Selim's further projects of empire were cut off by his death in 1520, but developed mightily under his son Suleiman the Magnificent.

The Far East and the Far West

IN India the Bahmani power in the Deccan during this period broke up into five independent states under Mahomedan rulers, the last established being Golconda in 1518. The Lodi sultans at Delhi extended their dominion over the greater part of the Ganges basin though Bengal remained independent. But beyond the north-western passes the most picturesque and attractive of Oriental conquerors, Babar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, fifth in descent from Tamerlane and descended also through his mother from the Mongol Jenghiz Khan, was preparing for the great adventure which was to crown an abnormally adventurous career, the conquest of northern India. In the Indian Ocean the Portuguese, whose proceedings may be studied in Chapter 137, were establishing a maritime empire, not seeking to conquer territory, but occupying naval stations as bases for the control of the seas.

Similarly, in the far west Spaniards discovered one after another of the West Indian islands, and the South American

coast line; a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, sailing on a Spanish ship, gave his name to the new continents; Pope Alexander VI, on the hypothesis that heathen lands were in the pope's gift, drew the line from north to south, bestowing all lands that had been or might be discovered to the west of it on Spain, and all to the east on Portugal; English expeditions, followed by Frenchmen, away in the inhospitable north, discovered Labrador and Newfoundland, and the estuary of the St. Lawrence. In 1513 Balboa, from the neck of land that joins the north and south continents, discovered the ocean that lies between them and Asia. When Maximilian died in 1519,



SULTAN SELIM I

Bigotry, cruelty and ambition stamped Selim I (1465-1520), the conqueror of Persia, Syria and Egypt and first Ottoman khalif. This portrait of him is attributed to Haidar Bey, a sixteenth-century artist highly esteemed by the Turks.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Hernando Cortés was already heading the adventure which before the year was out was to achieve the conquest of Mexico. And also before the year was out Ferdinand Magellan set sail on the first voyage of circumnavigation.

Magellan, a Portuguese who had taken service with Charles, found and penetrated the strait that bears his name, between the continent and Tierra del Fuego, which for long was supposed to be another vast continent, crossed the Pacific and died among the Philippine Islands, whence his ships made their way southward round Africa, and reached Spain, having sailed completely round the globe. The strait was not yet regarded as a practicable route; but the voyage finally demonstrated that the earth was a globe, and that a vast ocean lay between America and the real Indies, though the American tribes remained 'Indians' in the established popular parlance.

The Spaniards had planted themselves on the Isthmus of Darien but not elsewhere on the mainland, when Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, with a view to the conquest of Yucatan, sent an exploring expedition which traced the coast of the



Enrico S.D. Hernando Cortés. Conquistador de México. Gobernador y capitán.

CONQUEROR OF MEXICO

Daring and determination enabled Hernando Cortés (1485-1547) to win for Spain the vast Aztec Empire in Mexico. His immense services to his country were repaid with rank ingratitude and he died a disappointed man.

Municipal Palace, Mexico; from Mandslay, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society

Gulf of Mexico in 1517. Next year he set



CORTÉS' VICTORY AT MICHUACAN

One of the fiercest battles fought by Cortés in Mexico was with the natives of Michuacan, near the Pacific seaboard, in which he was assisted by the Tlaxcalans with their war dogs. Native treachery led to the engagement, typified, in this old Mexican painting of the battle, by the Indian hanged in the background.

Cortés in command of another expedition. In February, 1519, Cortés sailed, disregarding his orders, with some four hundred Europeans, half as many natives and less than a score of horses and guns. In Yucatan he learnt of the existence of the Aztec empire of Mexico, for which the outlying tribes had no affection. He actually burnt his boats, informed the Aztec emperor Montezuma (Motecuzoma) that he was about to visit him as the envoy of a mighty king over the sea, and paid his very unwelcome visit. The strangers being admitted in the curious circumstances narrated in page 3370, Montezuma offered submission and tribute, but declined to worship strange gods; the emperor was, in fact, a virtual prisoner, while the

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Spaniards assumed the government in his name. Velasquez sent an expedition to recall Cortés, who went out to meet it, leaving behind a garrison in the capital, and ended by attaching most of it to his own force.

Meanwhile, the garrison, seeing that the great city and its immense population were in a state of ferment, and fearing an organized rising, struck first, attacking a great gathering held for a religious celebration. Thereby they brought on the very thing they had feared, and found themselves in danger of being overwhelmed by an apparently countless foe. Cortés with difficulty forced his way back. When the garrison produced their prisoner, Montezuma, and he attempted to pacify his people, they turned their wrath upon him, and he was so roughly handled that he died. The Spaniards barely succeeded in cutting their way out and escaping to friendly territory; so small a band could not afford the losses involved in fighting swarms which seemed to be increased instead of diminished by massacre. But Cortés received some reinforcements, collected native auxiliaries, and when he returned found a resistance which, though at first stubborn, could not long be maintained. In 1521 he had recovered the capital, and could set about a reconstruction of the government and the persistent extension of the Spanish dominion. Mexico became the centre from which it expanded on the north of Darien.

Spanish Conquest of the Incas

MEANWHILE the existence of a second large and civilized empire in the western equatorial area was sufficiently confirmed to excite the adventurous and acquisitive spirit of Francisco Pizarro. Having obtained the necessary authority and funds, he started on his expedition by sea from Panamá in 1530, made his base at Tumbez, near the westernmost point of the continent, and, having learnt that there was civil war between the Inca brothers Huascar and Atahualpa, marched to the conquest of the Inca Empire at the head of one hundred and sixty-eight men. The advance of so tiny a force did not seriously alarm Atahualpa, who had usurped the

throne; but Pizarro found him waiting near Cajamarca with some forty thousand men, and quite disposed to be friendly. The Spaniard invited the Inca to a conference at which he was surprised and kidnapped; the army which attempted to rescue him was routed with great slaughter, being from a European point of view no better than an undisciplined and unarmed mob.

After the Mexican precedent Pizarro proceeded to act 'under the authority' of his prisoner, who only excited the cupidity of his captors by offering a vast ransom for liberty. Atahualpa, having good reason to fear intrigues between the Spaniards and his deposed brother, gave secret orders for the execution of Huascar, but by so doing he only gave Pizarro an excuse for treating him as a traitor and usurper. Atahualpa was put to death and a puppet set in his place for a short time; but even the pretence that the Spaniards were acting under any other authority than their rights as conquerors was very soon dropped. Few though the Spaniards were, they had the natives completely at



CONQUEROR OF PERU

Francisco Pizarro (born c. 1475) embarked in 1530 upon the conquest of Peru, which he had been planning for some years. Treachery and brutality stained the conqueror's career, which was ended by his own assassination in 1541.

After a painting in Lima Museum

their mercy, and Lima, which the conquerors made their headquarters, became the centre from which their easy conquests were further extended.

Independently, other expeditions established the Spaniards in the south-east of South America on the Rio de la Piata. Everywhere the vast mineral wealth of the land attracted settlers from Spain. All conquered territories were won and held as private estates of the king of Spain, and very soon annual treasure ships were transporting vast quantities of the precious metals across the Atlantic to the Spanish ports for the royal exchequer. Also Europe was flooded with tales of a great city of fabulous wealth wherein was reported to dwell the Man of Gold, El Dorado; so that the discovery of 'El Dorado' became the fantastic dream and the irresistible magnet of innumerable adventurers. No one, however, as yet challenged Spain's title to keep the new world to herself, though she paid no heed to what went on north of Florida; where there were no precious metals, but the cod banks of Newfoundland and the search for a north-west passage to Asia were providing for English and French mariners a stormy school of seamanship which was soon to make them infinitely the superiors of the Spaniards.

In the Far East the Portuguese came into touch with China and even for a moment

with the Japanese, to whom they introduced the use and manufacture of fire-arms. Japan was still in the stage of what is described as the Ashikaga anarchy. The effect of the contact with China was so unsatisfactory, owing mainly to the misconduct of the Portuguese, that China shut her doors to the Europeans, and the great missionary François Xavier (see Chap. 142) was refused admission. The story of China under the Ming dynasty which was then reigning is told in Chapter 136. The great feature of Oriental history while the emperor Charles V was reigning in the west was the founding of the Mogul empire in India.

Babar founds the Mogul Empire

At the close of the fifteenth century central Asia was broken up into many principalities, several being in the hands of descendants of Tamerlane. In 1494, in his twelfth year, Babar succeeded his father as king of Ferghana. By the time he was twenty he had twice won and twice lost Samarkand, the recovery of which was the unfulfilled dream of his life. He had the Mongol blood of Jenghiz Khan in his veins from his mother, and hence, although he loathed that race, he bore the name Mughal or Mongol, or Mogul in its most familiar form; but in his own eyes he was the heir of Tamerlane the Turk. Driven out of Transoxiana by the Tatar



INCA WARRIORS OF THE TYPE THAT PIZARRO OVERCAME

Pachacutec, meaning 'he who changes the world,' was the name conferred upon the Inca Yupanqui who in the fifteenth century converted the Cuzco kingdom into the vast Inca empire extending to the Pacific which Pizarro found established when he first reached Peru in 1527. Government administration was elaborately organized and the army was efficient and well equipped. An old Peruvian vase-painting includes these figures of Inca warriors of the period shortly before the Spanish conquest.

From Stübel and Reiss, 'Das Tottenfeld von Anco in Peru'

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conquerer Shaibani, the young adventurer made his way with many hairbreadth escapes to Afghanistan, where a cousin had been deposed by a usurper, collected a few daring adherents and made himself king at Kabul and master of most of Afghanistan. He still could not resist the lure of Samarkand, but, though he reached it in a hurricane campaign and held the city and the throne for a few months, he had to fly for his life again (1512), and when he got back to Kabul he finally abandoned his earlier ambitions and made up his mind that what he really wanted was to be emperor of India.

In 1519 he made his first expedition across the Indus with a force of some two thousand men, laying claim to the Punjab as being a part of the heritage of Tamerlane. Nothing came of this. For the next five years he was mainly occupied in consolidating his position in Afghanistan, though he found time for two raiding expeditions. But in 1524 he found his opportunity in a double appeal from an exiled prince of the house of Lodi and from the governor of the Punjab, who was in revolt against Ibrahim, the reigning sovereign at Delhi.

The defection, however, of his Indian allies after he started caused some delay, and it was not until the end of 1525 that he made his invasion in force—that is, at the head of twelve thousand men, Turks, Afghans and Mongols. He got some reinforcements from rebels against Ibrahim, whose army he shattered at Panipat, the field of several decisive engagements in Indian history, in 1526. That made him master of Delhi and of enormous wealth, which he gave away lavishly. His men wanted to go home with their huge spoils, but he would be content with nothing short of the conquest of Hindustan, i.e. northern India. If he celebrated his



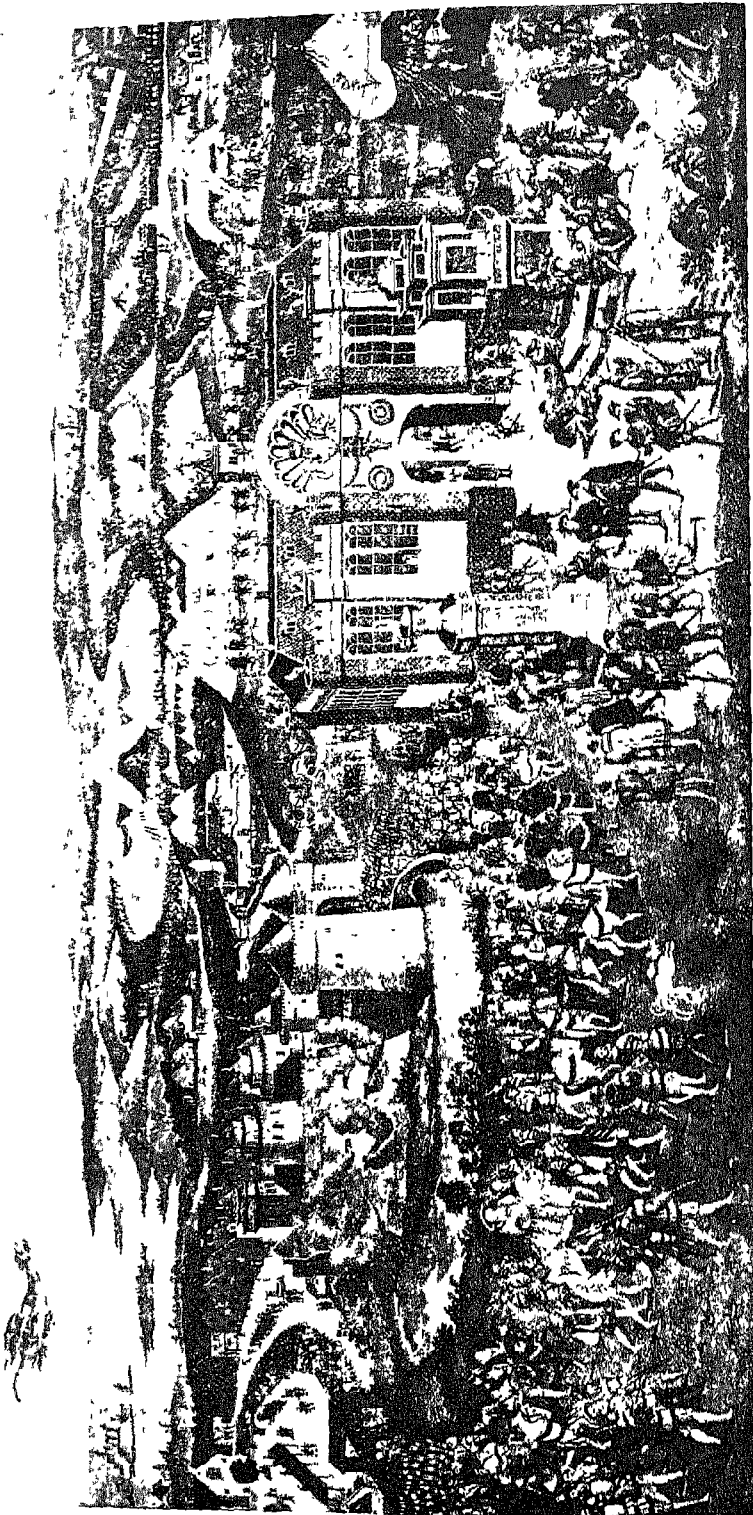
AN AMIABLE MOGUL EMPEROR

Humayun (1508-1556) succeeded his father Babar as Mogul emperor of Delhi in 1530. Though gallant and amiable he had a certain weakness of character well suggested in this portrait painted by Bhagvati, an Indian artist of the sixteenth century, depicting him listening to two Hajjis reciting the scriptures.

British Museum

victories in the merciless fashion of the Tamerlane tradition, he could also display a most lordly generosity which brought him adherents; the mutinous spirit subsided, and by the end of 1530 he was practically master of the land from Kabul to the Bay of Bengal. Then he died—as he and everyone about him believed by a magnificent act of self-sacrifice; for his best-beloved son and heir, Humayun, was apparently on the point of death, and the father prayed that his own life might be taken in the place of his son's. In the plenitude of his powers, at the age of forty-eight, the great conqueror fell ill and died, but Humayun was restored to health.

Babar was no mere devastator like his terrible ancestors, Turk or Mongol. But in five years he had conquered an empire, without having attempted to organize it,



ROYAL POMP AND PAGEANTRY AT THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

This picture representing Henry VIII on his way to meet Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June, 1520, was painted, probably by John Crust, shortly after the event it commemorates, and reproduces actual details with minute accuracy. On the left in the English procession is King Henry on a white horse, Wolsey beside him and the marquis of Dorset in front bearing the sword of state. On the right is the temporary palace erected for Henry's reception, with two fountains spouting wine in front of it, and behind are the lists, kitchen tent and some of the 2,800 tents erected for the kings' retinues.

Engraving after the painting in Hampton Court Palace

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and the princes and nobles who had submitted to him were by no means ready to submit to his gallant and amiable but not very able son. Humayun was driven out again within ten years by an Afghan adventurer of great ability, Sher Shah, who established himself in Bihar and proved himself, in a reign of no more than five years, to be a ruler and administrator, as well as a soldier, of a very high order. Humayun, at the end of fifteen years of exile, in the course of which he experienced every vicissitude of fortune, was able to return and renew the fight for the empire of India in 1555. Sher Shah was dead, his successors lacked his ability, and Humayun recaptured Delhi. But seven months later, in January, 1556, he was killed by an accidental fall, and the loyalty of his soldier minister Bairam secured the accession to his thirteen-year-old son, the famous Akbar, the builder of the Mogul empire.

Problems confronting Charles V

CHARLES V was elected emperor in the year of Babar's first Indian expedition; he resigned Burgundy to his son Philip II three months before Akbar's accession at Delhi. The period, of which he was throughout one of the principal figures, is one of the most momentous in European history. Nor was there any man who had a task before him more complicated than his. He had to consolidate Spain, not yet accustomed to unity; to attempt once more to establish the supremacy of the central authority in an empire intensely opposed to centralisation; to rule at the same time over Burgundy, traditionally, racially and geographically separated from and antagonistic to the rest of his dominions; to face in Burgundy and in Italy the rivalry of the most highly centralised monarchy in Europe; and on the top of all this to control a quite unprecedented religious revolution which, except in Spain itself, intensified each one of his other difficulties. And still there was lurking in the background the growing menace of the Ottoman power on the Mediterranean waters and on the eastern flank of the Empire.

The French rivalry was what he felt as his most immediate concern. Wolsey



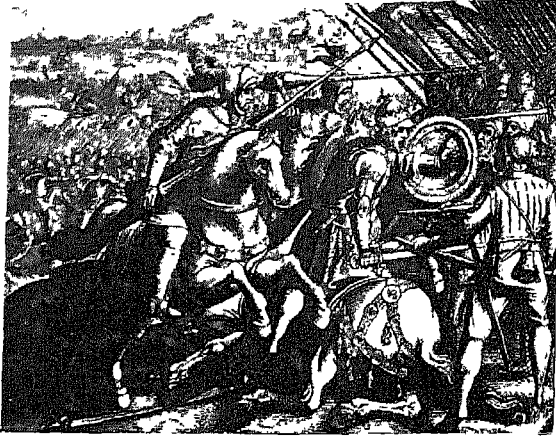
VICTIM OF OVERWEENING AMBITION

'In the time of his authority and power the haughtiest man that then lived' was his loyal servant George Cavendish's verdict upon Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475-1530). It is endorsed in this portrait of the cardinal by an unknown artist.

National Portrait Gallery, London

in England was eager for the rôle of arbiter of Europe, holding the balance between the Hapsburg and the Valois, but suffered from the fact that his most skilfully laid plans might be thwarted by the capricious impulses of a master whom he dared not cross. Charles and Francis each of them desired active support from England, or, failing that, her neutrality; but neither would be deterred from fighting by her opposition. In Italy both Pope Leo and Venice were more afraid of French than of imperial aggression; and, in spite of the splendid extravagances of the famous meeting between the two kings known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), the emperor drew England into an anti-French league.

The war proved disastrous to Francis, though England's share in it was never more than half-hearted. The real arena



CAPTURE OF FRANCIS I AT PAVIA

Francis I's defeat and capture at the battle of Pavia, February 25, 1525, are thus depicted in a copper engraving by Matthew Merian, the seventeenth-century Swiss engraver, based upon an earlier original and contributed to Gottfried's *Historical Chronicle*—a work brought down to the year 1618.

British Museum

was in Italy, where in 1525 Francis met with a crushing defeat at Pavia and was taken prisoner. To procure his release he had to submit to humiliating terms, and even in accepting them declared that he would not be bound by them, for they included the surrender of all claims in respect of Milan, Naples and Flanders. The unlooked-for completeness of Charles' success alarmed his allies, who now entered on a new league for the expulsion of the emperor from Italy; but his successes continued; in 1527 his troops stormed and sacked Rome itself, and he was able to dictate a peace by which Francis had to confirm the promises made after Pavia, and Pope Clement VII, cousin and second successor of Leo X, found himself almost a puppet in the emperor's hands.

Meanwhile, however, the religious revolution had been very thoroughly inaugurated. Luther had burnt his boats. Made uneasy by the vigour of his propaganda, Leo X, in 1520, excommunicated the Wittenberg professor, who re-

plied by publicly burning the bull of excommunication. The pope could inflict no further penalty directly, but a diet of the empire was about to be held, and the young emperor was willing to oblige; so Martin Luther was summoned to defend himself before it.

He appeared at the Diet of Worms under a safe-conduct, like Huss at Constance, but also under the protection of the elector of Saxony, who had no mind to allow him to suffer the fate of Huss; and he had powerful support from other lay princes of the empire, from practically the whole body of the knights, and from widespread public opinion. Luther refused to recant unless convinced of error. Being, on the contrary, convinced that his denounced doctrines were true, it followed that those who denounced them were in error. Popes and councils, therefore, were not infallible; the one infallible authority was Holy Scripture,



FREDERICK III, 'THE WISE'

Succeeding his father as elector of Saxony in 1486, Frederick III (1463-1525) was an enlightened statesman and intellectual man. In 1502 he founded the university of Wittenberg, where he appointed Luther and Melancthon professors, and thereafter remained Luther's steadfast champion.

Pinakothek, Munich

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of which, by the grace of God, it was in the individual's power to find the true interpretation.

The diet had other work before it. Luther, taking his departure, was kidnapped for his safety by his friend the Saxon elector, and hidden away in the Wartburg, in Thuringia. When the diet had begun to disperse, and some of Luther's supporters had left, the other party carried a decree putting him to the ban of the empire, but no one was prepared to start a civil war in order to execute it. Charles was too deeply involved in his war with Francis to risk the stirring up of trouble in Germany. Pope Leo died at the end of the year; Charles procured the election of the Burgundian Adrian VI; Adrian died in 1523 and was succeeded by the Medici Clement VII.

The German knights, mainly supporters of Luther, headed by Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, raised what was intended to be a national revolt against the political domination of the princes and foreign influences generally; but they got no encouragement from Luther and they were crushed in the same year. Fanatical reformers, who, as so often happens, associated the destruction of the existing social order with their religious doctrines, stirred up a great revolt of the German peasantry,



POPE ADRIAN VI

Adrian Dedel (1459-1523) had a distinguished career at Louvain university and in 1507 became tutor to Charles V, who later appointed him inquisitor-general of Aragon. His election to the Papacy in 1522 was largely due to Charles.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari



CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED

A wealthy German knight with a congenital love of fighting, Franz von Sickingen (1481-1523) engaged in many feuds, usually on behalf of the oppressed. His militant championship of the early Reformers was discouraged by Luther.

From Beckstein, 'Deutsche Manner'

who suffered under a crushing serfdom, and that revolt, too, was trampled out in blood (1525), while Luther vainly denounced the revolutionists. Nevertheless, the wild doctrines of the extremists were attributed to the spirit of defiance aroused by Luther, and the scholars who before his rise had been the active reformers became prominent in the reaction.

On the other hand, just at this stage the accord between pope and emperor was broken. Confident that his attitude would now be anti-papal, the imperial diet at Speier in 1526 in Charles' absence decreed in effect that each prince should control the religion of his own subjects in his own territory, with the result that electoral Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg and other principalities adopted the Lutheran principles, thus inaugurating the religious division of Germany.

At the beginning of 1529, however, Charles and Clement had come to terms, and another diet at Speier, under the imperial influence, revoked the decree and returned to that of Worms; while a number of Lutheran princes and cities united to sign the protest from which the

reforming movement took the name of Protestant. At the Diet of Augsburg next year, when Charles presided in person, the Protestants produced the Augsburg confession of faith, and made it clear that they would abide by it, and that coercion would mean civil war. At the end of the year (1530) they formed the defensive league of Schmalkalde. Charles could not take that risk. He was master in Italy, but the Turks were advancing on Vienna, and must be met. For a time there was a truce in Germany, but it was an armed truce which might at any moment become war.

In Switzerland, nominally within the Empire but practically outside it, the reforming movement was led by Zwingli of Zürich, quite independently of Luther, from whose views his own differed materially, though they were no less irreconcilable with papal theories. There the religious question was complicated by a political question, for Zwingli wished to equalise the votes of the cantons in the diet of the

confederation, while the four forest cantons were determined not to lose the predominance they enjoyed under the existing system. A struggle ensued which ended with the fall of Zwingli in the battle of Cappel in 1531; but the treaty which followed secured the control of religion to the congregations in the individual cantons. The Swiss and Lutheran schools of Protestantism continued to be hardly less hotly antagonistic to each other than both were to Rome.

Henry VIII breaks with Rome

IN France and in England the governments gave no countenance to the new theology; but in both, the kings were influenced primarily by personal or political considerations. Both began to realize that by cultivating friendly relations with the German Protestants they could add to the emperor's embarrassments; and from 1529 onwards Henry had reasons of his own for defying and repudiating the authority of the pope, who had his own reasons for evading the English king's desire to be released from his marriage with Katharine of Aragon, the aunt of the emperor.

When Henry had made up his mind to a decisive breach with Rome, the weight of England was necessarily cast on the side of Protestantism. And the French government, while it repressed Protestantism in France, was always ready for alliance with Protestants outside France, in order to embarrass Charles.

In Germany the North German princes tended to the Protestant side, the South Germans to the papal side. Consequently Protestant influences prevailed also in the Scandinavian countries, which were undergoing revolutions. In 1520 the crowns of all the three kingdoms—Danish, Swedish and Norwegian—were worn by Christian II, who was determined to rule as well as to reign in all of them. In that year he crushed the independence of the Swedish nobles, following up his victory by a massacre known as the 'blood-bath of Stockholm.' His savagery caused a reaction. Gustavus Vasa, who had escaped the massacre, raised a revolt against the hated Danish domination, and at the same time the Danish nobles



REBEL GERMAN PEASANTS

Originally a revolt against feudal oppression, the Peasants' War in South Germany in 1525 developed into rebellion against all authority, entailing terrible bloodshed. This engraving by Hans Sebald Beham is dated 1544.

British Museum

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CHRISTIAN II IN 1517

Succeeding to the thrones of Denmark and Norway in 1513 Christian II (1481-1559) also recovered the crown of Sweden by force of arms, but his ruthless autocracy alienated all his subjects and in 1523 he was driven out.

Royal Gallery, Copenhagen

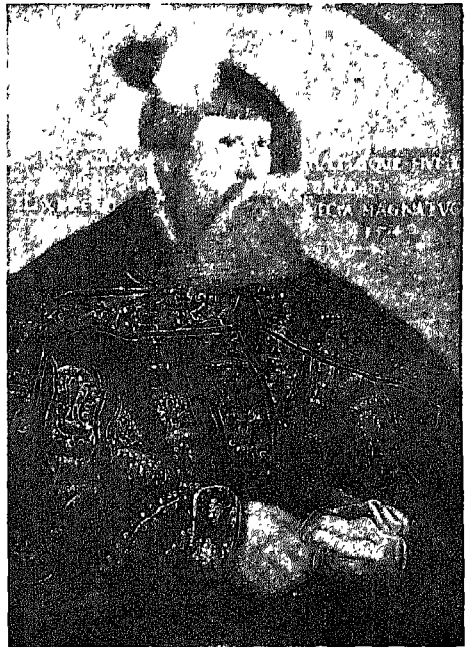
rose and expelled Christian from Denmark. The Swedes elected Gustavus king, and the Danes elected Frederick of Slesvig-Holstein. The two crowns were separated permanently by the treaty of Calmoe (1524), though Norway and the southern province of Skania went with Denmark.

Frederick introduced without enforcing the Lutheran teaching, and Lutheranism became the established religion of Denmark in the reign of his son Christian III. Gustavus, in dire need of money to be expended in setting Sweden on her feet again, resolved, like Henry VIII in England, that the Church must disgorge her wealth, adherence to the new doctrines being the inevitable corollary. The opposition seemed too strong to be overcome till he declared the alternative—his own resignation of the crown. That, as everyone knew, would mean anarchy; and the opposition collapsed (1527). Lutheranism soon became the national religion of Sweden. When Gustavus died in 1560, he had revived the national prosperity, consolidated the kingdom, and

firmly established the power of the crown, which was made hereditary in 1544.

In 1521 Charles handed over his Austrian heritage to his brother the archduke Ferdinand, who married the sister of Lewis, the Jagellon king of Bohemia and Hungary. Suleiman, later to be known as 'the Magnificent,' succeeded his father, Selim I, as Grand Turk in 1520. He at once set out on a career of aggression. He forced the Knights of S. John to abandon the Christian outpost at Rhodes and fall back to Malta; his fleets swept the eastern Mediterranean under the great corsair captain Khair ed-Din Barbarossa. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, hitherto the bulwark of Hungary; and Lewis of Hungary, advancing against him, was overwhelmed and slain at the battle of Mohacz in 1526.

On the death of Lewis, his brother-in-law Ferdinand advanced and made good his claim to the succession in Bohemia and Hungary; but the latter country had always been restive under Hapsburg



LIBERATOR OF SWEDEN

After the Blood Bath of Stockholm in 1520, Gustavus Eriksson Vasa (1496-1560) roused the Swedes to revolt, expelled the Danes and in 1523 was himself crowned king, first of the Vasa dynasty. This portrait was painted in 1542.

University Library, Upsala

sovereigns, and a portion of it now adhered to a Magyar noble, John Zapolya, who did not scruple to accept Turkish support against his rival. Nor did the Turk scruple to keep a large part of the disputed territory in his own hands, so that Hungary was divided under three sovereigns. But from this time the Ottoman advance was an ever-present menace, though it served to postpone open civil war in the Empire.

For some years then Germany continued in a state of uneasy tension, while Charles and Francis pursued the course of



their rivalry by devious methods and with varying fortunes, diversified by conflicts on the part of Charles, and alliances on that of Francis, with Suleiman. Henry VIII in England was following a course of his own which made it convenient to be friendly sometimes with one and sometimes with the other. Both Francis and Henry made overtures to the German Protestants of the League of Schmalkalde, which looked askance at both. For Francis, though eager for alliance with heretics or even Mahomedans abroad, with political ends in view, was the 'Most Christian King'

who persecuted Protestants zealously in his own dominions; and Henry, having flatly repudiated the papal authority, and being engaged on despoiling the Church, was nevertheless the prince on whom in earlier days Leo had bestowed the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' and who still prided himself on his theological attainments and his rigid orthodoxy.

The Mediterranean was infested with corsairs from the African ports, encouraged by Khair ed-Din, who seized Tunis from its independent ruler and held it himself as from the sultan. In 1535 Charles attacked and defeated Khair ed-Din in a great sea fight, and restored the former prince as his own vassal. Francis found an excuse for repudiating the last treaty, renewing his claim on Milan, and scandalising Christendom by an alliance with Suleiman against the emperor. Charles invaded Provence, where he was starved out by the French commander Montmorency, and had to retire with diminished prestige.

In 1538 a ten years' truce was arranged by Pope Clement's successor, Paul III. Charles utilised the interval for the suppression of the still inconveniently powerful national assembly or Cortes of Castile, and, with Francis' concurrence,



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RHODES

Rhodes fell to the Turks in 1522. Its strength is shown in these woodcuts, published a few years earlier, of the unsuccessful Turkish assault of 1480 on the harbour and (above) on the walls.

From *Caesars*, 'Stabilimenta Rhodorum Militum,' 1496

The Epoch of the Reformation

of revolts in the Netherlands ; but the hostility of Francis was revived by his repudiation of the half-promises he had given. In 1541 Charles sailed with a great fleet to root out the Algerian pirates, but most of his fleet went to the bottom in a terrific storm. Francis renewed his alliance with Suleiman, and again found an excuse for declaring war in 1542. In the campaigning fortune on the whole favoured Charles, but in 1544 he offered peace (the Treaty of Crespy) on unexpectedly favourable terms. In 1547 Henry VIII and Francis died, and Charles alone was left of the three princes who had swayed Europe since 1519.



ATTACK ON ALGIERS, THE PIRATES' LAIR

Algiers became the chief seat of the Barbary pirates about 1530 and so remained for three hundred years. In October, 1541, Charles V attempted to capture the town, but his fleet was destroyed by storm and his army by the Algerians. A German broadsheet of 1542 contains this woodcut of the attack.

From O. Jüger, 'Weltgeschichte,' Velhagen & Klasing

MEANWHILE, other developments were in progress which vitally affected the course of the Reformation. The motives at work were exceedingly mixed. The genuine desire to arrive at a convincing body of religious truth was wide-spread. Dissatisfaction with a system under which the teachers of religion were manifestly absorbed more often in the pursuit of political than of spiritual aims, the very unspiritual character of so many successive popes, the glaring examples of moral depravity among the higher clergy reflected in their lower ranks, the frequent abuse for debased and debasing purposes of doctrines and practices in themselves defensible, the tendency to maintain ecclesiastical authority by checking inquiry and criticism—all these things were reprobated by the most orthodox, and cried aloud for reform ; reform desired no less zealously by those who believed it to be attainable without repudiation of the papal authority in things spiritual than by those who were as firmly convinced of the contrary.

On the other hand, they aroused an anti-clerical spirit ; the laity at all times resented the wealth of the Church, of which the expropriation offered a tempting bait to impecunious princes and nobles ;

and from time immemorial princes had fought against the division of clerical allegiance between the secular ruler and the foreign head of an international organization ; though not a few dreaded that rejection of the recognized spiritual authority would be only the preliminary to the defiance of all constituted authority whatever, a view to which the German peasant revolt gave some colour. That revolt had been suppressed, though the fanatical extremists, under the name of Anabaptists, still found adherents, mainly among the down-trodden. But two serious movements began to make themselves felt, one among the Protestants in revolt from Rome, the other among the most earnest opponents of the new doctrines. The Zürich reformers had never been in harmony with the Lutherans ; but under the leadership of a French refugee, John Calvin, a new school grew up at Geneva whose tenets were even more irreconcilable than Zwingli's with those of Rome and of Luther alike. The special characteristics of the Calvinistic theology do not here concern us ; they turned mainly on his peculiar doctrine regarding

predestination : but Calvin laid down and published in 1536 the scheme of church government known to us as Presbyterianism, which dispensed with bishops, and was so democratic in structure—though its effect in Geneva was to make Calvin himself a dictator—that it was difficult for any lay prince to reconcile himself with it. And it was to Calvin, not to Luther, that the reformers turned in France (where they were known as Huguenots), in Scotland, in the Netherlands and in parts of Germany.

Order of Jesus constituted

ON the other side a missionary brotherhood was formed at about the same time—destined to play an immense part in the religious struggles of the next hundred and fifty years—by the visionary enthusiasm of the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola. His conception was that of a company formed on the military model, which was to fight for the Church, but with the arm of the spirit, not of the flesh. The first company was formed in 1534 of a band of seven enthusiasts, to one of whom at least, François Xavier, the title of Saint is entirely appropriate ; it increased, and in 1540 the 'Order of Jesus, popularly known as the Jesuits, was formally constituted with the recognition of the pope, Paul III. Its nature and activities are discussed in Chapter 142.

Christendom did not yet recognize that it was split into irreconcilable parties which must either agree to live side by side or fight for the complete supremacy, which neither would concede to the other. There was a general desire, except on the part of the pope, for a general council whose authoritative decrees should be final binding pronouncements on all questions in dispute. But everyone wished to ensure that his own views should predominate, especially Charles, whose understanding of the religious sentiments involved was limited, while his desire was to dictate a compromise acceptable to no one. Consequently it was not till 1545 that a council was summoned at Trent. Even then it had hardly met when Paul and Charles quarrelled, since the pope was as much afraid of an imperial supremacy as he was

hostile to the Protestants. Charles, having just freed himself from the French war, was about to embark on the Schmalkaldic war against the German Protestant league, and the vicissitudes of that struggle materially affected the proceedings of the council during the reigns of Paul and his successor, Julius III (1550-55).

'The Interim' and its Consequences

LUTHER, whose influence had always been strongly cast against a settlement by force, died at the beginning of 1546. Charles was bent on uniting Germany—a most laudable object—by enforcing a religious compromise, and on establishing at last the imperial supremacy, and he believed that the suppression of the League of Schmalkalde would remove the most serious obstacle to both projects. He declared war on the League, shattered its forces at Mühlberg (1547), capturing its leaders, whom he treated with inexcusable severity, and apparently had the ball at his feet. But he overrated his triumph. He concocted on his own responsibility and manoeuvred through the diet at Augsburg (1548) a religious compromise known as the Interim, which accentuated antagonisms instead of allaying them ; and he imposed upon the paralysed diet a reconstruction of the imperial constitution which practically placed the whole executive power in the control of the emperor.

But this was the last result desired by the princes who had supported him, or by Maurice of Saxony, to whom he owed his victory at Mühlberg. Maurice promptly and secretly organized revolt, allying himself with Henry II, who had succeeded Francis on the French throne. In return for Henry's assistance against the emperor, the administration of certain important cities in Lorraine was to be conferred on him as imperial vicar. While Charles still supposed Maurice to be engaged in suppressing resistance to the Interim, in 1552 he suddenly marched his troops on Innsbruck, from which the hitherto unsuspecting emperor barely had time to escape. Maurice brought down Charles' edifice of power like a house of cards. Charles was reduced to entrusting his brother Ferdinand, whom he had offended

The Epoch of the Reformation

by attempting to oust him from the imperial succession, with the task of making the best terms he could at the treaty of Passau. And meanwhile French troops had occupied the promised cities, and being there could by no means be ejected. Metz, Toul, Verdun and Cambrai had virtually become a part of France.

Maurice's success caused the hasty adjournment of the Council of Trent, which so far had accomplished nothing towards a pacification. The Protestants who attended found themselves treated rather as prisoners at the bar than colleagues on the bench; and it had already become evident that the validity of its decisions as a general council of the Church would never be admitted by the Protestant minority.

Charles was beaten, though Maurice was killed in the disturbed fighting which followed on the breakdown of the imperial authority. A general pacification of Germany was effected by the diet held at Augsburg (1555), under the guidance of Ferdinand. It confirmed the treaty of Passau; it confirmed to the princes the right of controlling religion within their own territories; it reinstated in the imperial council the Lutherans whom Charles in the hour of his triumph had excluded. But it made no mention of Calvinists and it retained what was called the 'ecclesiastical reservation,' which required Catholic ecclesiastical princes to resign their sees if they changed their religion—with disastrous results in the future.

Charles had failed to secure German support for his desire to be succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son Philip, who in German eyes was a Spaniard. Towards the end of 1555 he handed over the Netherlands and Italy to

Philip and at the beginning of 1556 announced his abdication of the imperial crown, recommending as his successor his brother Ferdinand of Austria who had already long been king of the Romans.

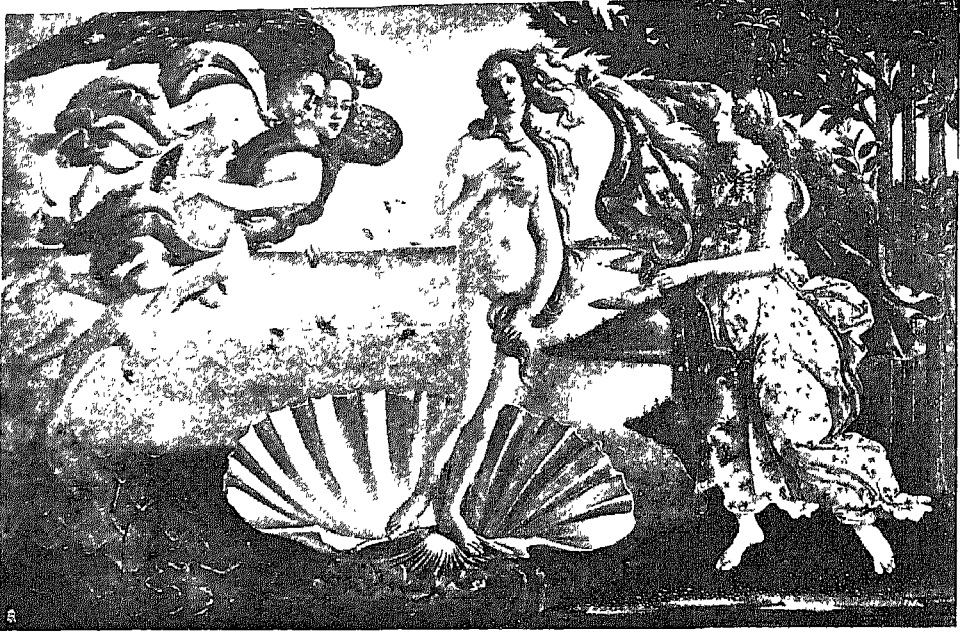
In 1555 also Cardinal Caraffa, the organizer and head of the Inquisition in Italy, was elected pope as Paul IV. His accession, with the Pacification of Augsburg and the abdication of Charles V, together provide a definite landmark in the European chronicle.



PICTURE OF CARE-WORN MAJESTY

This portrait of Charles V was painted by Titian in 1548, the year the emperor issued the unsatisfactory 'Interim' and attempted an abortive reconstruction of the imperial constitution. The tired face and sad eyes in the picture reflect the weariness and disillusionment which presently confirmed the emperor in his intention to abdicate.

Pinakothek, Munich



Between 1485 and 1488 Botticelli painted his second masterpiece of classical fantasy, *The Birth of Venus*, like the earlier *Primavera* below, for Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Castello. In this he may have been inspired by the *Pervigilium Veneris*, that captivating production of the Silver Age of Latin literature, to the spirit of which Botticelli's genius was so perfectly attuned.



Botticelli found his inspiration in the natural beauty in the world and was among the earliest to give landscape its proper place in art. His especial qualities are his decorative sense, his genius for intricate design, his skilful draughtsmanship in representing movement and his power of conveying the feeling of open air. All these qualities appear in his allegorical picture *The Coming of Spring*, painted in 1477 for the villa at Castello of his patron Lorenzo, son of Pierfrancesco de' Medici.

TWO ENCHANTING CLASSICAL FANTASIES BY SANDRO BOTTICELLI

Galleria Antica e Moderna and (top) Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photos, Anderson

THE LEGACY OF THE RENAISSANCE

What the Modern World owes to the Humanists who rediscovered Classic Beauty and Learning after the Middle Ages

By R. MUSGROVE SCOTT

THE history of European civilization is very disconcerting to the scientific investigator. Progress towards modern conditions has been irregular and apparently fortuitous: more often than not it is impossible to establish incontrovertibly whether a given movement was progressive or retrogressive. We cannot but notice, however, that the greatest advances, intellectual and material, have been made rapidly during short periods of intense mental activity, separated by lengthy intervals of slow consolidation, torpor or definite back-sliding. One of the most important of these sudden advances occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and is of peculiar significance to us in that it involved the change from medieval to modern conditions of life.

Actually it was during the fifteenth century that the greater part of Europe began to emerge from the half-light of the Middle Ages to the daylight of modern times. We call this period of transition, and that of adjustment which immediately followed, the Renaissance; which means simply the 'Re-birth.' The phenomenon might more exactly be described as death and new birth, since it had destructive as well as constructive aspects; and it is desirable to emphasise the destruction lest it be thought that the Middle Ages were smoothly transformed into our era. Nor was the Renaissance merely a re-birth of classical antiquity—the accumulated experience of a thousand years, however barren they were, must influence man's thought.

The movement was the product, in a broad sense, of two forces—nationalism and the study of the classics. These acted as solvents on society and the intelligence,

fleeing men from medieval bonds and so giving them the opportunity to develop their individuality to the greatest possible extent. But in achieving the emancipation of the reason they were also seminal and gave direction to man's liberated energies; original thought was not only made possible but was encouraged, and an advance in material prosperity resulted. Thus, working sometimes independently and sometimes in combination, these two forces wrought a fundamental change in society. When we remember that to them we owe the Bible, the revival of learning and the renewed importance of Roman law, it will be seen that our debt to both is enormous, but, if considered in general terms, capable of assessment.

The thorough nature of the revolution effected is immediately appreciable when we glance at western Europe in 1350 and again in 1550. In the middle of the fourteenth century there was still a Church Catholic; still an emperor possessed of an uncertain priority among monarchs. The ideal of catholicism was, indeed, in process of becoming a dry formula during the seventy years when the Gallican popes were tremulously holding dismal court at Avignon; the secular fabric of universality, already slowly perishing, was being irreparably damaged by the emergence of France and England as nationalities; but in 1350 it was still held that a pope should command the obedience of Christendom, an emperor occupy the pre-eminent position that had been Charlemagne's. Dante had been dead for nearly thirty years, but there was little intellectual light. The great councils of Basel and Constance were yet to be; Frederick III was yet to make his boast, acrostically,

Changes in
200 years

but not altogether empty, that 'Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan'—Austria is overlord of the world. The West was still obstinately medieval.

But by 1550 everything had become modern. Christendom was divided by creeds and by national frontiers; learning flourished everywhere; and the activities of individual man were comparatively unrestricted. The principal revolutionary influence had been the revival of classical learning; but it is not easy to determine when this force first began to be effective.

The matter is complicated by the peculiar position of Italy, where the revival of learning had its beginning, for here, as Burckhardt has so convincingly demonstrated, the traditions of 'Roma Immortalis' were never altogether forgotten. Roman law, for instance, was taught at Bologna when the rest of Europe was feudal. Again, there are medieval scholars who have been regarded as 'morning stars' of the Renaissance—Abélard, Roger Bacon, Dante and Petrarch. But we must consider them as isolated geniuses, since their contemporaries did not respond to their teaching; as Michelet has said, 'the Sibyl of the Renaissance

offered her books in vain to the feudal ages.' There is justification, however, for looking upon the appointment, in 1396, of Manuel Chrysoloras to the chair of Greek in the University of Florence as the first important event in the new diffusion of classical culture, and Greek literature in particular, throughout Europe.

When we come to weigh their achievements we find the thinkers of the Middle Ages singularly unproductive. The great scholars were certainly

not obscurantists—**Unproductiveness of medieval thinkers**
Erigena, S. Thomas Aquinas, the more

notable Thomists, Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon, all have important places in the history of thought—but they were few. Even the lesser men were far from being dullards (an examination of the syllogisms of the Sorbonne lecturers will convince the hardest doubter of this), but they were not constructive. Their subtlety was exhausted in mental exercises that were of as little value to humanity as acrostics would have been. But all these schoolmen, profound philosophers and pretentious logicians alike, formed a small class, and were chary of adventuring beyond the bounds of theology. The ordinary churchman had a knowledge of the Vulgate and little additional learning, while laymen (unless they should be lawyers) were usually uneducated.

The limited stock of learning in circulation, then, was in the keeping of the clergy. Even the independent and liberal University of Paris suffered from ecclesiastical interference; the antagonism which Abélard had constantly to brook illustrates but one of the grave difficulties that medieval rationalists had to overcome. The copyists were mainly dependent upon the Church, and the schools wholly under its auspices; the great libraries, too, were usually in the monasteries, and inaccessible to the ordinary layman even if he had been in a position to profit by them. How unfit were the monks of the period immediately preceding the Renaissance to be guardians of learning was shown by their indiscriminate readiness to make palimpsests of ancient manuscripts.

But by 1518—we have it on the authority of Baldassare Castiglione—the



PIONEER OF GREEK CULTURE

Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355–1415) was a pupil at Constantinople of Gemistus, the Greek Platonic philosopher. Chrysoloras translated Homer and Plato, and his *Erotemata* was the first Greek grammar in use in the West.

Engraving by De L'Armesin

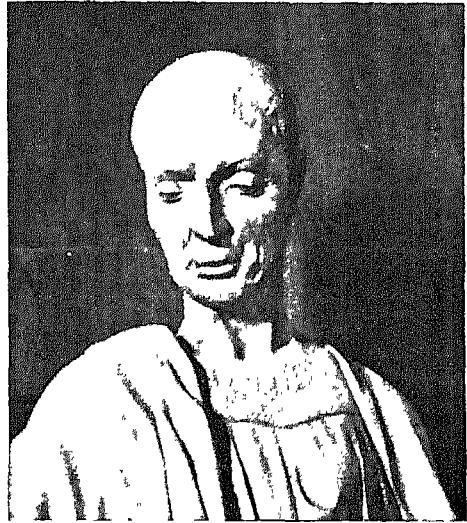
educated Italian gentleman had a thorough knowledge of the classics, although he did not therefore attempt to pose as a scholar. He could, for example, point his arguments very relevantly with references to Cicero or Homer and be sure that his allusions were understood by his friends, including his womenfolk. By secularising literature the Renaissance gave it a new influence and a new impetus.

We have suggested that the coming of Manuel Chrysoloras to Florence marked the beginning of the Renaissance; our

reasons for doing so lie in the facts that he not only helped to revive enthusiasm for the culture of ancient Greece, but

was the first competent teacher of its language in an age when men were eager to learn. As Leonardo Bruni, one of his pupils, wrote, 'through seven hundred years no one in all Italy has been master of Greek letters; and yet we acknowledge that all science is derived from them.' Even with these words in our mind, however, it is difficult for us beneficiaries of the Renaissance to realize how great a revolutionary force Greek could be. The latter clause of Bruni's sentence affords one explanation: the original source of all science was inexhaustible, and men were thirsting after more than was available in the Middle Ages. The study of Plato and Aristotle, which was to lead through critical and philosophic appreciation of religion to the Reformation, was begun. Greek literature inspired a love for pure learning, gave instruction in true scholarship and provided an ideal of intellectual and spiritual freedom upon which progress might be based. Not the least of its contributions was the sense of beauty that it restored to the world.

Medieval scholars were wilfully ignorant of Greek thought. They did indeed claim that they revered Aristotle, but suspected him of heresy, and at the best studied him in a Latin text that had been freely 'emended' to make his philosophy coincide with Christian doctrine and scholastic ideas. It was a translation, not of the Greek original, but of the Arabic version (itself a translation from the Syriac), which had been distorted by Jewish commentators and the pantheistic



AN ENTHUSIASTIC HUMANIST

This statue, by Donatello, in Florence Cathedral, is accepted as being a highly individualised presentation of Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), lay secretary to the papal curia and ardent worker for the resuscitation of classical studies.

Photo, Alinari

Averroes. Imagine, then, the effect upon the minds of fifteenth and sixteenth century students of the real Aristotle; even greater was the influence of Plato, condemned as subversive during the Middle Ages. Hippocrates, Archimedes and an uncorrupted Galen, too, awakened interest in long-neglected branches of human activity, and Thucydides recalled the forgotten past. Through Greek studies the men of the Renaissance discovered the heavens and rediscovered antiquity and Man. The emancipation of reason followed close upon the teaching of Manuel Chrysoloras.

Plato and Aristotle in the original Greek, far from contenting scholars for a season, only made them more eager to discover new sources of mental nourishment. Libraries were everywhere ransacked for manuscripts from which ancient wisdom might be derived, and—fortunately for us—the seekers knew their business and were blessed by good fortune. Poggio Bracciolini is typical of the enthusiasts who made it their task to rediscover lost codices of the Latin authors in the abbeys and monasteries of Switzerland and Germany: great was his triumph (expressed



AENEAS SYLVIUS, HUMANIST POPE

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), who became pope in 1458, was a liberal minded, even free-thinking man, an enthusiastic patron of classical culture and himself a novelist. This fresco in the cathedral library at Siena, depicting his election as Pius II, was painted by Pinturicchio

Photo, Alinari

in letters to envious friends) when in 1414 he found an excellent copy of Quintilian at St. Gall. Some years later a group of Florentines began to attract attention by their erudition and especially by their ability as critics. The most notable was Niccolo de' Niccoli, who, unlike his prolific and somewhat tediously Ciceronian contemporaries, wrote little himself, but collated and edited the manuscripts found by Poggio and his fellow-workers. So there were on the one hand the successors of Manuel Chrysoloras advancing the study of Greek learning, and on the other

the larger group of scholars who performed a like service for Latin. On the death of Niccolo in 1437, Constantinople had not yet fallen to the Turks; but the first steps had been taken towards an intelligent understanding of the Bible, a recognition of the nature of science and the consequent spread of enlightenment.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the Renaissance had begun to transform Italian thought. An age of study had opened, the area of the humanists—learned men at whom it is easy now to sneer, but whose labours were essential for the revival of learning. If their fervour for anything that was classical resembled the intemperate enthusiasm of a schoolboy for his hobbies, if their desire for correct writing was finical, this fervour and this over-fastidiousness were salutary in their influence. The generation that followed those who strove after, and were content with, mere erudition found in their predecessors' confused accumulation of texts and data the means necessary for making a further advance; and the early study of style was of the greatest importance to the critics.

The word 'humanists' has come to designate all those who championed classical learning against scholasticism, reason against dogma, strivers after the Ciceronian ideal of 'humanitas.' Although at the period of the Renaissance 'umanista' meant simply a professor of classical studies, and to Ariosto carried with it a suggestion of pedagogy, those who are known as the early humanists were whole-hearted lovers of moral and intellectual freedom, anxious to put a great heritage to the best use. The forerunners—Bruni, Poggio, Niccolo de' Niccoli—have already been mentioned; they were immediately

followed by others of their countrymen whose work was even more valuable; among them we may notice the Florentine Poliziano (Politian), who rationalised criticism. This generation was to grow old before Italian humanists as a class were debased into pedants or libertines.

Classical learning, however, was not a secular prerogative. When, in 1437, Nicholas V became pontiff on account of his scholarship alone, Europe had an unmistakable sign that the new culture met with the approval of the Church. An able and industrious man with few prejudices and an insatiable thirst

Papal sanction for the new culture for learning, Nicholas was desirous of making the wisdom of ancient

Athens and Rome accessible to all. To this end he founded the Vatican library, with the intention (carried into effect by Sixtus IV) of opening it to the public. To this end he showered his liberality on the humanists, and commissioned Latin translations of Greek historical, philosophical and geographical works, which were of immense temporary value. He made Rome the intellectual capital of Italy for a space, and in his endeavour to beautify the city gave encouragement to the slowly developing artistic taste of the age. The subsequent election (1458) of the free-thinking and indiscreet Aeneas Sylvius (Piccolomini) to the papal chair as Pius II showed how strong was the position of Italian humanism. When we remember that the pope was still regarded as the spiritual head of Christendom, the importance of the enthusiasm for classical culture of these two enlightened men will readily be perceived. Aeneas Sylvius might renounce worldly learning on taking office, but his pontificate, in conjunction with that of Nicholas V, resulted in a semi-official overthrow of scholasticism, of the rigid system of thought that had constrained the best minds of the Middle Ages.

We have endeavoured to indicate the extent to which we are in debt to the Italian humanists, who by their unremitting studies all unconsciously laid the foundations of modern intellectual culture, criticism and science. A further

service of a different nature must be acknowledged: they directed men's thoughts towards a purer conception of religion. For it must be recollected that, although there were a few brilliant ecclesiastical scholars like Nicholas V

or the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, the vast majority of churchmen consisted of

conservatives and reactionaries. The comparatively broad-minded Council of Constance, for example, thought it right that Huss should be burned; even Nicholas V upheld the papal supremacy, with all that it implied. Reason was still proscribed where essential doctrines, so-called, were concerned.

For every scholar in its ranks, the Church still produced (witness Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*) at least a score of complacent jugglers with words—fools like Rabelais' Janotus de Bragmardo, pretenders to wisdom whose arguments were quips or gibberish, and who sought to impress by mystification. Again, the garbled Latin of the Bragmardos of the early Renaissance was purer than that of most parish priests, by whom the common folk were instructed what to believe.

Nor were ignorance and stupidity the only evils fostered by the ecclesiastical system: the Church had become a vast wholesale and retail salvation supply corporation. Alexander VI gaily summarised the morality of the Roman Curia—his experience of its methods extended over thirty years—in a phrase: 'God desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall live and pay.' The corruption and gross materialism that debased religion were not the causes of the widespread decay of spirituality but its results. Throughout the Middle Ages Christianity had not been recognized as being intrinsically valuable, except by rare geniuses like S. Francis of Assisi: it was considered as a ladder, the only ladder, to eternal bliss, and virtue was not a free-will offering but a payment made for future benefits. Ecclesiastics laid stress upon the position of the priest as divinely appointed mediator between God and men, and emphasised the mystery of the Christian religion. Philosophical speculation was regarded with

Religion's debt to Humanism



SAINT AND PHILOSOPHER

The identity of philosophy and religion was the main thesis expounded by Marsilio Ficino (1433-69), professor of Platonic doctrine at Florence. Andrea Ferrucci carved this sympathetic portrait bust of him.

Florence Cathedral; photo, Alinari

suspicion and usually suppressed as tending to differentiate between the mystery inherent in the Faith and the excrescent mystery. In making Christianity a means, instead of an end, the Church eventually commercialised religion; and in systematising its teaching substituted superstition for understanding by imperceptible degrees.

Against the sacerdotalism and general worldliness of the Church, the humanists set all that was noblest in the philosophy of ancient Greece. They were almost too revolutionary in intention, since the superiority of Plato's and Aristotle's teaching over that of the contemporary Church encouraged them to abandon Christian ideals for pagan cynicism. Pope Leo X, to cite an extreme instance, seriously exclaimed: 'What profit has not this myth of Christ brought to us!' But this excess carried with it the most

salutary corrective. Study of Greek metaphysics brought a new, philosophical understanding of Christianity, a fresh perception of its beauty and completeness.

For this the Platonists were largely responsible, since their contributions to metaphysical studies had a great influence upon thought. Marsilio Ficino, for example, in his *De Religione Christiana*, established by philosophic methods a rational belief in the divine nature of the Christian faith. It was acceptable alike to the Italian intellectuals of his own day, to men who refused to accept the dogmas of scholasticism and the mandates of ecclesiastical authority, and to the students of northern Europe, like Reuchlin, who were to have so great an influence in the future. Ficino and his associates showed that intellectual liberty was not only compatible with Christianity, but inseparable from it; few so much as glance at Ficino's writings to-day, but the truths that he endeavoured to express have done much to mould modern ideas.

The contribution made by the Platonists to progress, however, did not merely consist in a well-knit and widely acceptable argument: they restored to western Europe Platonism and faith in Man—the basis of Christianity Greek philosophy as of Roman law—and in the intellect of Man. Facile admission of the inscrutability of God's purpose had in the Middle Ages been the doctrine of obscurantists, the mantle of dunces and a gesture convenient to the lazy. But desire to know all and to test all by philosophic means, perception of the vast intellectual achievements of thinkers who had not been content with supernatural explanations of every difficult problem, made the Platonists disbelieve that God wished His works to be so completely veiled as the medieval Church pretended. The ecclesiastical system had resulted, in Michelet's phrase, 'in the creation of a people of fools'; the philosophers could not promise to create a people of sages, but they taught that each man should have the opportunity to shape his own destiny. This ideal has helped to form our society in that it is the essence of religious and political toleration.

Throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century the intellectual Renaissance had been mainly Italian, and it must be acknowledged that in no other country in western Europe could the movement have had its inception and so free a growth. Italy, with its rich city states (which resembled not a little those of ancient Greece) ruled by men who were themselves anxious to learn, and its ancient traditions, made an admirable garden of acclimatisation for the revived classical culture. But with Erasmus of Rotterdam scholarship passed over the Alps, and became the force that it has subsequently been in the more bracing atmosphere of France, England and Germany. Aldo Manuzio and his fellow printers were yet to serve mankind nobly, but Italian humanism perished in a morass of pedantry and *fin-de-siècle* profligacy; the morning glory of the Italian Renaissance survived only in her art. Here Italy was supreme; and the achievements of her painters and sculptors have never since been surpassed.

During the Middle Ages religion was the principal if not the only source of artistic inspiration. Art, indeed, had only been recognized as a means to an end—the adornment of the Church. Gothic had been evolved and developed until it was incapable of further advance; there were skilled carvers of wood and stone, but their genius was

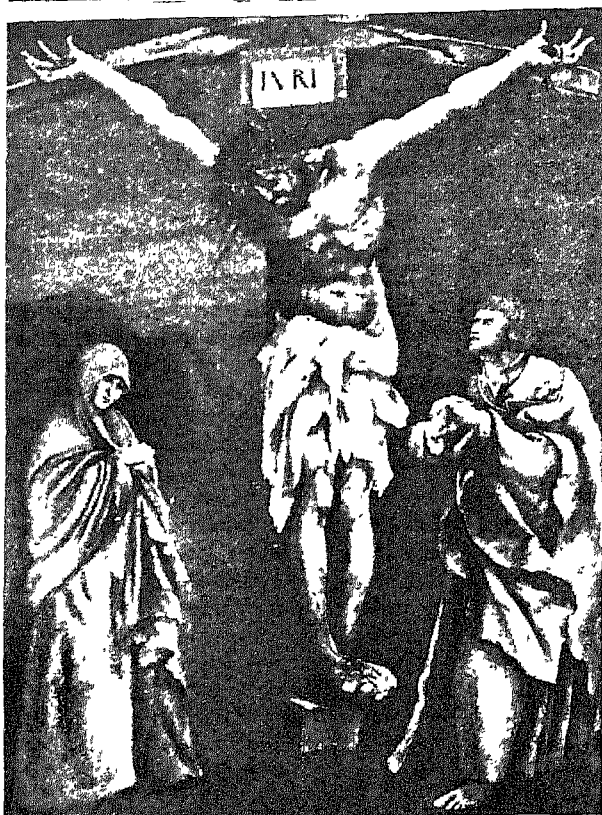
Religious source cramped by the utilitarian
of Medieval art restrictions set upon sculpture; the illuminating of manuscripts had been brought to a high standard of excellence. There is no knowing what fantastically ingenious devices would have been conceived had art continued to revolve within its narrow medieval limits; classicism, however, swept away all the restraining barriers, and gave artists a new ideal.

For the classical revival created a fresh, invigorating atmosphere, an atmosphere especially congenial to the growth of art, and recalled from Greek and Latin literature noble theories of life that had not originated in the Bible and were therefore free from Semitic or medieval transcendentalism. These theories, when assimilated, restored to man a sense of

the beauty of the world. The result was a general movement away from the ascetic teaching of the Church, from the medieval belief that the soul was everything and the body nothing, to a belief in the primary importance of physical existence. Men began to appreciate beauty without speculating upon its religious value; hitherto, **Reawakened love of Beauty** for example, Vergil had been admired largely because he was supposed to have prophesied the advent of the Messiah: now he was loved as a great poet. Similarly, the sublimity of ancient Athenian and Roman sculpture was made a standard for the new art.

This great change in man's attitude may best be illustrated by concrete examples. On crucifixes of the Middle Ages Christ was represented with stiff, emaciated limbs, horribly strained and distorted by the torture that He endured; His face was either drawn with agony or filled with pity that men should be unwilling to benefit by His sacrifice. The purpose of these images is solely to remind worshippers of the central event in the mission of Christ; they are utterly unlovely and they were never intended to have any aesthetic value. This sombre emphasis laid upon suffering, upon the subjection of the flesh and upon the ugliness of violent death, is typically medieval. Its effects are admirably shown in the famous fifteenth-century frescoes of the Church of S. Severin in Cologne; here the Christ has stiff, macerated limbs and a face heavy in death: if we did not know the religious significance of the picture we would find it merely sordid.

How different are the conceptions of the masters of the Renaissance! It is true that some artists, especially those belonging to Flemish and German schools, still followed the tradition of the Middle Ages and elaborated with great skill all that was most terrible in the scene of the Crucifixion, notably Grünewald, as in his repulsive study of Christ on the Cross at Kassel. But on the whole the theme is treated in a new spirit. Giotto's crucifix in the Arena Chapel at Padua, Michelangelo's Descent from the Cross, in the National Gallery in London, and the



STARK HORROR OF GERMAN REALISM

German art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reveals a very remarkable indifference or insensibility to beauty. Mistaking crude realism for truth in art, German painters, even of great genius, produced works such as this Crucifixion by Matthias Grunewald which are positively repulsive.

Kassel Gallery, photo, Mansell

Avignon Pietà, now in the Louvre—to take but three instances—all contain very beautiful representations of Christ: He is primarily a young man glorious in death; that He has suffered is less obviously conveyed. Here, therefore, however deep the ultimate religious motives of the artists may have been, appeal is made to our joy in physical loveliness. As significant of the change that had been wrought by the classical revival is the fact that Leonardo da Vinci painted Bacchus and S. John the Baptist from the same model, and did not attempt to disguise his so doing. By depicting them in similar attitudes he makes it impossible for us not to perceive the anomaly.

An analogous tendency is to be found in the works of all the great Italian artists

of the period. Botticelli turned from the saints and their edifying lives, and achieved such lyrics on canvas as *Spring* and *The Birth of Venus*. There are critics who quarrel with his art, but none can deny that he was inspired by the realization of the world's beauty that had made men see nymphs among the olive groves when Rome was young. Michelangelo gave the figures in his religious paintings, and especially those in the Sistine Chapel, a serene beauty so awe-inspiring and so complete a naturalness that his work has never since been equalled. His *Pietà* in S. Peter's and the lovely women (personifying Night and Dawn) that form part of the monuments erected by him to the memory of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici emphasise forcibly the difference between Michelangelo's conceptions and those of medieval sculptors. Like Leonardo he possessed the power of creating an ideal beauty; both are equals of the Greek artists in spirit and in the grandeur of their achievements, while Botticelli

more closely resembles in genius the Latin poets of the Golden Age. All three, however, definitely departed from the traditions of the Middle Ages, and, to employ an appropriate figure, burned incense again on the long neglected altar of Apollo. They made art an end sufficient in itself—as it has remained—and helped to give life the fullness that it has to-day.

A volume might be devoted to the means by which the mechanical triumphs of the Renaissance painters were won, but here we need only indicate how much we owe to their perseverance, skill and study of the chemistry of pigments. Giotto may be considered the 'father' of Renaissance art, since, although he never altogether escaped from the Byzantine conventions of Italian medieval painting,

he was the first Italian to paint naturalistically. But he worked in tempera—an inadequate medium. It was through the adoption and improvement in Italy of the method of painting in oil colours invented by the Van Eycks in the Netherlands that art progressed so far and so fast in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century and has had a subsequent history so eventful.

Only by the use of oils were the Venetians—Tintoretto and Giorgione, and, above all, Titian—enabled to put on canvas a vast range of colours unequalled for depth, clarity and richness; and it is to them that we owe our perception of the splendour that may be attained by art. Although Michelangelo could achieve grandeur working in tempera, the supreme quality in Leonardo's work that Pater has called 'finesse' and the great humanity of Raphael's pictures are due to the fact that these artists employed oils. Again, the material bequests of the Renaissance masters to us—the works of art themselves—were largely secured by the practice of this kind of painting, since one of its greatest virtues is that it enables colour and canvas to resist decay. 'How to paint a picture that will last almost for ever,' Leonardo wrote at the head of a chapter in his treatise on painting, and proceeded to give technical advice. That even his understanding was incomplete is shown by the deterioration of the colours in his *Mona Lisa*; but we may remember that the advance in knowledge of the technique of painting made by him was very much greater than that made by the artists of western Europe during three centuries after his death.

What value must we set upon the artistic movement of the Renaissance? As we have observed above, it undoubtedly did lead men away from (medieval) Christianity, since idealists, turning de-

spondently from the ascetic teaching and materialistic practice of the Church, found relief in the paganism of an art that spiritualised earthly things, as intellectuals surrendered themselves to Greek philosophy. But this art engendered a more natural and therefore more healthy and fertile spirit in men. It was sensuous, not sensual: like those objects which Aristotle considered truly beautiful it was 'signalised by the absence of lust or desire in the pleasure it bestowed.'

Useful as it was in adding to Man's experience and aesthetic enjoyment of the world, however, its importance did not only depend upon this function; Renaissance art had a vital humanising influence. Painters and sculptors laid stress upon what was beautiful in religion as in life, restoring to Man, as did those who published abroad the lessons of classical literature, a sense of human dignity, while at the same time making it possible for him to hold a conception of Christianity



TENDERNESS OF THE RENAISSANCE SPIRIT

The serene beauty free from the least suggestion of horror that distinguishes all Michelangelo's representations of the Passion is very notable in this sympathetic Entombment of Christ. Michelangelo made the sketch for this picture between 1535 and 1540, but never actually completed the picture itself.

National Gallery, London

that was nobler than the mechanical asceticism of the Middle Ages. These considerations apart, the creation of beauty for itself alone, in pictures, in sculpture, in palaces and churches—for although the masterpieces of Renaissance architecture largely post-date the Renaissance they are, nevertheless, its fruits—is emphatically a moral end. We would therefore account the art that had its birth in the fifteenth century one of the great civilizing forces of the modern world.

In 1490—when Botticelli, temporarily under the influence of Savonarola's preaching, was at work upon exquisite studies of the Virgin, when Lodovico Sforza was quarrelling unprofitably with Leonardo over an equestrian statue, and Michelangelo was yet learning the rudiments of art in Ghirlandaio's studio—an artist possessed of very different ideals laid the foundations of a business that was materially to facilitate the spread of learning throughout Europe. In this year Aldo Manuzio



BEAUTY BEFORE ALL ELSE

That physical beauty was a prime object of the Italian Renaissance artists is demonstrated by the fact that Leonardo da Vinci painted this Bacchus and S. John the Baptist (left) from the same model and in the same pose.

The Louvre; photos, Alinari and (left) Mansell



(usually known by the Latinised version of his name—Aldus Manutius—to which he himself sometimes added 'Roman and Philhellene') established his printing press in Venice, anxious to profit by the prosperity and haughty tolerance of the greatest commercial centre in Italy. Hitherto, classical scholars had depended on manuscripts, rare, extravagantly dear and often inaccurate, and the path to learning was consequently extremely difficult. The importance of printing, one of the many bequests of the Renaissance, was therefore almost inestimable; but as

its significance is discussed at length in Chapter 125 we shall not elaborate the subject here. Let it suffice to demonstrate the practical nature of Aldo's humanism.

Five volumes of Aristotle were issued by his press between 1495 and 1498, together with nine comedies of Aristophanes in the latter year; between 1502 and 1509 were issued editions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, Xenophon, Demosthenes and Plutarch; Plato followed in 1513. Thus did Aldo proclaim his Philhellenic sympathies; but his labours for Latin and Italian literature were scarcely less valuable. Although he was not first in the field, and had distinguished rivals in Mainz, Breslau, Basel, Florence, Bologna, Milan, Rome and even Venice, no contemporary printer produced editions so scholarly and so beautiful in every respect: even the justly celebrated work of the Estiennes in the forties of the sixteenth century did not surpass Aldo's best. It was, however,



MICHELANGELO'S LIBYAN SIBYL

Prophets and sibyls in earnest meditation occupy the lower portion of the vaulting of the Sistine Chapel. This Libyan Sibyl is typical of all in showing Michelangelo's power of embodying the ideal and the real.

The Vatican; photo, Anderson

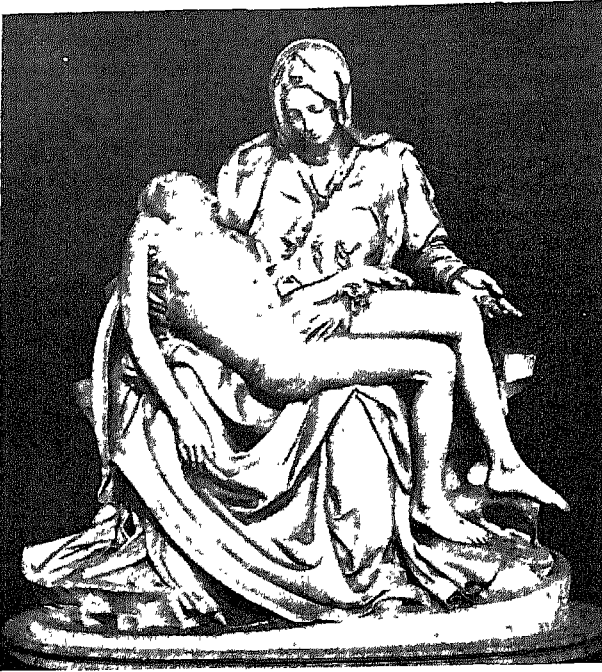


HUMAN FORM AND FACE DELINEATED AT THEIR HIGHEST POWER

Michelangelo's frescoes for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, painted between 1508 and 1512, are a masterpiece of the High Renaissance. They depict the story of Genesis from the

limbs—occupying the fourth of the nine sections of the main field. Realism reaches perfection in the drawing of the human figures and sublimity is attained in the calm majesty of the countenances.

The Vatican; photo, Anderson



THE SUM OF HUMAN SORROW

Michaelangelo carved this exquisite Pietà in 1498. With magnificent technique he here embodied in marble ideal beauty unmarred by realistic insistence upon the effect of grief on the heart-broken mother or of death upon her Son.

S. Pietro in Vaticano; photo, Anderson

from Froben's press at Basel that the most vital work of the Renaissance was published in 1516. This was Erasmus' New Testament—the Greek text with critical notes and a Latin translation that deviated widely from the Vulgate; it made possible Luther's German Bible and ultimately the English Authorised Version.

With the appearance of Erasmus the Renaissance had entered upon a new phase. Infinite labour had been expended upon classical studies, but there had been no powerfully constructive result; indeed, Italy's intellectual contributions to the culture of the Renaissance, if we except Machiavelli's Prince and historical writings and Tasso's poetry, were of a definitely subordinate nature. The Church, too, despite the humanistic learnings of her princes, had now become strongly reactionary. But German scholars, like Ulrich von Hutten and Reuchlin, set to work where their Italian predecessors had stopped, and Holland

produced Desiderius Erasmus, the most learned man and one of the wisest in his generation.

In his industry, scholarship, hatred of obscurantism and desire for enlightenment, Erasmus might be taken as personifying all that was best in the spirit of the Renaissance. However bitterly he might complain in his letters of the treatment accorded him, he never allowed himself to be tempted or coerced from his self-appointed task—the abolition of ignorance, which he regarded as the cause of all the evils of his day. His European influence was immense, and no man of the Renaissance did more to realize the ideal of intellectual liberty.

As an avowed disciple of the Greek philosophers, Erasmus sought to exalt reason over the dogmatism of the Church; but, unlike the Florentine Platonists, never

underrated Christianity. 'The sum of our religion is peace and unanimity, which can only be brought about when we define as little as possible, and when we leave the judgement

free on the greatest number of matters.' He believed *The doctrines of Erasmus*

that faith might be derived immediately from the Bible; but 'the Scriptures are sterile if we do not find their essential meaning.' Priestly interpreters were worse than useless: they had been proven tricksters, either for gain or through sheer ignorance. Man must discover the truth for himself and the means was learning—classical learning, since it was the purest available. Meanwhile, the New Testament—'an unknown book to the mass of Christians'—should be accessible to as many as could read Latin: the genuine New Testament, not the 'makeshift in Gothic Latin,' as Sir Thomas More called the Vulgate. Thus it was that Erasmus published his translation, with the original Greek text as proof of his

accuracy and to afford other scholars the opportunity of following in his footsteps.

Despite all the efforts of the humanists, there were still few whose knowledge of classical Latin was sufficient to allow them to acquire that culture which Erasmus considered necessary for progress, and still fewer had any Greek. There were no dictionaries nor grammars suitable for a tiro. To help the ordinary man, accordingly, Erasmus collected eight hundred quotations from Latin authors, added short comments or remarks, and published the anthology as the *Adagiorum Collectanea*, or the *Adagia*. It was first issued in 1500, and its success was enormous. The wit of Erasmus' comments may have been the cause of this instantaneous popularity, but his selective genius and his beautiful Latinity made the *Adagia* an excellent text-book for students, and so gave it enduring value. Subsequent



BOTTICELLI—BY HIMSELF

Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510) was one of the earliest Italian painters who broke with the traditions of the Middle Ages. This self-portrait appears in his *Adoration of the Magi*, painted in 1477.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Anderson



SELF-PORTRAIT OF LEONARDO

Besides exceptional intellectual energy and an unequalled range of creative genius Leonardo da Vinci (see also Chapter 127) was endowed by nature with great personal beauty, engaging personality and a sweet temper. All these qualities are discernible in this portrait painted by himself.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Anderson

editions were enlarged until the book contained thousands of excerpts, and the demand for it was constant. The *Colloquies*—models of Latin conversation—won a similar success. The authorised edition appeared at Louvain in 1519, and within three years large editions had also been published in most of the great cities between London and Cracow. As a humanising force this work was even more influential than the *Adagia*.

We have laid emphasis upon these three works—the New Testament, the *Adagia* and the *Colloquia*—because of the importance of the first named in the Reformation movement and of the other two in the advancement of learning. It is to be



NATURALISM IN RELIGIOUS ART

Giotto began his wonderful frescoes representing the history of the Virgin and Christ in the Chapel of the Arena at Padua, in 1306. He was the first Italian artist to breathe life into the dry conventions of religious art, and to attribute natural action and feeling to the figures—as in this Virgin with angels

Capella all' Arena, Padua; photo, Alinari

remembered, however, that they represent but a small section of Erasmus' works, theological, critical, scholastic and satirical. His translations from classical and Patristic Greek literature have been superseded; his philosophic Christianity was quickly forgotten in the clash of creeds, and his satires have been banished to the dusty shelves of libraries with the decay of Latin scholarship. But his services to culture through his advocacy of learning cannot be overpraised, and modern thought is very much nearer to his than to that of several generations of his successors. At a time when Italian humanism was stagnating he brought enlightenment to northern Europe; he was the first to struggle for the intellectual and physical toleration that we regard

to-day as the foundations of the Rights of Man. His enthusiasm pointed the way to future scholars and his labours facilitated their progress.

We have observed above that with Erasmus scholarship crossed the Alps. It flourished strongly for a period in Germany—Reuchlin, von Hutten, Melanchthon and the humanist archbishop of Mainz (Albert of Brandenburg) were outstanding contemporaries of Erasmus—only to wilt before the antagonism of Luther and the Lutheran bigots. 'Reason is a harlot of the devil,' taught Dr. Luther; and thundered: 'Perish the graces of language, perish the wonders of learning: they obscure the glory of Christ.' As Erasmus sought to broaden Man's horizons, so Luther sought to narrow them; and—since the undesirable parts of the legacy of the Renaissance must not be overlooked—we still suffer from his violence. For the philosophy and tolerance of the humanists he substituted dogmas which included 'God has an

eternal hatred of man' (the words are Melanchthon's) and intolerance. But in defining one form of Protestantism Luther performed a great service (which is appraised in Chapter 131), and in translating the Bible into German an even greater. **Luther's place in the Renaissance** But we must nevertheless remember that his teaching was very largely responsible for the decay of learning that set in throughout northern Germany.

In England the propagation of learning was also impeded by authorities ecclesiastical and secular, but to a lesser extent, so that it took root firmly and grew. The humanists—Colet, Grocyn, Linacre and More—were all profoundly influenced by Erasmus, and it was largely due to him

that classical schools were established on a stable basis in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The teaching of the humanists was not greatly affected either by the Caesarism of Henry VIII or the bigotry of Mary Tudor's advisers. Between the liberalism of More (1478-1535), whose critical genius and constructive mind enabled him to rank with the great European scholars of his age, and that of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) there was no interval of decadence; and Bacon is at once of the Renaissance and of our own era. The *Utopia* is as valuable humanistically as the famous *Essays*, and shows that More possessed a spirit of inquiry comparable with that of the other great Chancellor. Perhaps, indeed, the work of More and his friends was more significant for the future, since it had the extension and improvement of education as its main object. That Bacon could assume a high degree of education in his readers is striking evidence of the triumph of English humanism.

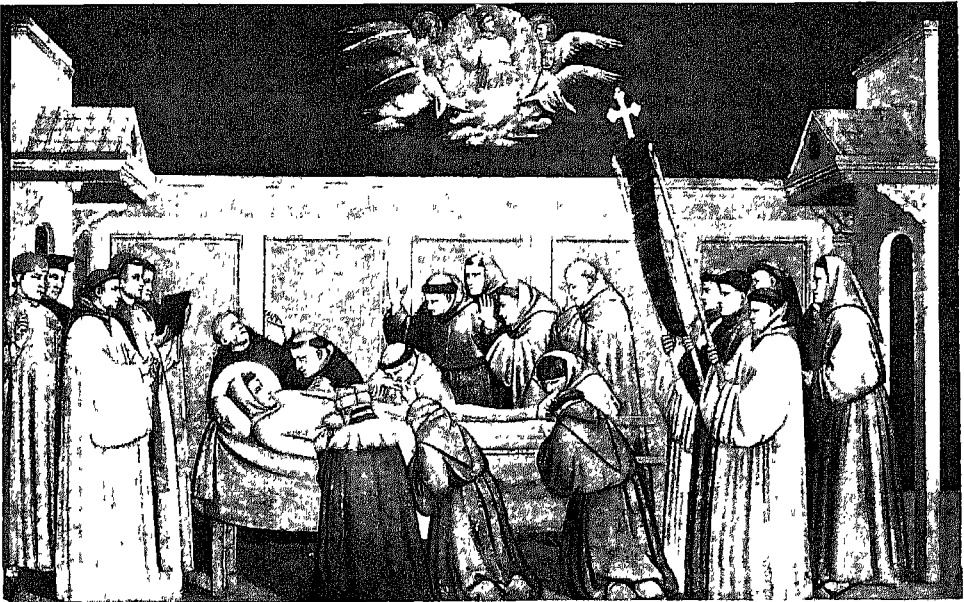
The workings of the Renaissance spirit in England, however, can best be observed

in the plays of Shakespeare. Marlowe, his contemporary, swallowed early humanism whole, and made no effort to digest it, his work breathes discontent, violent but indefinite, revolt, desire to know all and do all, even to setting

... black streamers in the firmament

To signify the slaughter of the gods

Lumps of irrelevant classical learning follow passages of the purest poetry: all is in the utmost confusion. Shakespeare, on the other hand, learnt all that the Renaissance had to teach. His thought is as free from shackles as Marlowe's, but is carefully disciplined; he substitutes informed philosophy for mere exuberant rhetoric; classicism has become an element in his writings instead of being the gorgeous ornament that it is in Marlowe's. Whether we regard Shakespeare's plays, therefore, as psychological studies, as illustrations of the humanising power of the Renaissance, as the sublime expression of a noble philosophy, or, belatedly remembering their author's intention, simply as drama, they constitute one of the greatest bequests of the



GIOTTO'S DEATH OF S. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Giotto's frescoes were executed in tempera and have suffered much at the hands of time and of the restorer. Some of his best work is in the Bardi chapel of S. Croce at Florence, representing scenes in the life of S. Francis. They were probably painted between 1317 and 1330 and are characterised by their truthfulness to nature and freedom from superfluous decoration. The fresco here reproduced shows S. Francis on his deathbed with (above) a vision of the departed saint blessing Assisi.

S. Croce Florence; photo, Anderson



HOLLAND'S GREAT HUMANIST

'No man of the Renaissance did more to realize the ideal of intellectual liberty' than Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). This portrait of him was painted at Basel in 1523 by Hans Holbein.

The Louvre; photo, Girardon

Renaissance not only to the English-speaking but to the whole civilized world.

In France the Renaissance was very fertile. But in its early stages its manifestations were so different from those to be observed in Italy as to suggest that the movement was of spontaneous growth. Be this as it may, the fruits of the new spirit were glorious. Italian art was balanced by French literature. Rabelais, Marot, Marguerite de Navarre, Des Periers, Ronsard, Du Bellay, Montaigne, Malherbe—all were of the Renaissance; and two, Rabelais and Montaigne, were thinkers of a very high order. All had a freshness of spirit, an exuberance and fascination that very considerably influenced subsequent literature, not only in France but in England, and even in Italy. And, though they were all affected in some degree by the classical revival, they speak with voices that are unmistakably modern. When we compare their works with those of Charles d'Orléans and Villon, or even (so far as is possible) with those of Petrarch and Boccaccio, we perceive immediately how greatly the

Renaissance had already changed the attitude of society towards intellectual culture.

This is well illustrated in Rabelais, whose contributions to thought were both varied and important. It is an unpleasant reflection upon human nature that to-day his name is largely remembered in association with coarse humour of a boisterous type, while the fact that he did much to promote the teaching of anatomy by scientific methods is usually forgotten. Rabelais' was a many-sided mind: he was a learned botanist and a distinguished physician, an architect, a clever amateur lawyer, a scholar, a philosopher, an inspired humorist and an educationist. His ideas upon education are remarkable for wisdom, moderation and common-sense; if they were never carried into effect at least his enthusiasm for education and for classical learning generally served as an inspiration to his contemporaries and those that followed him, as is repeatedly shown in their writings. He may, indeed, be considered the representative of French humanism; and much of his teaching, such as his advocacy of



HEBRAIST AND REFORMER

Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) was perhaps the greatest scholar and jurist that Germany produced in the fifteenth century. In particular, the impetus he gave to the study of Hebrew was of great effect in the Reformation

Courtesy of Dr. Charles Singer

disinterested work for the good of mankind, has as great an application to the world to-day as it had to sixteenth-century France.

Very much less influential as a thinker, though still more profound, Montaigne is extraordinarily interesting from a historical point of view as bearing witness to the success of the labours of the French humanists. For his essays are the fruit of classical study thoroughly assimilated, and demonstrate in an illuminating manner its humanising power.

No survey of the French Renaissance and its message would be complete without some mention of Jean Calvin. He is primarily important, of course, as a religious teacher—in which capacity he was, like Luther, a reactionary and an enemy of intellectual freedom—but, after Rabelais, he was the greatest writer of French prose in his age. As a logician he was without equal, and he was considerable as a political thinker; but his greatness was due to his giving definite shape and doctrines (see Chap. 131) to



GERMAN POET AND PATRIOT

Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), scholar and satirist, sympathised with both the humanists and the reformers. He attacked papal pretensions and sought, in his stirring poems, to rouse the dormant patriotism of German nobles.

Berlin Photographische Gesellschaft



A LITERARY ARCHBISHOP

Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg (1490-1545), archbishop of Mainz, was a liberal-minded man and, though a staunch Catholic, a friend of Von Hutten and Erasmus and a generous patron of letters, who did much for German humanism.

From the painting by Cranach, State Museum, Berlin

the second vital form of Protestantism born of the Renaissance—Lutheranism being the first. Whatever his faults, Calvin knew exactly whither he wished to go: throughout his life he proceeded logically, remorselessly and, one would say, dispassionately, to mould that creed which bears his name, and which has had, and continues to have, so powerful an influence upon certain types of mind.

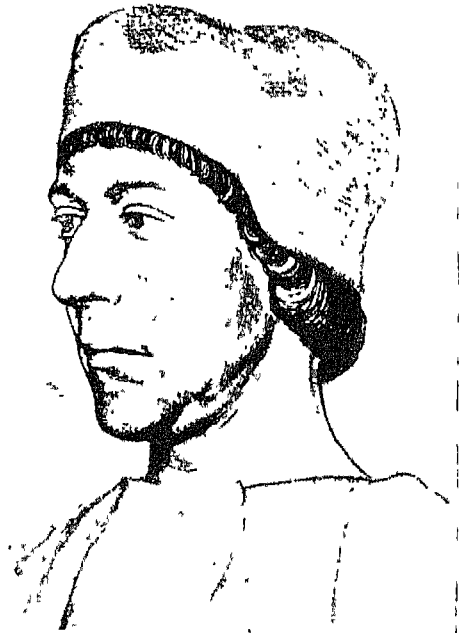
Although Calvin was hostile towards liberal culture, his system was intellectual and thus favoured learning within limits. But it is to his most distinguished disciple, John Knox, that we owe the most enlightened plan for general education evolved during the period of the Renaissance—a plan that has been fully realized.

From the earliest days of the classical revival the necessity of adapting the instruction of youth in accordance with new ideas had been perceived. But in most countries no formal steps were taken towards satisfying this need until the Jesuits appeared with their ingenious



programme of education combined with propaganda. The universities, however, were everywhere reformed and their syllabuses extended; but as a rule it was only the sons of the rich who enjoyed an adequate preliminary training.

Francis I founded at Paris the 'Collège Royal,' later to become that Collège de France which had so great an influence for good upon French culture. The idea may have come from Erasmus, or his fellow humanist, Bude; on the other hand, Francis was capable of evolving it himself when in a grandiose mood. In England, too, the authorities had both the intelligence and the power to ameliorate radically the conditions of education. Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset all had a share in the work; and the many grammar-schools endowed by Edward VI are famous. In Scotland there was founded a system by which even the peasantry could freely participate in the advantages of intellectual culture.



HUMANISTS WHO FOSTERED THE RENAISSANCE SPIRIT IN ENGLAND

The activity of the humanists and their disciples is one of the main features of the English Renaissance. John Colet (right), scholar and divine, was a Londoner who founded S. Paul's School; his remarkable lectures on S. Paul's Epistles mark a distinct break with old scholastic methods. Linacre (top), humanist and Greek scholar, numbered More (bottom left) among his pupils. The conscientious refusal of the latter to take the oath of supremacy in 1534 led to his execution in 1535.

Top, engraving after painting in Royal College of Physicians; bottom, drawings by Holbein in British Museum

For this Knox's scheme was to some extent responsible, but we must remember that it was only partially realized in his own day; even as an ideal, however, it is valuable as a proof of the victory of Renaissance learning over medieval ignorance. Knox laid down:

That every church have a schoolmaster appointed, such an one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation [i.e. importance]. If it be upland [i.e. in the country] then must the reader or the minister take care of the children and youth of the parish . . . We think it necessary that in every notable town there be erected a college, in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the tongues, shall be read by sufficient masters. For these honest stipends must be appointed; and provision made for these [scholars] that are poor, . . . especially such as come from landward.

The rich were to be constrained to send their sons to a university; the sons of the poor were to be educated at the Kirk's expense if they proved worthy of this care. The principal sub-

Curriculum in the Kirk schools
 subjects to be taught were scripture, grammar, Latin, the arts, philosophy 'and the other tongues' (principally Greek and Hebrew); but time was to be given to the study in which pupils intended 'chiefly to travail for the profit of the commonwealth.' Medicine, physics, mathematics, geography, ethics, economics and politics were not overlooked; while provision was to be made for the teaching of Roman law. Education was to continue until the students reached twenty-four years of age. This extensive programme was actually adopted by the Scottish universities; Knox only failed in his endeavour to make education truly democratic, and his failure was by no means absolute. We cannot but be impressed by the similarity between his project and the school and university system actually existing in all civilized countries to-day.

We notice that in the list of subjects which Knox wished to have taught, medicine had a place. It was only beginning to be a science during his lifetime (1513-72), for its medieval exponents were witch-doctors rather than doctors



THE PROGRESSIVE PHILOSOPHER

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), English jurist and writer, sought to substitute direct thinking for medieval syllogistic methods. Experimentalist and innovator, he anticipated many modern developments in his *Essays* and *New Atlantis*.

National Portrait Gallery, London

of medicine. Even the Arabs, by far the ablest physicians in the Middle Ages, could not dissociate it from astrology. With the revival of Greek learning, however, Hippocrates and the authentic text of Galen (as distinguished from the debased medieval texts) were studied with interest, and translated into Latin for the benefit of the many practitioners who could not understand the original language—it was an Englishman, the great Linacre, who produced the best Latin version of Galen. The indirect influence of these authorities was, however, greater than the direct; it was the spirit of inquiry aroused by the study of them and of the philosophers that brought modern medical science into being.

Rabelais' endeavours to improve the teaching of anatomy have been mentioned; but they are of minor importance when

compared with those of Vesalius of Padua, who was led by Galen's work on dissection to experiment on his own account. His illustrated treatise, *The Fabric of the Human Body* (1543), contained a complete refutation of many of the contentions of his Greek master, and helped to revolutionise the practice of surgery and also of medicine. His colleague Montanus, who by study of the Greeks and unremitting labours had developed scientific methods of investigating disease, was a teacher of international fame; and through his pupils disseminated the new medical knowledge throughout Europe. Among the most notable was John Caius, a humanist who founded a college at Cambridge, and the author of several scientific monographs. Meanwhile, the conclusions of the German Bombastes von Hohenheim (Paracelsus, 1490-1541) had been published, and furnished exact, valuable and highly original information

as to the treatment of disease by drugs. Von Hohenheim's methods not only gave an immense impetus to this branch of medical research, but were not bettered for centuries to come.

By these men, therefore, and others less celebrated but no less eager to acquire a scientific comprehension of their subject, the foundations of modern medicine were laid. It is to be remarked that the inspiration came primarily from the study of those classical texts that were discovered and edited by the Italian humanists; but individual research played a great part in the achievement of invaluable results; and systematic observation, by means of which so great an advance has subsequently been made, began to be practised for the first time since Hippocrates was rediscovered for the modern world. To Francis Bacon must be given the credit of having been the first thinker of international reputation to



TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW LEARNING IN FRANCE

Fiercest of satirists, François Rabelais (left), c. 1490-c. 1583, also excelled in medicine, philosophy, law, architecture and botany. His enthusiasm for education and classical learning marks him out as representative of French humanism in the sixteenth century. Montaigne (1533-1592), French writer and thinker, was the pioneer of the essay writers. It was his aim to avoid extremes in both religion and politics, and his essays are evidence of the influence of intensive classical study.

The Louvre and Musée Condé, Chantilly (photo, Giraudon)

heterodoxy of his opinions, tried to justify mathematics because he saw in the study a theological value. The recovery of the real Aristotle stripped some of the motley from science ; but had not Aristotle maintained (among other fallacies) that the earth was fixed and that sun, stars and planets revolved round it ? Plato, who expressed a contrary view, inspired men to tear the scholastic theories of the cosmos to shreds, and thus to prepare the way for true science.

The discovery of the heavens must be accounted one of the major achievements of the Renaissance. Its value as a contribution to knowledge is obvious ; but its psychological effect was even more important. During the medieval period it

FOUNDER OF HUMAN ANATOMY

Many identify the sitter in this canvas by Tintoretto as the great Paduan anatomist, Andreas Vesalius. By exhaustive research and far-reaching experiment Vesalius revolutionised medicine and typifies the Renaissance spirit in surgery.

Munch Pinakothek



perceive the importance of this system. 'We may note,' he says, in his *Dignity and Advancement of Learning*, 'the discontinuance of that useful method of Hippocrates, in writing narratives of particular cures with diligence and exactness, containing the nature, the cure and event of the distemper... This continuation of medical reports we find deficient, especially in form of an entire body, digested with proper care and judgement.' Bacon's real importance as a scientist, indeed, is in his advocacy of methodical and practical experiments : it was by the adoption of these suggestions and under the spur of the Renaissance spirit of inquiry that science made the huge strides which rendered possible the work of Harvey and Newton.

During the Middle Ages science was smothered by astrology, the Church and the Arabic Aristotle. Even Roger Bacon, who lay fourteen years in prison for the

DISCIPLE OF CALVIN

John Knox (1513-1572), the Scottish reformer and preacher, played a prominent part in the Reformation. Like Calvin, he favoured education, and his practical genius evolved a comprehensive system of study under Church patronage.

Engraving by W. Penny

was believed that the (fixed) world was the centre of the universe; and Rome, of course, was the 'umbilicus orbis.' When, in 1492, the westward voyage of Columbus (which, incidentally, was prompted by the study of Ptolemy the Geographer in a new Latin translation) showed men that there existed a 'New World' about which even the Church had never previously heard, faith in the infallibility of ecclesiastical pronouncements on geographical matters was rudely shaken. More disquieting, because more difficult of assimilation, was the new astronomical learning. The tradition of centuries, the preaching of the Church, the dictates of reason, all gave assurance that the earth was stable: can we blame those who refused to believe that it is whirling through space?

It is not easy to apportion the credit for the discovery of the heavens. Copernicus is popularly acclaimed the daring pioneer of modern astronomy, and he did discover much that was of the utmost



THE SECRET OF HEALTH

It was to the 'book of nature' that Paracelsus, the German physician, turned in search of remedies for human ills. To this end he wandered from country to country making discoveries that mark a definite advance in medicine.

Courtesy of Dr. Charles Singer



A STUDENT OF THE STARS

The Renaissance spirit of inquiry moved the Dane, Tycho Brahe, to delve into the mysteries of astronomy. His insistence upon accuracy improved the art of astronomical observation.

He is here shown at the age of forty.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon

importance. As we see both in the *Narratio Prima* (1540) of his pupil, Georgius Rheticus, and in his own *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres, 1543; see page 50), he had a perfectly just appreciation of the relativity of motion, and was able to upset all previous opinions regarding cosmic phenomena. But he held that the sun was the stationary centre of the universe, and, indeed, his theory included an unfortunately large number of anomalies. While, therefore, the brilliance of his reasoning was admired, his work was timidly received. Indeed, considering the startling nature of *De Revolutionibus*, the view expressed in Oslander's preface, to the effect that Copernicus' arguments should be regarded as purely hypothetical, was remarkably unprejudiced: to damn this criticism as criminal obscurantism, or the trick of a superstitious charlatan, shows complete lack of historical perspective.

But if the Copernican theory failed to convince, its plausibility was sufficient to awaken the liveliest curiosity in those thinkers of the Renaissance whose methods

entitle them to be called scientists. Among them was the celebrated Tycho Brahe, who had an acutely perceptive mind and no imagination whatsoever. His work, however, acted very effectively as a counterpoise to that of Copernicus, confirming much of the *De Revolutionibus*, refuting some sections. Tycho's calculations and the instruments which enabled him to make them were of an unprecedented delicacy and accuracy, so that he accumulated immense stores of valuable data. Further he was intellectually incapable of proceeding; but, fortunately, there appeared a mathematician of genius, Kepler, who used Tycho's discoveries to excellent purpose. He was able to construct accurately the geometric plan of the solar system. Galileo, his contemporary, has enjoyed a greater reputation—a tribute to his personality rather than to the originality of his thought. Like Tycho, he confirmed theories already current; his picturesque experiments on the leaning tower of Pisa, for example, were intended to substantiate the speculations of previous thinkers on the principle of acceleration of falling bodies. But in his invention of the telescope (see page 51) he made a very important contribution to science—particularly, of course, to the study of astronomy.

Realizing the psychological effects of the discoveries in astronomy, we are inclined to forget the achievements of those men of the Renaissance whose

science was earth-bound and whose work was consequently less impressive. Yet the invention of logarithms by Napier of Merchiston is worthy of commemoration, and the botanical studies of Rabelais,

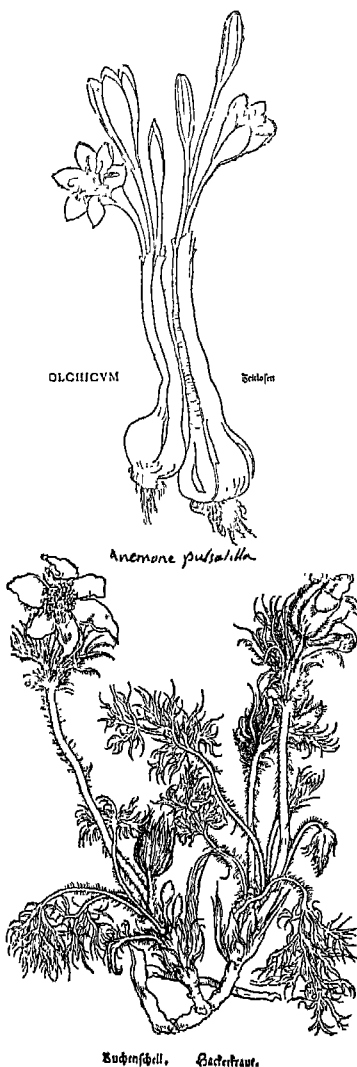
Brunfels and Fuchs did much to accelerate the progress of medicine.

So far we have been concerned with the intellectual and artistic bequests of the Renaissance; it now remains to consider its political legacy. This, however, is very difficult of appraisal, since the accepted value of political theories fluctuates from age to age. Individualism, for example, the inevitable fruit of the sense of Man's dignity awakened by the classical revival, is lauded in one period, condemned in the next. Again, the guild system, whose abolition has long been hailed as a step forward, finds a modern equivalent in trades-unionism. Whatever their value, however, the magnitude of the political changes wrought by the Renaissance cannot be diminished.

Connecting the intellectual with the political side of the Renaissance is the Reformation, which began not with Luther's famous theses, but at the Council of Constance, in 1418. Here the national spirit in religion was very clearly in evidence; here, too, although the

Great Schism was ended, it was demonstrated that the boasted universality of the Church was an antiquarian pretence.

Religion in the Middle Ages was catholic because orthodoxy was ill defined.



BOTANICAL ART PERFECTED

The sixteenth century saw a great advance in botanical illustration. A plant exquisitely drawn by Leonhard Fuchs is here shown (top), also a fine example from Otto von Brunfels (bottom)

The greatest heresies were antagonism towards the papal supremacy and desire to appropriate clerical wealth. The bulls issued by Gregory XI against Wycliffe, for example, principally accused him of having taught that it was the duty of the state to purify the Church by secularising its 'superfluous' property; that the pope had not the power to bind or loose; and that unjust excommunication was ipso facto

Heresy in the Middle Ages void. As an indication of the confusion existing, it may be noted that part of Wycliffe's preaching which was adjudged perniciously heterodox was derived from the early Fathers—those doctors so useful to the later reformers. But little trouble was caused by heresies that had regard to Christian doctrine—the tenets of the Albigenses can scarcely be accounted Christian. That there were few violent dissensions must not, however, be regarded as proof of uniformity of belief. Intellectually and spiritually Abélard was as different from Thomas à Kempis as Luther from Cardinal Pole. The Church was sufficiently tolerant to honour a S. Francis and a Baldassare Cossa, a Hildebrand and an Erigena.

New ideals born of new studies divided the Church irreparably at the Renaissance. For motives partly intellectual, partly political, definition of its own creed was next attempted by each of the warring parties. Luther hammered a body of doctrine from crude metaphysics, mysticism, German patriotism and impatience of papal claims, and proceeded to persecute those who did not subscribe to it. Calvin, whose mind was at once finer and narrower, shaped a more rigid and more logical creed, and put dissenters to death. The erratic but genuine tolerance of the Catholic Church withered and died in the dusty committee rooms of the Council of Trent, whence emerged the 'Roman' Catholic Church, also possessed now of inflexible dogmas and the ambition to enforce their acceptance by fire and imprisonment. The Erastian Church of England, too, was given by Elizabeth's archbishops of Canterbury that elastic but distinctive constitution which it has subsequently retained. The desire for cohesion which

resulted in the formation of these corporations was equally a force in politics.

Medieval society was founded upon the Church, which for all practical purposes might be considered as being universal. This does not mean that it was international or even supernational, as the League of Nations is in theory: nationalism did not exist as a recognized force. The Church, however, was not itself a state; its spiritual nature was clearly emphasised, and the temporal powers were regarded as its executive departments. In theory, at least, the pope was the source of all honour and all authority. Augustinus Triumphus was stating a doctrine of unimpeachable orthodoxy when he remarked that thrones were but rewards accorded to faithful servants of the popes—a doctrine that had not merely academic but also practical importance.

Even a thinker so profound as Dante was convinced of the necessity of universality in politics—a fact that is all the more significant when we remember that Dante's views on mentally he was far in **Universal Monarchy** advance of his age.

'For the well being of the world,' he wrote in *De Monarchia* (c. 1314), 'it is necessary that there be one monarchy or empire. . . . And all the parts subordinate to kingdoms, together with the kingdoms themselves, should be ordered with reference to a single prince or principedom, that is the monarch or monarchy.' These conclusions were reached earlier by Thomas Aquinas, who exerted a much greater influence than Dante over the medieval mind, and a much greater influence over Dante than is generally admitted. Such was, indeed, the essential political theory of the Middle Ages; although, in fact, there was no temporal 'monarch' to whom all princes were subordinate, there was one power—the Papacy.

To the Renaissance we owe our recognition of the transcendent qualities of Roman law, as has been suggested above—and the modern state first achieved self-consciousness through Roman law. This statement may seem paradoxical in view of the facts that the popes justified their claims to absolute authority by regarding the imperium of the Augusti as

their heritage, and that medieval canon law was an adaptation of the Institutes of Justinian. But against the legal formulae brought forward to support the papal assumption of 'plenitudo potestatis,' there was set another conception from the Corpus Juris—that of natural law, which could not be altered even by popes. The fathers of the Council of Constance based their arguments on this law when they maintained that 'what touches all should be approved by all,' and that 'the well being of the people is the supreme law.' They demanded, however, for councils, as representative of the whole Church, the imperium that they denied to the popes. The importance of these contentions is recognized when we perceive the federal character of the Council of Constance. It was not the parliament of united Christendom that condemned papal absolutism, but a committee of four nations. By implication it was acknowledged that the general will of Christendom was compound of national wills.

This is not the place to speak of the political consequences of the assertion of national spirit; it is enough to demonstrate that thinkers and statesmen of the Renaissance, animated by it, evolved political theories and established constitutions that have been of great social value. Luther, in his antagonism towards the Catholic Church, exalted the civil power and reduced to nothing ecclesiastical claims to any kind of jurisdiction. It should be recollected that he was fundamentally a German patriot, and that his enthusiasm for 'Christian princes' and impatience of any corporation that might lessen their authority was influenced by an acute perception of the political situation in the Empire. His writings were frankly intended for his countrymen; and such as were political were designed to secure the consolidation and independence of the German principalities; nevertheless, they illustrate and generalise a movement that was active throughout Europe. The policies of Charles VIII of France, Henry VIII of England and Philip II of Spain had also as end the building of independent states—for with

the Renaissance the word 'state' (whose significance in the Middle Ages was that borne by 'estate' to-day) came to mean 'the organization of the nation.'

Luther in theory and Henry VIII and Philip II in fact revived the Roman law maxim of 'What pleases the prince has the force of law.' But the plenitudo potestatis was now in the hands of the civil authority, instead of in those of the pope; and has remained with that authority ever since. Thus, from the Renaissance we have the ideal of the national sovereign state, uninfluenced by any corporation within or without its territorial limits, united under and guided by one will. The creation of such a state in a form that will ensure the greatest benefits for its citizens has been the aim of most political philosophers and constructive statesmen from the age of Luther to the present day.

'Salus populi'—the well being of the people,' or, to give the phrase the more sinister implication that it has borne in France, 'public safety'—was the motto used by the fathers of Constance to attack papal supremacy; it was the motto which graced the despotisms advocated by Luther and established by Henry VIII and Philip II; with Machiavelli it became a doctrine. The theories of this remarkable man have been widely misunderstood, purposely and through insufficient acquaintance with them. He does not advise anybody to be immoral, but sees no harm in certain immoralities should they be politically necessary. All that the strictest exponent of ethical principles would condemn Machiavelli condemns; not, however, because indulgence in this vice or that would be wrong, but because it would be impolitic. Expediency, in fact, must be the statesman's guide to conduct, and his ideal good government—'salus populi.' The state is made almost sacred: no faith need be kept with its enemies. Luther explained the nature of the ideal state viewed from outside; Machiavelli explained its interior mechanism. He invented no new theory. As an admirer and, in this instance, a mouthpiece of Cardinal Richelieu explained: 'Machiavelli simply states what our predecessors

did and what men of to-day practise usefully, innocently and inevitably.'

This judgement suggests Machiavelli's position as a thinker. The Prince has the impersonality of the *Corpus Juris*; it reflects clearly and without moralising distortion that the means by which contemporary political battles were fought had consistently been adopted since the first state appeared in history. These means might be condemned as wicked, but they are necessary and they are real; they are justified, moreover, by the end—'the well being of the people.' This justification for evil expedients was also justification for the new sovereign states. Where the affairs of this world were concerned, there was no higher motive for government than the securing of the '*salus populi*'—a duty that the civil authority was most capable of undertaking. To Machiavelli we owe the first and the clearest enunciation of that doctrine upon which modern political history is founded: the state is an end in itself. All great statesmen subsequent to Machiavelli have not been students of his work, but for at least two centuries after his death (1527) any one of them might have served as a model for The Prince.

The discovery of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, the discovery of America by Columbus, the growth of national sovereign states

Changes in Economic ideas and the rise of individualism (as opposed to medieval 'communism') all produced during the Renaissance period a vast and sudden change in economic conditions; the necessary alteration and adjustment of institutions and systems, however, followed very slowly. A century after Columbus's transatlantic voyage, English commercial laws were still based upon the far-reaching doctrine of 'the just price'—a typical theory of the Middle Ages which severely, if beneficially, limited individual enterprise. The economic policy of Francis I in the forties of the sixteenth century was equally barren of novelty, being indeed prompted by irrelevant considerations, such as the habitual impecuniosity of the king. In Germany, the Low Countries and Spain medieval conceptions were also held long

after the conditions that gave birth to them had passed away. Even Renaissance Italy, with its merchant princes, was little in advance of the rest of Europe.

It is commonly believed that the guild system died with the Middle Ages; but this is not so. It is true that in England the towns' monopolies were being destroyed even before the accession of Henry VII in 1484; but the movement was partial in its effects. And on the Continent the guilds retained their power longer than in England. Nor was the Renaissance spirit opposed in fact to the old order of the commercial world; on the contrary, the trade with India and the New World was organized on medieval lines. The chartered companies took the place of guilds and crafts, and monopolies were freely created.

Survival of the Guild System

The foundation of sovereign states, however, eventually brought about a revolution in economic ideas. Commerce became a national instead of an urban concern, and the individual enjoyed greater liberty. Nevertheless, we must be very cautious in attributing anything that distinguishes the economic systems of to-day to the Renaissance; for modern economic history really started at the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century.

If the Renaissance has not contributed materially to our highly developed, mechanised civilization, however, its cultural bequests, as we have seen, were prodigiously great. There is no field of modern enterprise that does not owe some part of its fertility to the spirit of inquiry that spread throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; none that has not benefited by the freedom for which the men of the Renaissance laboured. Our scientific discoveries have resulted from the inspired development of Renaissance thought; our inventions from its practical application. But great as is our debt, we have not accepted all: there are disregarded lessons in the humanities, in toleration and in the nobility of work for the public good that we might well learn from those whom we consider with amiable condescension the partially enlightened founders of modern civilization.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION

A Revival of individual Conscience that
severed half Europe from the See of Rome

By R. H. MURRAY Litt.D.

Author of *Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration, The Political
Consequences of the Reformation, etc*

IN Chapters 127 and 130 the spirit of that great movement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which goes by the name of the Renaissance has been examined and its legacy to succeeding ages estimated. Among the men who were at once a product of that period and forces in the direction of the movement, mention has been made necessarily of Martin Luther and of John Calvin, but only so as to indicate the attitude they took up towards the intellectual emancipation of the age as revealed in the new humanism and the world-wide diffusion of scholarship. In the following pages attention is focused upon their constructive work in the religious Reformation that was an outcome of the Renaissance and upon the form and constitution that they gave to Protestantism in Germany and Switzerland respectively.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483, and died there in 1546. His lonely childhood was followed by a lonely life at the school at Magdeburg, kept by the Brothers of the Common Life. For the least fault he was flogged till the blood flowed. Religion terrified him. Did he not hear of the judgements of the Almighty waiting to descend upon his head, of the snares of the devil ready to assault his body? In later life he entertained a lively recollection of the beatings he had received and of the terrors he had experienced, and these lasting impressions were to colour his theology.

As an undergraduate at the University of Erfurt, in 1501, he found friends like Lang, Spalatin and Rubianus, and to them he showed the large humanity which characterised him. His scholarship was never extensive. He knew the Latin poets and orators tolerably well, and to

the last day of his life he preferred the Vulgate to the Greek New Testament. Greek he did not study until 1518, when he began it with Philip Melancthon, and he was never familiar with it. The Ethics and the Physics of Aristotle he knew, but he knew them both in a Latin dress. Clearly, the Promethean philosophy of rebellion was not in his thoughts.

At first the Church was to Luther the final authority; yet the longer he lived, the more he perceived the difference between her creed and her practice. He came to refine his distinctions, and to note that there

**Churches Visible
and Invisible**

was the Invisible Church, to which all the faithful belonged, and the Visible, in which there were some unfaithful. This idea of the Invisible Church boasts an honourable pedigree, running back to Huss, Wycliffe and S. Augustine, whose theology dominated the young man. Later he put it forward in the form of the *Communio Sanctorum*. Men, so Luther held, might belong to the Visible Church and yet might not belong to the Invisible. Might not men be cut off from the former—a Savonarola, for instance—and yet might they not be members of the body of Christ? The answer to such a question was far-reaching. No one, according to Oliver Cromwell, goes so far as he who does not know whither he is going. Luther went far, precisely for this reason. Never during the course of his life did he ask to see 'the distant scene'; one step at a time was enough for him. Did not God direct his path? He was no more than the instrument of Providence.

God works everything in us, he reasoned; but just as the carpenter, however capable



LUTHER THE CHALLENGER OF ROME

Born at Eisleben, Martin Luther (1483-1546) was educated at Erfurt. He studied for the Church, but became a vigorous assailant of its abuses and finally the leader of the Reformation. In sermons and lectures he upheld the doctrine of justification by faith with a courage and determination that never failed.

Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Hanfstaengl

he may be, cannot work properly with a jagged axe, so, in spite of God's work, sin still remains owing to the imperfection of the tool He uses; the Sacraments help men, but they only help men when they are faithful. To Luther baptism and Holy Communion are no longer means: they are simply signs of our justification by faith. Trusting to the Augustinian interpretation of Pauline thought, he derived a peace that passeth understanding from the view that those who, through faith in Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness, have accepted Him are clothed in a righteousness not their own. Faith is the one principle which God's grace uses for restoring us to His favour.

As a result of the fall of Adam human nature remained thoroughly corrupt: man is therefore the slave of sin. In his work *De Servo Arbitrio* (On the Subject

Will) Luther declares the total absence of liberty on the part of man. The discoveries in a particular field are in a chain of sequence which determines their occurrence in series. Luther entertains the conception of the slavery of the human will, which ushers in a train of possibilities. Once he grasps this conception, the break with Rome is inevitable, for he feels himself the direct servant of God, and therefore his actions seem to be inspired. Similarly, after Columbus announces the discovery of America the fall of the medieval Church is possible, for she has aspired to be universal, and here is a whole continent completely ignorant even of her existence. Luther maintained with all his might that it is faith and faith alone that saves us. With such a principle guiding his life, Luther was no longer a humanist under the influence of such a teacher as Melancthon. He was no longer a mystic under the influence of such a guide as Tauler. He was a theologian with a system

which as effectually shook Europe in one way as Columbus and Copernicus shook it in another.

Luther maintained that the importance attached to the sacrifice of the mass implied that Christ's sacrifice on the cross has been insufficient. Holy Communion was God's work for man. When it received a sacrificial value it became man's work for God. Inevitably he bent all his energies on bringing about the abolition of the mass. The altar was as much the centre of the parish church as its doctrine was the heart of Church life. Only the Church possessed the mass, only the Church could offer the Body and the Blood of Christ. Accordingly, corporate life prevailed over individual. Just as certainly there was the tendency to make the objective element grow at the expense of the subjective. The priest absolved the

sinner: that was objective. Could he be sure that the sinner was truly penitent? It was this subjective aspect which appealed so strongly to Luther. It seemed to him that instead of Christ being the one mediator between God and man, the priesthood intervened. The mass, then, was the tremendous obstacle

Objection to the Mass to true religion: it, and it alone, mattered. Were it swept away, all mediation save that of the Saviour was swept away with it. Then between God and man there was none to interfere. God bestowed upon the sinner the gift of pardon and peace, making him a member of that priesthood to which all the faithful belonged.

Luther's own teaching in many respects leant as much towards passivity as that of the Church he was attacking. The amazing result of it, however, was that he himself was among the most forceful of the sons of men. Sometimes, when he shrank from work which fell to his lot, he felt a compelling energy. After all it was no longer he, but God, who wrought within him. The vital fact (as he believed) was that his will was entirely controlled by God: he was a mere agent who carried out the Divine decrees. The doctrine of predestination was the logical outcome.

When the Reformation came under the influence of the ideas of Luther, it became revolution, not evolution. For the next century and a half the sword and the stake were the chief arguments employed. In Germany there occurred the Thirty Years' War; in France the wars of religion; and in England the scaffold claimed the orthodox and the unorthodox alike. Yet in what other fashion could the vast change have taken place? The Church ruled by right divine, and force is the one effective method of destroying any divine right. Luther felt this, and from a far different standpoint Charles I was one day to feel it. It is tempting to imagine that the growth of learning through an Erasmus could have accomplished in peace what was accomplished by brutal violence. The world wanted the classics properly edited. Its sorest need, however, was faith. It is significant that in

Italy the Renaissance allied itself with scepticism, whereas in Germany such an alliance was not possible.

From the Council of Vienne, 1311, men had recognized the necessity of reform in the Church. The humanists aimed at freedom for learning, Luther at freedom in the Church, whose doctrine must be pure and whose organization must be reformed. The conciliar movement failed in the task. The Church refused reform; she was confronted with revolution in its place.

Faith, according to Luther, meant personal trust in Christ and the salvation He offers. Like Newman's position at one time, he found himself face to face with two final existences—God and his own soul. He did not find himself face to face with the three final existences—his own soul, the world and God—which constitute the basis of Catholicism. He insisted that every Christian receives by the Spirit the gift of understanding and the gift of interpretation. The sign had taken the place of the thing signified. The priest had usurped the place of all the faithful; this process must be reversed; and reversed it was. Nor is his teaching



THE SCHOLARLY MELANCHTHON

Theologian and writer, Philip Schwarzert, Greised into Melancthon (1497-1560), was zealous in the cause of reform. Teacher of Greek at Wittenberg University, he was a staunch supporter of his famous colleague, Martin Luther.
Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Hansjörgl



REFORMERS ADMINISTERING COMMUNION

This reproduction of an old print gives an allegorical representation of the triumph of lay communion. Huss had perished at the stake seventy years before the time of Luther and yet the artist portrays them together in the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Fundamentally their aims were the same.

in this respect new, for the Fathers emphasised the priesthood of the laity just as much as he.

The laity now became popes, each claiming to be able to interpret the infallible Word of God. How could Luther debar them from a voice in the State when he allowed a child of nine a voice in the Church? For if they were fitted to be entrusted with eternal affairs, were they not fitted to be entrusted with temporal? As the doctrine of justification by faith bestowed a free pardon on believers, their God was their Father. Since He was not a despot, their king could not be one. How could the great revolutionary allow the sovereignty of conscience, and refuse his followers all share in the sovereignty of their country? This plea came with special force to one who founded his claims as much on national as on religious grounds. The day which saw the peasant and his lord alike aware of their common

priesthood witnessed the beginning of a movement which one day was to give to the former a share in the government of their common country. After the massacre of Vassy, Theodore Beza, alluding to a current proverb, remarked significantly to Antony, the king of Navarre: 'Sire, it is in truth the lot of the Church of God, in whose name I speak, to suffer blows and not to return them. Yet I also take leave to remind you she is the anvil that has employed many hammers.'

If the hammer of the absolute pope ceased to be wielded, the same fate awaited the hammer of the absolute prince.

As the congregation was sovereign in form, it might, and did, become sovereign in substance. When the faithful received religious liberty, they proceeded to claim political. There is only one liberty, and it is liberty of conscience. All other forms of liberty are its offspring. 'When one begins

to have religious doubts,' Chateaubriand points out, 'one has political doubts. The man who seeks the fundamentals in his creed does not delay long before investigating the principles of the government under which he lives. When the spirit Religious and Political liberty demands its freedom, the body wishes it also. It is an absolutely natural consequence.' Free religious and free political life are ultimately inseparable. There is not a real break in the line of political thought from the Franco-Gallia of Hotman to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. As the one proclaimed the political liberty of the French of the sixteenth century, so the other proclaimed the political liberty of the American of the eighteenth. The line of succession runs from Martin Luther to John Calvin, from John Calvin to Philippe de Duplessis-Mornay, from Philippe de Duplessis-Mornay to John Knox, from John Knox to John

Milton, from John Milton to John Locke, from John Locke to Alexander Hamilton.

The principle of authority had received rude assaults at the hands of Luther. In his denunciation of indulgences he had appealed to the pope from the teaching that Tetzel gave in the lines :

As soon as money in the coffer rings
The soul from purgatory's fire springs.

At the Diet of Augsburg he appealed from the pope ill-informed to the pope better-informed, and then from the pope to a council. When the

Luther appeals verdict of a council was
to the Scriptures used against him, he
appealed to the Scriptures. He set to work to translate them into German. He was as successful in German as Tyndale was in English, for the two languages are what they are because of Luther's and Tyndale's translations. The Authorised Version of the Bible, made in 1611, had many predecessors. Tyndale, Coverdale, Rogers and Cranmer, each had a share in its felicity of language. Martin Luther enjoyed no such good fortune, and his matchless translation is largely his own.

His translation was popular, not scientific. That it completely achieved its object the after-history of Germany proves. The reformer received no fee for his great translation any more than for his other writings. His reward was the knowledge that his countrymen were for the first time, on a large scale at any rate, able to read the glad tidings of Christ in their own language. What Erasmus had accomplished for the Greek text, Luther accomplished for the German : the one was rendered accessible to the scholar, the other was rendered accessible to the people.

On its first publication in 1522 edition after edition was demanded. In Wittenberg alone sixteen editions of the New Testament were printed before 1557, while there were more than fifty reprints in the rest of Germany. From 1534 to 1584 no fewer than a hundred thousand complete Bibles left the press at Wittenberg. It is, therefore, the truth to say that Germany was flooded with the Bible. Cochlaeus testifies that even shoemakers

and women became so absorbed in its study as to be able in a short time to carry on discussions with doctors in theology. For one reader of the sacred record before this translation there were fifty after it. Books had been published in tall and heavy folios, chained on the shelves of a library. Now they were octavo or half-octavo, small and light, moving freely from house to house. The weaver as he regulated his shuttle could take the translation down and read it in a spare moment. A book was no longer a stranger : it was a family friend.

It came as a shock of surprise to the reader to note that according to the Bible S. Peter made mistakes and was rebuked accordingly, thus showing little sign that either he or his successors were infallible. It was difficult to think that extortionate



FERVENT PREACHING OF LUTHER

With a force and a sincerity that inspired his hearers, Luther preached his beliefs. He is seen here in characteristic attitude delivering his relentless attacks against the corruption of Rome, in a contemporary German M S. of his prayers.

British Museum Additional MS 4727

cardinals were in the line of succession from one who had neither silver nor gold. It was no less difficult to discover in the New Testament authority for the worship of the Virgin Mary or the saints, the celibacy of the clergy, the use of indulgences, the veneration of relics and the like. Between the purity and simplicity of the meeting in the upper room at Jerusalem and the then growing artistic and architectural beauty of S. Peter's in Rome there was a difference sufficient to provoke inquiry.

Luther's pamphlets brought home to the bosoms of men the nature of Roman rule. His three most important publications, next to the translation of the Bible, were composed during the latter half of 1520, a year memorable for his public burning at Wittenberg of a papal bull denouncing his views (see page 3310 in *Chronicle XXIII*, where the salient events in his active life are narrated in fuller details). These are *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Estate*, *A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *On the Freedom of a Christian Man*. These little quarto pam-

phlets came fresh from that new invention, the printing press, voicing plainly in town and country, in farm and workshop, the dimly felt religious aspirations, and the no less deeply felt political discontents. In the first of them the reformer gave a detailed description of the Roman exactions, setting forth, as Machiavelli had done, the argument that Germany, and indeed other countries, was being exploited on the pretext that contributions were required for the administration of the Church. Such devoted supporters of the Church as Eck, Wimpfeling, Karl von Bodmann, Archbishop Henneberg of Mainz and Duke George of Saxony felt that Rome was too covetous. The emperor Maximilian had sorrowfully confessed that the Roman curia drew from Germany a revenue a hundredfold greater than his own. As Savonarola had assailed the political interests of the Papacy, so Luther assailed the economic. The religious attacks of either might have been ignored: their practical attacks could not be.

At Rome everything was then for sale: livings, dignities, cardinalates, the Papacy itself changing hands for money.



SALE OF INDULGENCES RIDICULED BY A PROTESTANT ARTIST

The monks in this caricature by Hans Holbein are doing a brisk trade in the sale of indulgences. The object of Leo X was the accumulation of money for the building of S. Peter's, and sinners had no longer need of penance to gain absolution; payment of the amount scheduled was the only condition necessary to the annulment of any sin. The rarity of examples of this print is attributed to the suppression of the original woodcut by the Basel authorities.

British Museum

When these were not sold, it was possible to sell pardon for sins. There was, indeed, a regular scale. The fine for adultery was 150 ducats, for the murder of two daughters 800 ducats, and so on. 'The Lord,' remarked an official at the court of Innocent VIII, who had himself bought his tiara, 'does not will the death of a sinner; he wills that he shall live and pay.' Nicolas V, a Maecenas whose liberality approached prodigality, wore diamonds and pearls over the crown and thorns of the Redeemer.

One of his sixteenth-century successors was of a far different type. When Michelangelo was finishing the statue of Julius II, he represented that pontiff with one of his hands raised either for blessing or cursing. The sculptor inquired what he was to put in the other hand. Was he to carve a book? 'Place a sword there,' answered Julius II. 'I do not know letters.' The popes of the first half of the sixteenth century, with the honourable exception of Adrian VI, place the sword in their hand on behalf of their Italian states and of the interests of their children. They are the chiefs of principalities, not heads of the Church, requiring incessant supplies of money for the furtherance of their secular interests. Men spoke of the avarice of the Church, the sensuality of the Church, the ambition of the Church, because these were the matters they either saw or heard described. Leo X abdicated the government of souls in favour of letters and learned men, who paid in homage what others paid in money.



TITLE PAGE OF LUTHER'S FAMOUS BIBLE

Luther, like Wycliffe before him, recognized the need for a vernacular translation of the Bible. His first edition, of which the title page is here shown, was published in 1522 and demand increased throughout the century. Thus did Luther give his countrymen access to a first-hand knowledge of the Scriptures.

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Erasmus wrote for princes and learned men, and he scarcely moved the people, who saw that simony was rampant in the Church, though humanistic disputes never crossed their horizon. They neither read nor wrote. They sowed their corn, they planted their vines, they manufactured their goods—and they resented the exactions of the ecclesiastical tax-gatherer. In Saxony, as in France on the eve of the Revolution, the taxes were light, and this



LUTHER'S ANTAGONIST

Johann Eck (1486-1543), professor at Ingolstadt, was the most conspicuous of papal champions and took part in the dispute at Leipzig in 1519; he went so far as to denounce Luther as a heretic. This print calls him 'a great enemy of Christ.'

From Schröckh, 'Abbildungen berühmter Gelehrten'

lightness made the peasant resent the Roman exactions all the more. Luther cleverly took advantage of this resentment, and interlaced political with religious motives in the fashion which made Ranke regard this policy as the most striking feature of the sixteenth century. Innocent III failed because he found himself everywhere opposed to the rising forces of nationality, and Leo X failed for precisely the same reason. The fact that he appealed to the Christian nobility of the German nation showed how conscious Luther was that in most instances he could reckon on the support of the natural leaders of his fellow-countrymen.

It is sometimes said that few states or dynasties have accomplished more for themselves than Prussia and the Hohenzollerns; and that few have been more

conspicuously the heirs of time and the beneficiaries of circumstance. What is true of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns is also true of Luther and the Reformation. The time was ripe, the circumstance was propitious, and the man's genius gave effect to both.

As Machiavelli freed the state from considerations of the moral law, Luther likewise freed it from the control of the Church. Is it not the duty of the state, he argued, to check and control all forms of combination injuring the welfare of the people? Thus he won the sympathy of the multitude by his stern attitude towards capitalism, luxury and immorality. He was obliged to vindicate himself to his friends against blowing the blast of revolt, but his comrade, Johann Lang, rightly told him that his work was a bugle-call which sounded throughout the whole of Germany. The element of negation is in his pamphlet. It is an element not only in the Reformation, but also in every revolution ever made. Did not the constitution of 1789 begin by demolishing feudalism so that the French could then raise the building of fraternity and equality?

The patriot and the prophet are impossible to dissociate in the composition of the first pamphlet. There is rage because of the offences against mankind committed by Luther's hatred of the Papacy, and there is rage because of the offences committed by the same authority against his beloved land. In his desire to secure a foundation for his evangel Luther appeals to the rulers who had listened to it. As the early Fathers asserted the rights of the state, so he followed in their train. The theory of sovereignty that Innocent IV invented on behalf of the papal monarchy he turns to the interests of the German people.

Luther showed the emperor, the princes and the whole German nobility the method by which Germany could break away from Rome and undertake its own reformation. He set to work to remove the distinction between the clerical and the lay estate. The law of the land covers everyone within the bounds of the kingdom, clergy as well as laity. The ecclesiastical authority

of Rome therefore ceases. His view of all ecclesiastical authority, anticipating Bodin's, excludes every extension of that authority to the sphere of political or civil liberty. Everyone living within the boundaries of any given state is subject to its laws, and is not subject to the laws of any outside body. In

Bodin's view fact, medieval unity was
anticipated essentially false: it was a principle of domination destroying the liberty of the individual, and thereby that of the state. By breaking this unity Luther made possible the era of modern nations.

Luther substituted secular for ecclesiastical authority. What Henry VIII did in England and Philip II in Spain, Luther did in Germany. The English substitution was fundamentally altered by the Puritans, but Louis XIV and Joseph II can trace their descent from their German parent. To Luther as to Althusius, to German thinkers as to Anglican divines, the civil power is indeed a spiritual body. To him the state is not a mere police state, not a body whose chief duty is to ensure the keeping of contracts. His mind contains in germ the wonderful conception of Edmund Burke that the state is a divine institution. According to the Irish thinker, 'without society man could not by any possibility arrive at that perfection of which his nature is capable, nor even make a remote and faint approach to it. He, the Divine Author, gave us our nature to be perfected by our virtue. He must therefore have willed the means of its perfection. He must therefore have willed the state, and He willed its connexion with Himself, the source of all perfection.' It is in truth a conception as old as Plato, and as recent as Hegel and the powerful school of advocates of state rights founded by Fichte and himself. Society is a partnership, an association for the greater purposes of our being, for the promotion of science, art, virtue.

The tract *On the Freedom of a Christian Man* breathes the

spirit of individualism to an even greater extent than the tract Calvin wrote on this subject in 1539. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the individual was fraught with weighty consequences in the sixteenth century, and with almost weightier in its influence on Rousseau, and thereby on the French Revolution, in the eighteenth. Man emerged from his position as a mere member of the Church or the state and acquired an individuality of his own. In bringing about his emergence Luther played no mean part. Alongside him stands the inventor of printing, which permitted the free circulation of ideas, so that for the first time they entered the minds of more than a select few. Alongside the inventor of printing stands the inventor of gunpowder, which put into the hands of all an argument more potent than that of all the philosophers from Marsiglio of Padua to Luther.

The old order had been the Empire or the Church, the commune, the guild, the scholastic system: the individual was always part of some group, and had no existence apart from it. The new order was the state, the national church, the merchant, the individual. The old order had as fundamentals authority and asceticism: the new had reason and joy in the whole of life. For a thousand years there had been as much authority in social life as in intellectual. Men had been content to



RIVAL SHEPHERDS AND THEIR FLOCK

Hans Sachs was a propagandist of the Protestant school who cleverly caricatured the papal pretensions in this allegory of the two shepherds. Christ, the good shepherd, enters the Church by the legitimate door, while the pope upon the roof beckons his followers in the false direction (c. 1525.)

build the cathedrals of the Middle Ages and remain unknown, whereas the individualistic artists of the Renaissance asserted themselves to the utmost, and the thirst for glory became unquenchable. Genius prevents man finding an equal, pride prevents him from lowering himself to an inferior. The statues used to be seen

within the cathedral, for they were erected to the glory of God. Now they stood in the market-place to be seen of men. Man used to be bound to a bishop, a lord, a municipality, to a school or a body. Now he proudly stepped on the stage as himself, eager to develop his capacities for his own benefit, with boundless confidence in his will, his superiority and his infinite variety.

The body dissolved into the units which composed it. There was no longer the Papacy—but there was the pope, a lord like other lords. There was no longer the Holy Roman Empire; there was the emperor, also a lord, and no more than other lords. There was no longer the city; there was the prince. There was no longer the university; the spirit of humanism took its place. The painter ceased to depict the group; the portrait is his masterpiece. He used to describe on the walls of cemeteries the triumph of death; he now described on the walls of houses the triumph of life. The quest is no more the One in the Many; it is the Many in the One.

In this seething mass Luther's Freedom of a Christian Man made for the disruption of existing society. The moving eloquence of the language employed brought home to the heart of the people that it was enough to have experienced the power of faith in tribulation, temptations, anxieties and struggles to understand that in it lay the true freedom of a Christian man. The believer, incorporated with Jesus by faith, receives from Him his priesthood. All are priests, like the Saviour with Whom all are one. The peasant tills the ground, the priest celebrates Holy Communion—that is all. There is no difference between them save that of office. In a word, Orders are not a sacrament; they are a matter of Church organization. Inevitably it sug-

gested that a national church could come into being without being in any wise cut off from the communion of saints or fellowship with the Divine Head of one great body.

Luther insisted, with all the eloquence at his command, upon the dignity which faith and a state of grace could impart to every calling, even the humblest. A thought had escaped from a soul that was common to all and made an immediate appeal to every humble heart. The Freedom of a Christian Man is a book for every century, though it bears the distinguishing marks of its own. Luther's vivid writing impressed on all that life in this world, and the most insignificant employment, when illumined by religion, has in it something of the infinite. The German people had outgrown the conception of the duality of life and found the new conception of its essential unity.

One outstanding effect was the emphasis laid on vocation in relation to daily occupation. The 'Saint's Rest' was in the world to come; in this he was to labour at his calling. Business henceforth was to become a sacred office in which it was a man's bounden duty to do his utmost to the greater glory of God. Luther was fortunate in the moment in which he launched forth this idea, for Europe was about to change from the agricultural to the capitalistic system. The Reformation occurred at the time of the beginning of modern capitalism. This new industrial system gave rise to an enormously potential revolutionary force. The sanctity of the monastic life was transferred to the common round, the trivial task. Man no longer was made for a function; a function was made for man. The 'religious' were no longer men and women in monasteries and convents; life and religion were now fundamentally one, a conception plainly held by Erasmus in his delightful book on Christian marriage. Christianity and religion, Erasmus said, were not bound up with any particular order or way of life; the whole family, according to Christ's teaching, was one great family—one great cloister.

Priestly ideals no longer dominated men, and a new lay attitude to the world

replaced the ecclesiastical attitude of the Middle Ages. Formerly it was held that 'to pray is to work,' now it was taught that work is prayer, with the result that a justification was at once given to social service, the worth of which the world is only beginning to realize. Luther secularised monasticism just as Erasmus secularised knowledge. Other-worldliness had rendered men indifferent to the secrets of the universe, of the ground beneath them and the heavens above them. They had been so preoccupied with the Word of God that they omitted to consider the works of God. The globe acquired a fascination for mankind hitherto unknown.

Christian ethics until now had a divided ideal. It taught some men devotion to others, and self-sacrifice on their behalf. It taught holiness and righteousness as the ideal of the monk and the nun. The two ideals were parallel and independent. Luther joined them in the one end of human service. In human intercourse the medievalist had thought that what was natural was wrong. Luther, like Erasmus, taught that what was natural was right. Human life, in its innermost being, is in harmony with the eternal law of morality. No doubt a heavy

Luther makes two ideals one price had to be paid for the change. For example, the denial of the honour accorded throughout the Middle Ages to virginity had the effect of making the social position of woman wholly dependent on her marriage. The state of poverty was once the sign of a saint; now it was the mark of a failure. Other-worldliness was no longer the motive. A good citizen of this earth was thus preparing for his citizenship in the New Jerusalem.

The Reformation restored to the heart that freedom which had been so long denied it, and, with the logical precision and severity of his race, Calvin the Frenchman continued the work of Luther the German. For the Reformation was primarily a revival of religion, a renewal of man's unending yearning for communion with God. 'The Reformation,' to quote Bishop Westcott's words, 'was the affirmation of individuality.' But to secure this right to the individual the old doctrinal system had to be swept away and a new



THE DEVIL'S BAGPIPES

This grotesque picture portrays the devil wielding bagpipes intricately wrought from a tonsured head. It is interpreted (according to taste) as a gibe at Luther or at the entire monastic system, but its exact significance is unknown.

British Museum

one built on its ruins—the new spirit had to express itself in new forms. The materials for the structure were no longer the Bible and tradition, but the Bible alone. The architecture of the building, however, depended on the character of the builders. And so we have Luther with his curious mixture of reliance on the letter of what pleased him and daring criticism of what did not; the English reformers with that remarkable combination of new and old determined by their political circumstances; and Calvin with the pitiless logic so characteristic of the French temper, so unassailable in his conclusions when his premises are granted.

There was only one thing the Calvinist feared, and that was sin. There was only one being he feared, and that was God. The Calvinist feared God with all his soul, and this exhausted his capacity for fear. The face of man he did not fear. Nor does the power of God mean the powerlessness of man. If Luther could



GENEVA'S DISCIPLINARIAN

John Calvin (1509-1564), theologian and reformer, was more definite and methodical than Luther. Rigidly moral, he purified life at Geneva, and is renowned as author of the Institutes of the Christian Religion

Contemporary engraving

say 'I believe, therefore I am,' Calvin could say: 'I act, therefore I am.' The belief in predestination formed the school of vigorous ecclesiastical and political life. God is active and energetic, and therefore his servant, man, must also be active and energetic. Order and obedience, gravity and chastity, temperance in life and sobriety in thought are qualities every whit as valuable for the state as for the Church. Economy and industry lead on to prosperity, and this in turn leads on to prosperity in the state as much as in the Church.

The sovereignty of God as understood by the Calvinists might seem at first sight as if it would have leaned towards absolutism in politics; actually it did nothing of the kind. The fear of God, in the view of John Calvin, took away the fear of man. As no power really came from man, and as all power came from God, all in His sight, kings and subjects alike, were equal. There was a halo around the heavenly King; there was none around the earthly king. The Calvinist ecclesiastical system acknowledged no head with right divine. There were simply representatives chosen by

the people. The ecclesiastical republic in time led on to a political republic. For when men have learned in ecclesiastical affairs to govern themselves through their elected representatives, the stage to representative government in the state is but a short one. James I was never wiser than when he uttered the words 'No bishop, no king.'

Calvin was far too methodical a Frenchman to rest satisfied with mere talk about rights. He proceeded to create machinery for the employment of these rights, and he also proceeded to create machinery for the punishment of those who violated them. Luther was not enough of an ecclesiastical statesman to perceive the necessity of machinery for the preservation of law, order and, above all, discipline in a newly organized body. With statesmanlike instincts, Calvin was fully determined that discipline must take its part in the purging of the offender. The spirit of Calvinism is as vague as the



THE POPE IN DIFFICULTY

This early engraving caricatures the struggle of the pope with his two great opponents, Luther and Calvin. Confusion is worse confounded by the mutual hostility of his assailants, Luther pausing in the onslaught to pull Calvin's beard.

From Jaume, 'Musée de Caricature'

character of a nation. The fact of Calvinism is in no wise vague, and one of the institutions that differentiated it sharply from Lutheranism is that it had resolutely determined to have discipline. Men might talk as they pleased about their rights, but Calvin resolved that they should bear in mind their duties. If they did not, then his discipline should bring them to their senses. His genius for an ordered coherence had methodised the incoherence of Luther. His mind was set on unity, as well as on divinity, and by virtue of his genius and his mind he compelled the clashing churches to become a highly organized body. In a word, he was a lay pope. Indeed, he was that most formidable of all popes, a pope by birth, not by election.

Drunkenness and debauchery were visited with severe penalties; adultery more than once with death. Prostitutes who ventured back to Geneva were mercilessly thrown into the Rhône. Cards were altogether prohibited. Rope-dancers and conjurers were forbidden to perform. Usury was restricted, no higher rate of interest being allowed than six per cent. France, the Netherlands, Germany, Scotland, England and New England all attest how seminal were the ideas scattered broadcast by Calvin in his letters and sermons, in his commentaries as well as in his Institutes. His discipline effected his ends, the rest of the things he saw and the dreams he dreamt, are they not written in the history of Europe?

Martin Luther, his mark, is written over the face of Lutheranism, and John Calvin, his mark, is written over the face of Presbyterianism. Herein lie the strength and the weakness of the Lutheran and the Calvinist. On the other hand, the Anglican cannot trace the growth of his church to any one individual in the same



CARTHUSIAN PRISONERS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

In England the Reformation, less of a religious than a political question, arose out of Henry VIII's quarrel with the pope over the annulment of his marriage. This Roman propagandist print of 1555 shows the Carthusians, Humphrey Middlemore, William of Mewe and Sebastian Newdegate, imprisoned for refusing to recognize Henry as head of the English church.

British Museum

sense that the Lutheran or the Calvinist can. John Wycliffe is a great man in the Anglican firmament—that is all. In him the spirit of Puritanism rather than the spirit of Anglicanism is incarnate. There is in him that narrowness of sympathy we sometimes associate with the Puritan of the past. We also note the same uncompromising rejection of medievalism as a whole, the same pronounced individualism, the same preference for sweeping change, the same desire for a complete breach with the past and the same dislike of tradition.

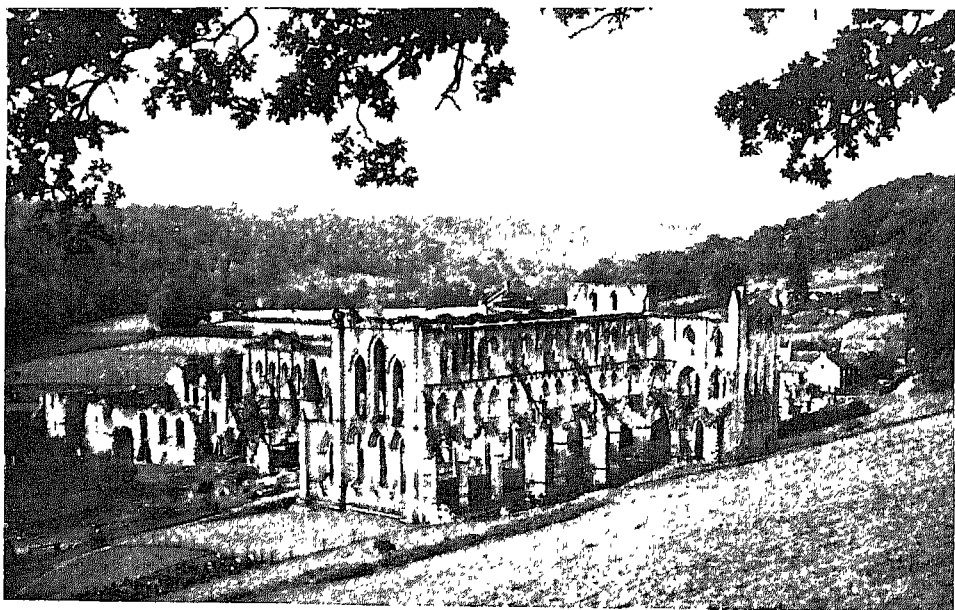
No great teacher had arisen in England since the days of Wycliffe, and the monasteries had long ceased to produce great chronicles. In the small houses there were priests who could not even construe the rule of their order. The Renaissance left them unaffected, and no English monk contributed to the progress of

letters. Visitations, as Bishop Fox showed Walsay, were of little avail to uproot monastic corruption; fresh statutes and constitutions were of no avail unless they were observed. The visitation of the monasteries began in July, 1535, and the articles of inquiry were minute and comprehensive. Some of the commissioners appointed to carry out the visitation, as, for instance, Dr. Layton and Dr. Leigh, did not come to their task with unprejudiced minds, and, indeed, the whole work was carried out with extreme haste. Yet the monasteries had outlived their best days. Some 376 houses were dissolved, and an annual revenue of £32,000 was obtained for the crown, together with the plate, jewels and other household effects of the communities so condemned. Stow estimated the number of people, masters and servants, who lost their means of living by the act of dissolution at ten thousand, and of these two thousand were monks and nuns. The two counties most affected by the dissolution were Yorkshire, where fifty-three religious houses were suppressed, and

Lincolnshire, where thirty-seven houses were swept away.

The danger of the new individualism in the dissolution of the monasteries is obvious. It is as clear in Wycliffe as it was to be in Cartwright. What alleviated the danger was the fresh importance attached to conscience. The most wonderful of all medieval centuries was the thirteenth, and it was late in that century, as Lord Acton used to point out, that the psychology of conscience was closely studied for the first time, and that men began to speak of it as the audible voice of God that never fails or misleads, and that ought to be obeyed, whether right or wrong. Bishop Creighton insisted that conscience had a larger hold of the Teuton than of the Slav or the Latin, and that this formed the strength of the Reformation.

The English parliament met on November 3, 1529, and inaugurated a series of changes second to none in importance. It settled many matters which, perhaps, do not strictly come within the scope of our subject. Here, however, it is hard



ENGLISH ABBEY FALLEN INTO DECAY SINCE THE DISSOLUTION

The Reformation of Henry VIII's reign saw the breaking of every link in the chain binding England to Rome. Monasteries were dissolved without thought of either their beauty or utility. Rievaulx Abbey, founded by Walter l'Espece in 1131, and the earliest Cistercian house in Yorkshire, was surrendered in 1539 by Richard Blyton, the abbot. The site was granted to Thomas earl of Rutland, and later, by marriage, came into the possession of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

Photo, The Times

to draw a line. For the dissolution of the monasteries and the consequent redistribution of the national wealth were in accordance with the spirit of the age. At the end of its sittings of almost seven years the separation from Rome was complete, and the royal supremacy over the English church, 'so far as the law of Christ allows,' established. Some of the main steps in the process of separation from Rome were the declaration that all the clergy were liable to the penalties of *praemunire* (1531), that the payment of annates, or first fruits and tenths of benefices, to Rome was forbidden (1532), that the clergy were no longer allowed to legislate (1532), that all appeals to Rome were forbidden (1533), and that all papal authority in England

**Influence of Martyrs
on the Reformation**

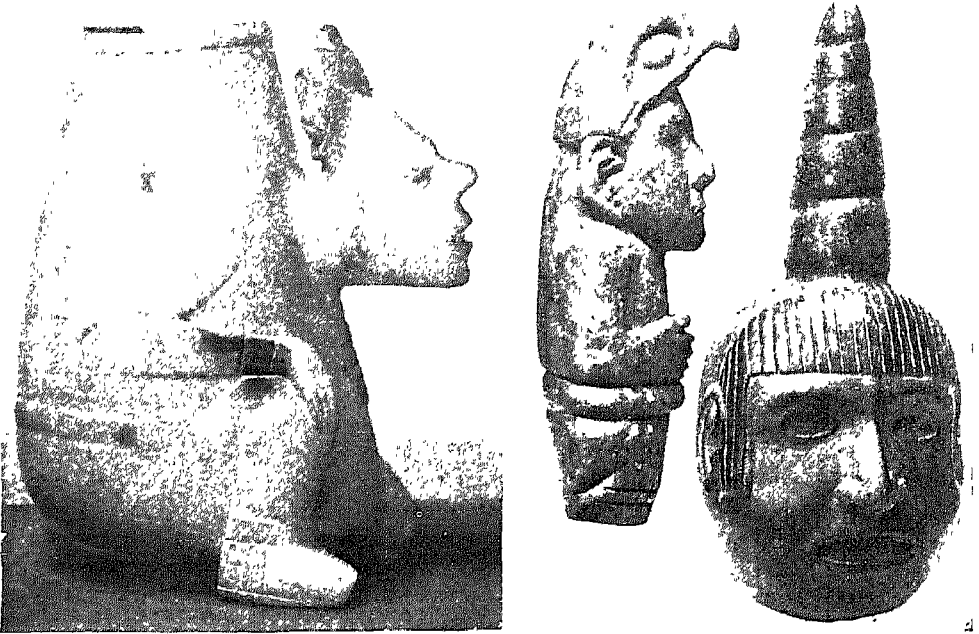
was annulled (1534). The heart of the English nation never went out to the Reforming movement until the Marian martyrs died at the stake. The number of those who sealed their testimony with their blood fell short of three hundred, but among them were the very elect of the reformers. The heroic story of the martyrdom of Cranmer—as Professor Pollard has shown with a wealth of psychological insight—the story of Ridley and Latimer—these stories, when told by the cunning hand of Foxe, left the deepest impression on the people at large. With perfect truth a lady wrote to Bonner: 'Within a twelvemonth you have lost the heart of twenty thousand rank Papists.'

The progress of the Reformation had taken place in spite of persecution; perhaps one may say the progress occurred on account of persecution. For it is impossible to believe half-heartedly when the stake is the penalty. There were Englishmen—and Englishwomen, too—whose faith waxed strong as the flames leaped around them. There is a fierce joy in enduring pain for a creed that is dearer than life. From this standpoint, force is a vital condition of all religious beginnings. Under its influence vague ideas become firm, and the vacillator turns resolute.

Down to the year 1570 when Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, there

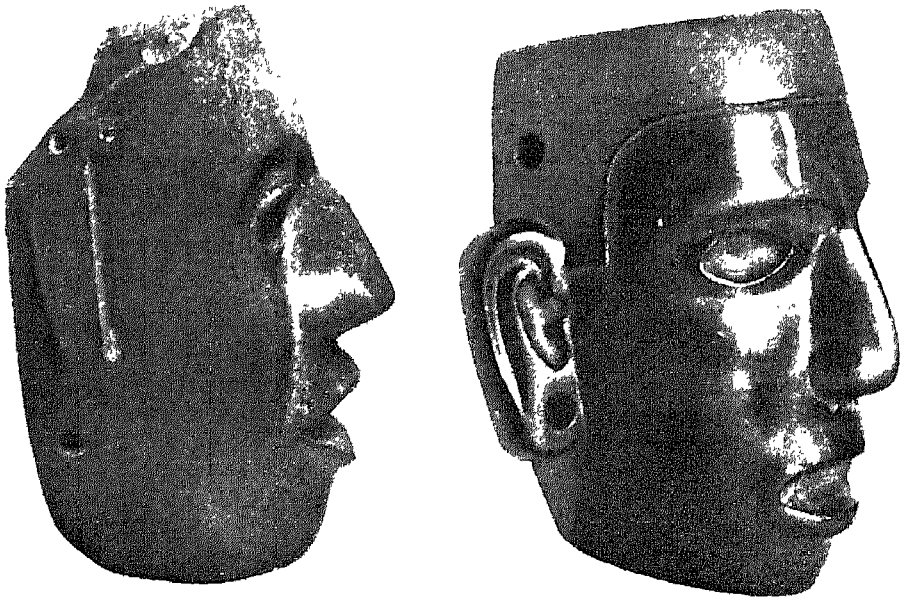
was no idea on the part of the English that any new church had come into being. There had been changes in the ceremonies of the Church; there had been none in her creeds. Clergy and people, down to the day when Pius V deposed Elizabeth, attended the same parish church as they had always attended. Then, no doubt, some broke away from the church they had known and loved. Kitchen, for example, was bishop of Landaff from 1545 under Henry VIII to 1563 under Elizabeth. Goodrich and Thirlby were bishops in the days of Henry VIII and they were no less bishops in the days of Mary I. It is true that the Church of England submitted to the See of Rome under Henry VIII, and refused to submit any longer. It is true that the Church of England submitted to the See of Rome under Mary I, and refused to submit any longer. Unquestionably it was the same body after the refusal of Henry VIII to submit to this jurisdiction, as it was the same body after the consent of Mary I to submit to this jurisdiction.

On the continuity of the Church of England there is almost nothing half so impressive as the unbroken row of Registers on the shelves of Lambeth Library. J. R. Green used to point out that there is another set of documents equally continuous—those which record the presentations to livings. Bishop Stubbs remarked to Green that you might read these through and hardly guess that any ecclesiastical change had accompanied the English Reformation. There are, of course, verbal differences, but not more extensive than those which appear in the extant consecration-deed of Parker. The matter, Green proceeds to explain, is simple enough—a registrar or lawyer whose daily business is drawing up documents by precedent alters just as little as he can, and naturally under Elizabeth there were grave reasons, arising from the war with Spain, why queen and primate were thoroughly at one in this matter. The truth is that while there had long been a church in England, it was only after the Reformation that there was a Church of England.



Onyx is the material of the vase on the left with its quaint likeness to a squatting human figure and jadeite of the figurine with bird head-dress; the stone mask is of Nipe (see also page 3368), the top-knot perhaps symbolising a sprouting maize cob. Of the two masks below, that on the left is carved from hard stone, the other from obsidian.

British Museum; photo (left), 'The Studio'



The custom of making masks of various hard stones—masks whose vigour of modelling removes them from the category of mere decorative art, though, since they usually represent gods, they cannot be classed as direct portraiture—has preserved a record of the type of men whom the Spaniards overcame in Mexico. The artists were probably of Toltec extraction, but Aztec influence is surely responsible for the quality of fierce simplicity by which they differ from earlier Toltec and Maya work.

TYPES OF THE MEN WHO INHABITED MEXICO IN AZTEC TIMES

British Museum; photos, 'The Studio' (left) and Beck and Macgregor

THE AMERICA OF AZTEC & INCA

An Account of the two amazingly developed Civilizations overthrown by the Spanish Conquistadors

By THOMAS A. JOYCE

Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, Author of *Maya and Mexican Archaeology*, *South American Archaeology*, etc.

THE voyages of Columbus, and the establishment of a Spanish base of operations in the West Indies, brought the European into direct contact with the more civilized peoples of Mexico and Central America. Chapter 99 has dealt with the development of human culture in the New World before the Discovery, and with the problems involved. The conclusions formed in that chapter are based on archaeological evidence: the results of the spade, interpreted by surviving tradition and descriptive evidence provided by those early explorers who came in contact with the heirs of the bygone cultures. But in the present chapter we pass rapidly from conjectural to recorded history. The eye-witness takes the paramount place; tradition maintains an important, though secondary, position; while the spade comes last, as the provider of confirmatory evidence.

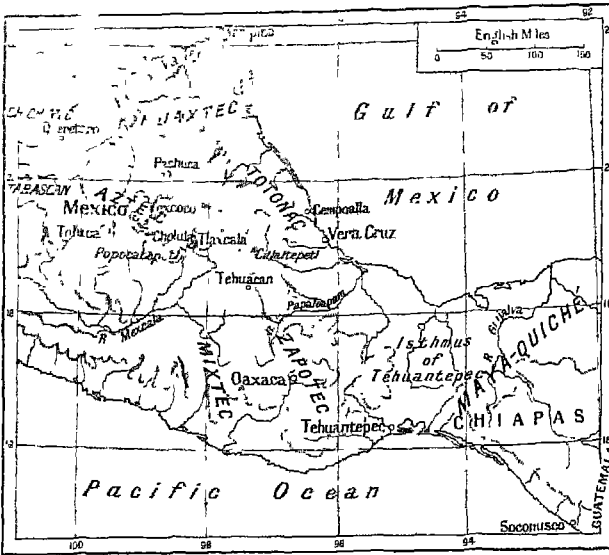
The two peoples who played the dominant rôles at the time of the conquest were the Aztec in Mexico and Central America and the Inca in Peru (including Bolivia and most of Ecuador). Between the areas influenced by each of these great paramount tribes lay a large expanse of territory occupied by peoples exhibiting a less highly developed form of culture. Though it is not at all inconceivable that certain cultural elements may have passed by a sort of 'infiltration' from one to the other, yet it is certain that there was no direct communication between the two, and each was ignorant of the existence of the other. Furthermore the systems of the two 'empires' were based on principles so different that they may be regarded as mutually independent.

In the course of history, as seen through European eyes, the Aztec comes first. It

is true that the earliest voyagers, De Solis, Pinzon, Valdivia, Córdoba, Grijalva (1506-1518), made the coast of Yucatan, where they encountered the descendants of the Early Maya, then diminished in number by pestilence and internecine strife. But these Late Maya (see pages 2576 and 3377) had been greatly affected by influences emanating from the Mexican Valley, now the centre of the newly risen Aztec domination.

The exact position of the Aztec in the development of indigenous American culture requires a word of comment. It has been explained in the chapter on American Origins that the evidence

at our disposal seems to show that the Early Maya civilization spread to the Mexican Valley, where it was adopted by the Toltec, immigrants from the north. The Toltec were followed eventually by a whole series of immigrant tribes, speaking a common language, known as Nahuatl. These incursions eventually broke up the Toltec 'empire,' and gave rise to a series of dynasties in the Mexican Valley of which the last and most important was that of the Aztec. Thus, according to tradition, after the collapse of Toltec rule, the hegemony of the Valley was held by a Chichimec chief, Xolotl, who established himself at Tenayocan. Other immigrant bands of similar stock, Tepanec and Acolhua, settled in the Valley under his protection. It is worthy of notice that most of these immigrant chieftains allied themselves with women of old Toltec stock—a tacit admission of the previous sovereignty of the Toltec. And it is clear that chieftanship, though held only by men, was transferred through the female line among the later Aztec.



SEAT AND CAPITAL CITY OF THE AZTEC REGIME IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

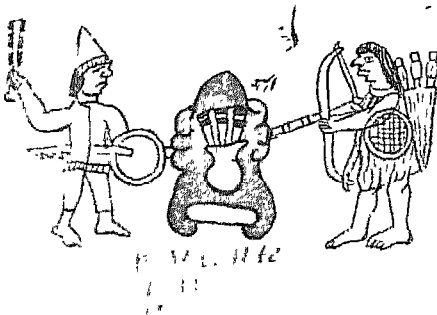
In page 2556 there is a map giving the cultural divisions of pre-conquest America, in the present chapter our attention is concentrated on the same two regions there marked as having nurtured relatively advanced civilizations—Central America and the Peruvian coast. In the former, however, the centre of interest shifts slightly northward from the Maya region to the Valley of Mexico (left), where the Aztec built their strange empire and their no less strange city on the waters of Lake Texcoco (right)

Right, after Mandav, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society

By the time that the Aztec appeared on the scene, the centre of power had been transferred from Tenayocan to Texcoco. On the evidence of their own historical manuscripts the Aztec at the time of their arrival in Mexico were skin-clad nomads, practising a little desultory agriculture, but ignorant of weaving and other arts and crafts characteristic of sedentary

peoples. For a time they were subject to the rulers of Azcapotzalco, and it was not until a century and a half before the arrival of Cortés that they became independent and so laid the foundations of their future power. Their rapid rise to prominence in the politics of the Valley is probably due to their introduction of the bow as a weapon. Their historical manuscripts show them fighting with the Valley dwellers, who, though clad in cotton garments, are armed only with the stone-edged wooden sword. It was a question of artillery. But the Aztec brought more than the bow; they brought also a genius for political organization which enabled them to gather into a rather loose 'empire' not only all the tribes of the Valley but, eventually, many of regions far beyond.

At the time when they became independent, they were settled on an island in the Lake of Mexico (a great strategic position) on which their leaders had beheld the portent, long foretold, of an eagle perched on a cactus devouring a snake, which they believed to indicate the seat of future power and glory. And in fact this island, named by them Tenochtitlan,



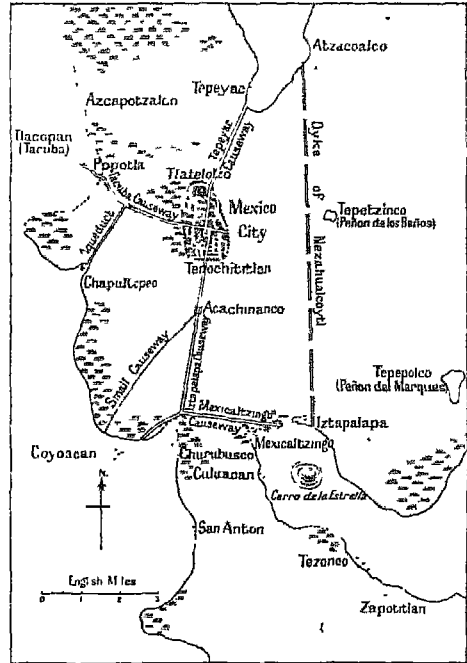
TRIUMPH OF THE AZTEC BOW

One of their own manuscripts explains the success of the Aztec invaders. The figure clad in the cotton garments of civilization is wielding a stone-edged sword; his Aztec adversary, though wild and skin-clad, has already transixed him with an arrow

Bodleian Library, Mendoza Codex

became eventually the great city of Mexico, connected by stone-built causeways with the mainland, traversed by streets and waterways, and covered with buildings and pyramids which moved the admiration of the Spanish conquistadors.

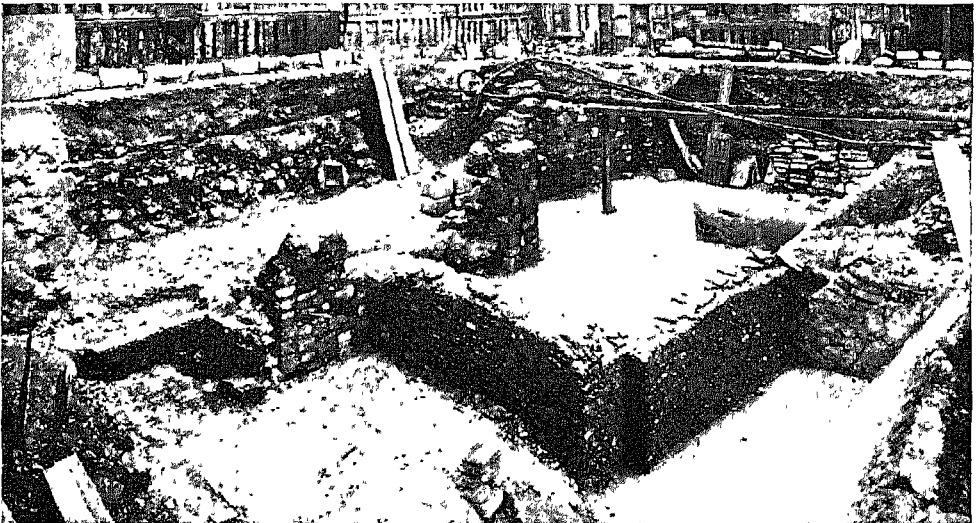
But the rapid rise of the Aztec to prominence was somewhat hampered by internal dissensions. A group of malcontents separated themselves from the main body and settled on a small island, immediately to the north of Tenochtitlan, called Tlaltelolco, and when, about the year 1376, Tenochtitlan elected a 'king' (Acamapitzin) to preside over the tribal council, Tlaltelolco elected a ruler of its own. For the next years the political history of the Mexican Valley consists in the struggle between the Tepanec of Azcapotzalco, aided by the Aztec, with the Acolhua of Texcoco. The Tepanec prevailed, but about 1430, in the reign of the fourth Aztec 'king,' hostilities broke out between the Tepanec and the Aztec, the result of which was the establishment of the Aztec as the dominant power in the Valley. The Aztec ruler at this time, Itzcoatl, was a man of singular acumen. In victory he saw the necessity of conciliation, and the terms which he arranged



MEXICO IN AZTEC TIMES

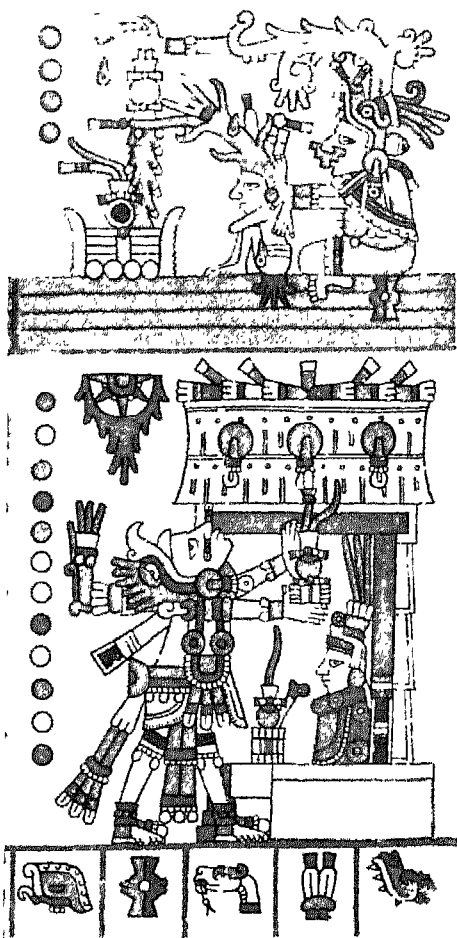
The island city of Tenochtitlan, which after its union with Tlaltelolco was known as Mexico, stood amid the shallow waters of Texcoco, from whose inundations it was protected by a system of dykes. Causeways led to the mainland.

After Maudslayi, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society



FOUNDATIONS OF AN AZTEC TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE CONQUISTADORS

Mexico City was so thoroughly destroyed and rebuilt after the conquest that hardly a vestige of the Aztec capital remains above ground. Modern excavation, however, is succeeding in laying bare a few of the pre-Spanish foundations; the colossal stone snake's head carved in Toltec style is probably the final of a balustrade flanking a stairway that led up a pyramid to the temple at the top.



COMPLEX AZTEC PANTHEON

The Aztec worshipped many gods. This portion of the Főjerváry-Mayer MS. shows the maize plant as a sprouting human figure under the protection of the water goddess (top), and a god offering incense at his own shrine.

Liverpool Museum

with his opponents and allies laid the foundations of Aztec 'empire.'

His plan ostensibly was a confederation which should bring Aztec, Acolhua and Tepanec under a united policy; with that end in view he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Texcoco and Tlacopan (the last a Tepanec city). In its inception it was a purely military alliance, the terms of which provided for the division of spoils in the proportion of two-fifths to Mexico City, two-fifths to Texcoco and one-fifth to Tlacopan. But

Itzcoatl insisted that the direction of military policy should be in the sole hands of the ruler of Mexico. This last clause made Mexico paramount; because, as will be seen later, war was conducted on ceremonial lines, and was an integral part of the Nahuatl religion, indispensable to both men and gods. Too much stress can hardly be laid on this point, because it is necessary for the proper understanding of the real nature of the Aztec 'empire.'

Mexico City became the Sparta of the Valley, but Texcoco became the Athens; its ruler, Nezahualcoyotl ('Hungry Wolf'), composed a code of laws which was regarded as a pattern of legislation; schools were established for the study of poetry, music, painting and astronomy, and the city was embellished by the construction of temples and gardens. The other towns of the Valley were brought under a loose control, with the sole exception of the little republic of Tlaxcala, which to the end stood out against the Aztec domination, and eventually provided Cortés with invaluable assistance against its hereditary foe.

The next Mexican chief, Motecuzoma I (usually, but incorrectly, spelt Montezuma), extended Mexican influence far beyond the regions of the Valley. He sent military expeditions against the Huastec



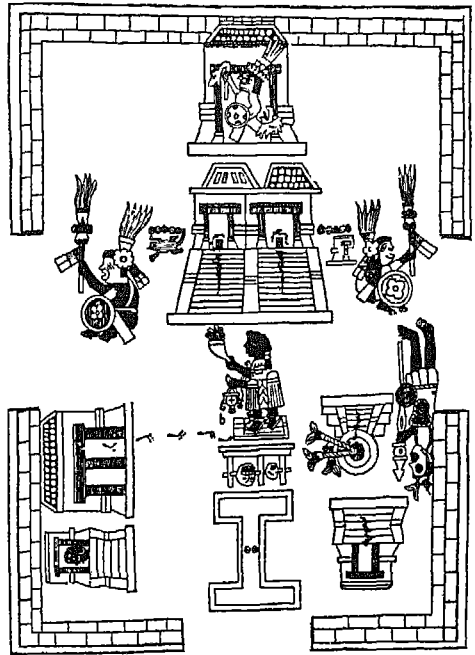
TLALOC THE RAIN GOD

The gods of the conquered Mexican Valley were added to the Aztec pantheon, especially those of agriculture and the arts. One such was the rain god Tlaloc, here seen pouring water over a chief in token of protection.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

of the Panuco valley and the Totonac of Vera Cruz, and also, southward, to the Mixtec territory in Oaxaca. Further, at home, he constructed the great ten-mile dam across the Lake of Mexico as a protection for the city against floods. His successor, Axayacatl, extended Aztec influence as far as Tehuantepec and Soconusco, winning thereby a rich tribute from the tropical lowlands. Moreover, he abolished, by force of arms, the independence of Tlaltelolco, which henceforward became a suburb of Mexico city. Tizoc followed in 1469 and Auitzotl in 1482, and shortly after the latter date Aztec influence had extended to Chiapas and even Guatemala.

Motecuzoma II succeeded in 1502, when Aztec power was at its zenith. In the seventeen years before the arrival of Cortés he proved a worthy successor. Trained both as a warrior and a priest, he maintained and extended Aztec domination. He emphasised the aristocratic side of Mexican government, and elaborated court ceremonial. He adopted a semi-divine position, and the rich tribute which now poured into Mexico City enabled him to make considerable architectural additions to his capital, and to model his personal service on lines suggestive of the Arabian Nights. It was



CHIEF TEMPLE OF THE AZTEC

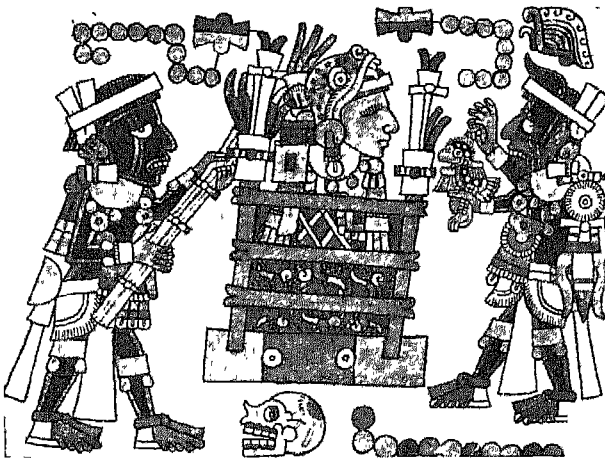
In default of extant ruins, eye-witnesses' descriptions of the great pyramid and twin shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc in Mexico can only be supplemented by this plan in the manuscript of Sahagun, probably from an Aztec source.

From Maudslayi, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society

unfortunate for him, and for his people, that his priestly training led him to adopt a fatally hesitating policy towards Cortés, the reason for which will be explained later.

Aztec rule, at any rate in its later phases, was based on a peculiar system of ceremonial war and of trade; and since war was fundamentally, and trade partially, based on religion, it will be as well to deal next with that subject.

In the matter of religion the Aztec showed an extraordinary catholicity; for particular reasons. They entered Mexico as nomadic hunters, under the personal leadership of a tribal god, Huitzilopochtli, a god of war and hunting and connected with the stars. In the Valley they encountered a sedentary agricultural population, skilled in the crafts of



FUNERAL PYRE OF AN AZTEC CHIEF

As shown by this manuscript drawing of a corpse on a pyre to which a priest sets light with a torch, the Aztec themselves practised cremation; though the pre-Aztec rite of burial was retained for those who met their death by drowning, and so went to the paradise of the rain god Tlaloc.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

Chapter 132

weaving, pottery, metallurgy and other technical processes which belong to sedentary life. This population was composite. Many of the crafts were associated with sections of the population which represented submerged elements of different tribes, still worshipping their own gods. In the course of time different gods had become permanently attached to certain occupations. The war and hunting god of the Aztec invaders could know nothing of sedentary pursuits, so they were forced to adopt the worship of the local gods who presided over the various departments of the civilization which they eventually adopted and dominated. Notable among these were Tlaloc, the rain god, giver of fertility to the fields, and Quetzalcoatl, the old Toltec divinity (see pages 2586 and 2589) who presided over arts, crafts and the calendar. A rain god had been an important deity in Maya times



XOCHIPILLI, GOD OF FLOWERS

A striking feature of Aztec psychology was a love of flowers—pyramids of roses were one of the offerings presented to Cortés on his landing—so that it is not surprising to find Xochipilli, a specialised deity of flowers and feasting.

British Museum



GODDESS OF RUNNING WATERS

It was not only the gods of their immediate predecessors that the Aztec adopted, but those of several submerged strata of population; resulting in a deity for every branch of life. This is Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running waters.

British Museum

Tribal gods wax and wane with the fortunes of the tribe. The Aztec, while accepting the gods of the Valley, and later of other peoples whom they laid under tribute, nevertheless insisted on placing their own tribal god Huitzilopochtli at the head of the pantheon. But they were cautious; they never interfered with the religion of tribes whom they laid under tribute, and even when the famous pyramid in Mexico City was erected by Auitzotl, a shrine to Tlaloc was built alongside the shrine to Huitzilopochtli on the summit. But Huitzilopochtli, from a star god, became a sun god. The process of transition is obscure. The archaeological remains of the Early Maya suggest that the sun god played a minor rôle, and the same is true of the Toltec. But under the later Aztec regime sun worship assumed enormous importance, because it became associated with war. The connexion arose, apparently, from a Nahuatl tradition that the sun, as a fertility god and regulator of the calendar, needed human blood to sustain him on his daily task.

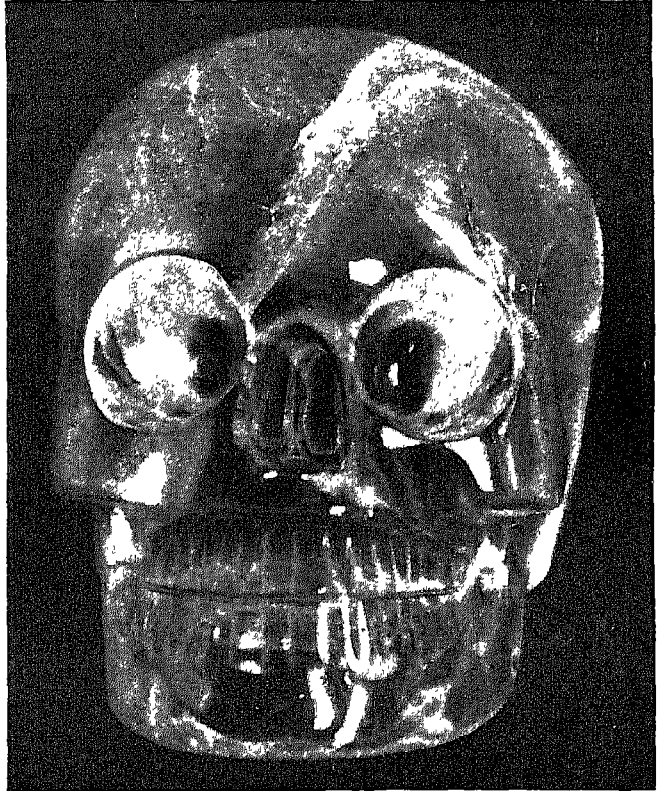
The victims of war or sacrifice went direct to the sun god's paradise in the east, whence they accompanied him (now identified as Huitzilopochtli) to the zenith, where their task ended and they returned to earth in the guise of birds of brilliant plumage. From the zenith to his setting he was escorted by the souls of women who had died in child-birth (regarded as a warrior death), who then reappeared on earth as moths. During the night he traversed the underworld, giving light to those unfortunates whose exit from this world had no ceremonial significance. This dim and rather uncongenial 'Hades' was ruled by the death god Mictlantecuhli, but there was still another 'paradise,' that of the pre-Aztec rain god Tlaloc, reserved for those who died by drowning or of dropsical affections.

The slain in war, the victims of sacrifice, were cremated. The drowned and dropsical were buried. That is to say that the early Valley dwellers, worshippers of the fertility god Tlaloc, practised inhumation, while the immigrant Nahuatl tribes burned their dead. This fact provides an excellent example of the composite nature of Mexican ritual in the sixteenth century.

The great variety of gods in the Mexican pantheon, and their functions and particular ceremonial, belong to specialist literature; but there was one deity, common to all the Nahuatl tribes, who requires mention. This was the sky god (also a night god) Tezcatlipoca, lord of wizardry, creator and punisher, and the 'Jupiter' of the Mexican Olympus. His name is introduced here, because the ceremonies held in his honour seem to have

been the most important of the yearly festivals. Religious festivals were celebrated in accordance with the calendar, and were invariably associated with some form of sacrifice.

To take the question of calendar first. The Aztec calendar was a simplified form of the Maya calendar (see page 2575), and contained the same two elements, which ran concurrently and coincided once in fifty-two years: the ritual 'calendar round' of 260 days, and the solar 'round' of 365 days divided into 18 months of 20 days each and five unlucky days at the end of the year. The 260-day round appears to have been an earlier reckoning, and was carefully observed in daily life. Every day according to its sign and number had its especial 'luck.' Every



GRIM REALISM: THE SKULL OF TEZCATLIPOCA

Huitzilopochtli dominated the Mexican pantheon as the tribal god of the Aztec; but they also recognized a supreme creator god, Tezcatlipoca, in whose honour the chief yearly ceremony was held. He was not only a sky god but a night god, which explains the association with death evident in this skull of rock crystal.

British Museum; photo, Beck and Macgregor

lay, likewise, had its day god and night god, whose attributes gave a certain colour to the luck of the day. The number, sign and gods, therefore, associated with the day on which a child was born were supposed to provide a kind of horoscope, indicating the bent and future fate of the infant. This ritual calendar, known as the *Tonalamatl*, also provided hints respecting daily life. This or that day was lucky, or the reverse, for starting on a journey, or for the inception of this or that industrial process. Even the criminal classes received hints respecting the best occasions on which to practise magic or burglary.

The eighteen months of the solar calendar were signalled by eighteen festivals, with their appropriate sacrifices, of which the various rituals observed are so expressive of the ideas underlying the religion of Aztec Mexico that one or two instances may be given here. Take, for instance, the great feast of the month *Toxcatl*, held in honour of the high god *Tezcatlipoca*. This ceremony was regarded



MASK OF A VEGETATION GOD

Xipe was the deity—of budding vegetation—for whom the most gruesome of the Aztec ceremonies was held, involving the wearing by the priests of the flayed skins of sacrificed victims. This mask is carved from volcanic stone.

British Museum; photo Beck and Macgregor

as vital to the community. It was necessary that the creator spirit should reside with the people, but it was equally necessary that it should never lose its virility. Each year a young man, of perfect physique, was selected as the representative of the god. For the year he lived in divine state, the vehicle of the creator spirit, until, in the month *Toxcatl*, he was sacrificed, and the divine spirit was transferred to another predestined victim. The idea was that the physical vehicle of the divine spirit must not be allowed to become impaired by the advance of age, and the annual sacrifice of the terrestrial representative ensured perpetual youth to the god-on-earth.

Again, one of the most revolting of Mexican sacrifices in our eyes occurred at the great feast to the god Xipe in the month *Tlacaxipeualiztli*. Xipe was not an Aztec god, but had been adopted from tribes lying to the west of the Mexican Valley. The victims



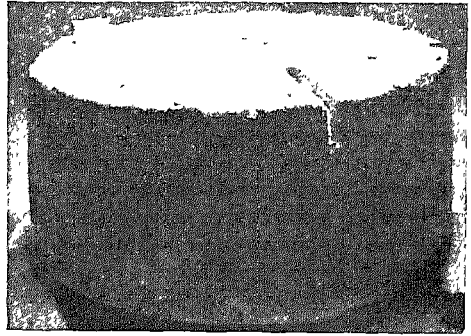
AZTEC CALENDAR STONE

The derivative nature of Mexican civilization is shown especially by their calendar, which was a simplified form of the Maya system described in page 2575. The twenty day-signs of the 260-day period were discovered in 1790 carved on this immense circular fragment, with the face of the sun god in the centre.

Mexico National Museum; photo, C. B. Watts

at his feast were prisoners of war, and after their hearts had been torn out on the sacrificial stone they were flayed and the flayed skins were worn by their respective captors for the duration of the ceremony. At the conclusion of the feast, which lasted for several days, the wearers of the skins discarded them in unison, and the relics were buried in a pit outside the city. At first sight the ceremony appears revolting in the extreme, but it had an inner meaning which mitigates its expression. Xipe was the god of budding vegetation, a fertility god. The participants in the ceremony, clad in the skins of the victims, represented winter vegetation, apparently dead, but containing within the germ of life. The final discarding of the skins was a magical ceremony, believed not only to represent, but to assist the resurrection of food plants.

Regarded in this light, as a symbolical, magical rite, the ceremony is robbed of much of its horror. In fact, every sacrifice had its symbolical aspect. The female victims offered at the festivals of the fertility goddesses were decapitated after their hearts had been torn out; the process represented the cutting of a maize cob and was believed, magically, to ensure a rich harvest. The child victims offered to the rain god, Tlaloc, were encouraged to weep on their journey to the place of sacrifice, in the belief that their tears were an augury of a plenteous rainfall.

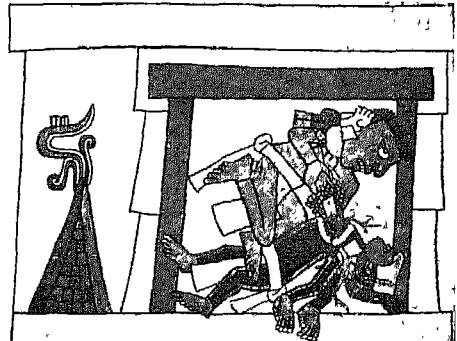


FOR THE VICTIMS' HEARTS

After the hearts of victims had been torn out they were deposited in vessels called 'quauhxicalli,' of which this, with its depression in the centre, is probably a great replica in stone for use in the most important sacrifices.

Mexican National Museum; photo, C. B. Waite

Yet, throughout, the fundamental principle of Aztec sacrifice was the offering of human hearts, regarded as necessary for the sustenance of the gods, especially of the sun god with whom their tribal god, Huitzilopochtli, was now identified. The ancient Maya, as recorded in Chapter 99, made blood sacrifices, drawing the divine offering from the tongue or ears. The Aztec heart sacrifice was an extension of this idea, but grew to almost incredible proportions. For instance, Aztec manuscripts record that at the dedication of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli in the reign of Auitzotl no fewer than twenty thousand human victims were laid on the sacrificial stone.



GRUESOME SACRIFICES DEMANDED BY THE GODS OF THE AZTEC

Every month of the solar calendar had its festival at Mexico city in honour of the god of that month, together with the prescribed form of sacrifice. On the left the victim is lashed to a frame and a hideously-masked priest has transfixed him with a spear propelled from just such a spear-thrower as is seen in page 3376; note the victim's tears, of ritual significance. On the right the heart is being torn from the cavity of the breast through a gash made with an obsidian knife.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

The growing need for human victims had a marked effect not only on Mexican psychology but also on Mexican politics. The great majority of the victims were prisoners taken in war, death on the sacrificial stone was pre-eminently the death of the fighting man, and ensured immediate entrance to the most desirable paradise. Instances are recorded of warriors who have demanded to be sacrificed for fear lest, dying

**Religious nature
of Aztec warfare**

in their beds, their future destination should be the colourless underworld

ruled by the god Mictlantecuhli. For this reason war, under the Aztec regime, was a highly ceremonial matter. The primary endeavour of every warrior was not the destruction of the enemy but the capture of prisoners for sacrifice, and on this his rise through the various ranks depended. Further, the necessity for sacrificial victims led the Aztec to exercise a very loose control over the tribes whom they laid under tribute. They almost encouraged revolt, because war had become a religious necessity and peace within their so-called 'empire' would have been a religious disaster. This fact, on more than one occasion, proved the salvation of the Spanish invaders, because the Aztec fought, not to kill, but to capture.

Sacrifice was occasionally accompanied by a limited cannibalism, certain officiators partaking of the flesh of the victim. The idea of 'eating the god' (and in many ceremonies the victim was identified with the god) is common to many peoples, and the Aztec were certainly not cannibals in the wider sense. The rite was purely ceremonial, an act of communion, which put mankind in direct touch with celestial powers. To one god, Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican version of the Maya deity Kukulcan, human victims were never offered, a further indication that human sacrifice was a comparatively late development.

The peculiar position of Quetzalcoatl in the Mexican pantheon needs a little explanation, because the beliefs current with regard to this deity, by a peculiar coincidence, facilitated the journey of Cortés from the coast to the Valley of Mexico. He was regarded as the patron

of civilized arts and science, which he had revealed personally to mortals during an extended residence on earth. Tradition described him as white-skinned and bearded, and when he finally departed, sailing eastward over the Atlantic in a serpent-skin boat, he promised to return in a certain year. According to Mexican dating, the years were known by the numeral and sign of the first day, and the same numeral and sign occurred in combination every fifty-two years. It so happened that Cortés, with his companions, white-skinned and bearded, arrived on the coast in a year of this particular denomination.

Moteczuma, paramount chief at the time, had been trained not only as a warrior but as a priest, and the arrival of these strangers in the year of prophecy bewildered him and led him to adopt a vacillating policy. When they were still in Vera Cruz his messengers brought them gifts of gold and jewelry, a reasonable precaution from his point of view, because they might be divine. But the gold merely whetted the appetite of the adventurers. In spite of

his protests they insisted on coming to Mexico. Coincidence of Spanish arrival

Moteczuma was in a quandary. During their long and arduous march from the coast to the Valley of Mexico he could certainly, with the resources at his disposal, have overwhelmed the small body of invaders, but he dared not oppose by force the progress of these might-be gods who met his commands with a disregard which appeared almost divine in its assurance. Arrived on the plateau, the Spaniards acquired the aid of the people of Tlaxcala, who included a strong Toltec element and had long resisted Aztec domination. The prophecy enabled Cortés to reach Mexico; Aztec military policy, which aimed at preserving enemies against whom to fight rather than imposing peace, provided Cortés with native allies from those tribes who still held out; and Aztec religion, which insisted on the importance of the capture of prisoners alive, on more than one occasion saved the Spaniards from extermination.

But though Aztec power was, in the main, founded on a military basis, backed



BRILLIANT CRAFTSMANSHIP IN MOSAIC AND PLUMAGE FROM MEXICO AND PERU
 Shell, jet, turquoise, pyrites, etc., set in resin on a wooden foundation, were used by Mexican artists to produce mosaics of surpassing brilliance. The group above—breast ornament in the form of a two-headed snake, stone knife, and masks of Quetzalcoatl (left) and Tezcatlipoca—are part of the treasure sent by Motecuzoma II to Cortés for the king of Spain, the last has a human skull as foundation. The other object is a featherwork head-dress from Truxillo, in Peru

British Museum



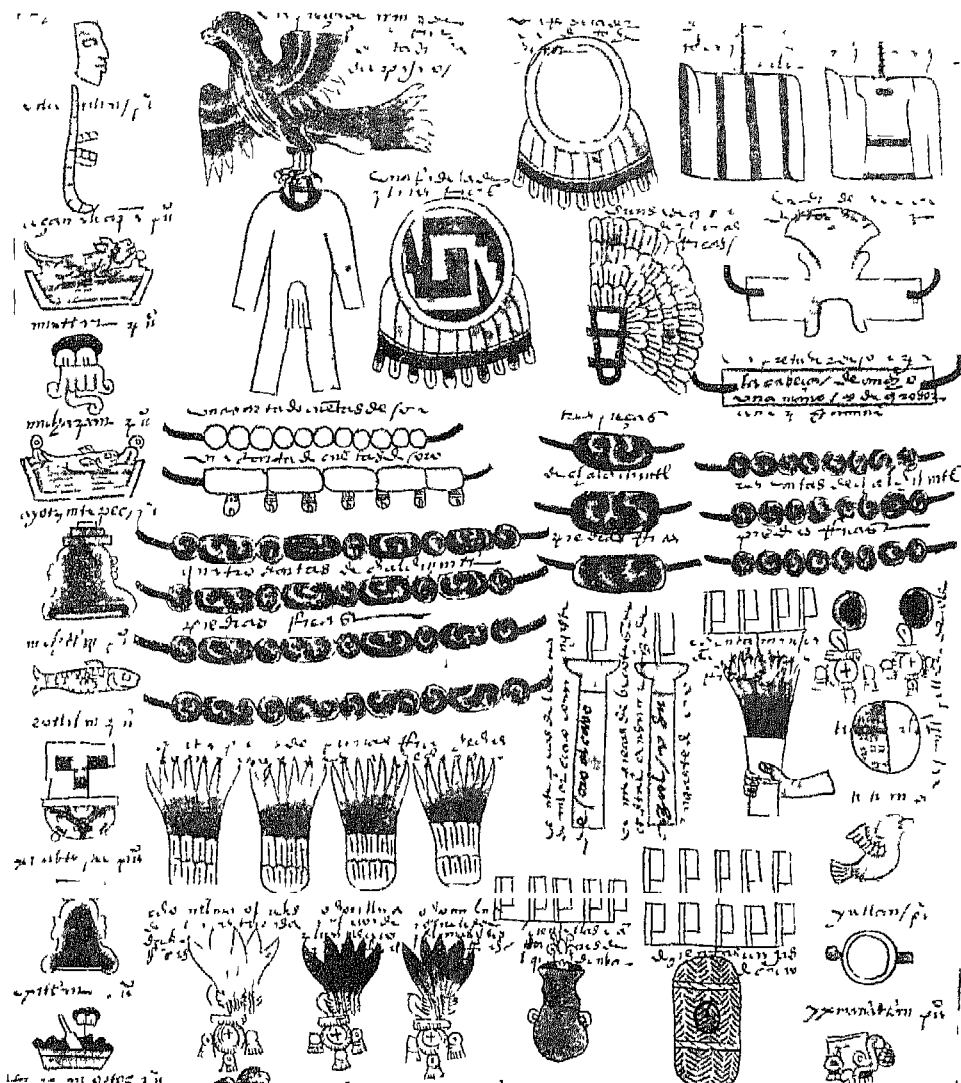
The Zouche Codex gives admirable pictures of the elaborate costumes evolved by the semi-civilizations of America, wherein bright plumage was a conspicuous feature. Of the three warriors in canoes attacking an island city, above, two at least wear terrifying masks, while the last has a feather head-dress like that of the traditional Redskin. The first wields a wooden spear barbed with obsidian flakes.



If the artists of the Mexican manuscripts lost the sense of perspective and the flowing outlines seen in Maya work, yet the colours at their command, both in brilliance and range of tints, were enormously developed. A large strip of the probably pre Aztec Zouche Codex, so-called, is reproduced in pages 3372-73, the predominant colours in the two excerpts above are seen to be blue yellow, red, black and purple. It has been suggested that it was sent by Motecuzoma to Cortes in 1519.

HARMONIOUS BLEND OF COLOURS EMPLOYED BY THE MEXICAN DRAUGHTSMAN

British Museum



TRIBUTE THAT SWELLED THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF 'MONTEZUMA'

Aztec wealth at the Conquest may be inferred from this portion of the Mendoza Codex showing the tribute of subject cities to Motecuzoma II. The upper rows give a ceremonial costume with featherwork bird, featherwork shields and two embroidered mantles with the 'fir-tree' glyph meaning 400. Next come strings of gold and jadeite beads, lip studs and incense balls, and lastly bundles of different plumes, a jar of liquidambar and a sack of cacao. The 'banner' signs mean 20, and the 'pouch-with-tassels' signs 8,000. Each item has had an explanation added in Spanish.

Bodleian Library, Mendoza Codex

by a strong religious sanction, the rapid spread of Aztec influence was dependent to a great degree on a peculiar form of trade. Mexican industrial life was organized in a series of 'guilds,' gold workers, leather workers, potters and so forth, admission to which, save by hereditary right, was a very difficult matter. These guilds worshipped their own particular gods and performed their own private ceremonies, in fact, as

remarked above, many of them represented submerged tribal groups which had become incorporated in the Aztec 'empire.' Of these, politically by far the most important were the guilds of wandering merchants, the so-called Pochteca.

These guilds possessed special privileges, being exempt from agricultural labour and also from the normal judicial system, delinquents being judged by their own headmen. They had their own private

religious ceremonies, their own gods, of whom one, Yacatecutli, was the chief, and their own burial ceremonies. Their journeys often involved years of absence, many inconvenient 'taboos' and a careful study of the calendar with its lucky and unlucky days. At the time of the Spanish conquest these merchants made extended expeditions into Chiapas, Tabasco, Tehuantepec and Guatemala, returning with the rich products of the tropics, brilliant feathers, jadeite and other precious stones, gold, cotton textiles and cacao. But they were more than mere traders; they

were pioneers of Mexican influence, and, either overtly or secretly, played the part of military spies. 'Accidents' would happen in newly explored or hostile regions, but the death of a Pochteca was rarely unavenged, and the inevitable military raid resulted in further booty for the Mexican treasury and more human hearts for the Mexican gods.

The rich resources which eventually flowed into Mexico as trade, tribute and plunder, supplemented by the intensive development of arts and crafts at home under the guild system, brought the city



INTRICATE RITUAL OF A MEXICAN MARRIAGE CEREMONY—

With ruthless thoroughness the Spanish ecclesiastics destroyed almost every Mexican manuscript on which they could lay their hands. Of the few that survive, the Féjerváry-Mayer Codex is probably the earliest, to judge from its style which has vague Maya affinities (a portion is reproduced in page 3364), and the Mendoza Codex the most interesting historically, since it was composed shortly after the Spanish Conquest, outlines the career of the Aztec and links their chronology with our own.

British Museum—

to a high pitch of opulence in the sixteenth century. The Mexican manuscript known as the Mendoza Codex, preserved in the Bodleian Library, records the tribute received from subject cities by Motecuzoma II, illustrating many works of art in feather-mosaic and gold, none of which has survived. Mexican gold work is very rare in museums, though, from the evidence of eye-witnesses, we know that the royal 'treasuries' were very rich. Bernal Diaz, who was present when Cortés broke into the sealed treasury of Axayacatl, Motecuzoma's father, relates

how they 'saw such a number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and chalchihuites [jadeite ornaments] and other great riches that they were quite carried away, and did not know what to say about such wealth. . . . When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth, and had never seen such riches in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world.'

This particular treasure was subsequently found to have the bullion value of about one and a half million sterling,



—AS PORTRAYED IN A RICHLY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT

But the Zouche Codex, probably Zapotec, is the most magnificent. Its drawing is harder and more angular than the Maya, but has a wonderfully decorative sense of line, while the colouring (see plate facing page 3371) is superb. It is painted on deer skin covered with a white slip, and shows on one side the exploits of a chieftain whose ritual name was Eight Deer. This scene from the other side is the marriage ceremony between a chief called Twelve Wind and a lady of rank, Three Knife.

—Zouche Codex



ADORNMENT OF AZTEC MEN AND WOMEN

The figures of a woman (left) and a chief in a Mexican manuscript confirm what we are told by the contemporary Franciscan missionary, Father Bernadino de Sahagun, that whereas the men wore face paint in a variety of designs the women usually kept their faces bare of such ornament.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

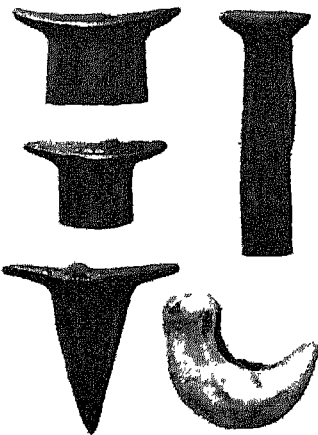
and the whole appears to have gone into the melting-pot. With the destruction of Mexico city vanished many brilliant pages in the history of craftsmanship, and the student will seek in vain the 'two birds made of thread and feather-work, having the quills of their wings and tails, their feet, eyes and beaks, of gold, standing on two reeds overlaid with gold, supported by balls of feather-work and gold embroidery, one white and the other yellow, with seven tassels of feather-work hanging

from each'; or for the 'fish with alternate scales of gold and silver.'

Although the material life of Mexico was based on intensive agriculture (primarily the cultivation of maize), yet industrial development was highly organized. The markets in the larger towns particularly attracted the attention of the earliest visitors. Take, for instance, the description of the great mart of Tlatelolco, now a suburb of Mexico City, which is described as being three times as large as that of Salamanca, with a daily attendance of

twenty thousand persons:

On one side are the merchants who sell gold; near them are those who trade in jewels, mounted in gold, in the form of birds and animals. On another side, beads and mirrors are sold; on another, plumes and feathers of all colours for working designs on garments and to wear in war or at festivals. Further on, stone is worked to make razors and swords, a remarkable thing, which passes our understanding; of it they manufacture swords and mirrors. In other places they sell cloth and men's dresses of different designs; beyond, dresses for



AZTEC LIP STUDS AND THE OPERATION OF PIERCING THE NOSE

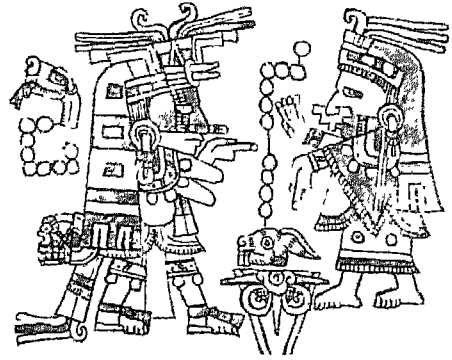
Ornaments permanently fixed to the face were much affected in Aztec times, all with definite religious, tribal, social or military significance. The objects on the left are lip studs, of obsidian save for the curved example, which is shell; these had a variety of meanings, but ornaments through the septum of the nose were reserved for warriors of proven valour. One such, Eight Deer (the deer's head with eight circles attached gives his name), is having his nose pierced on the right

British Museum and Zouche Codex

women; and, in another part, footgear. A section is reserved for the sale of prepared hides of deer and other animals; elsewhere are baskets made of hair, such as all Indian women use. Cotton, grain which forms their food, bread of all kinds, pastry, fowls and eggs are sold in other sections; and hard by they sell hares, rabbits, deer, quail, geese and ducks. In another place wines of all sorts may be purchased, vegetables, pepper, roots, medicinal plants, which are very numerous in this country, wood for building, lime and stone. In fact each object has its appointed place.

In trade, money, as we understand it, was not used. Certain articles such as textiles, maize, quills of gold dust, cacao beans and so forth constituted a rough-and-ready medium of exchange. Operations were supervised by magistrates who settled disputes on the spot, and there were certain officials who corresponded to modern inspectors of weights and measures. The resources of the Aztec 'empire' are fully reflected in the account of a ceremonial dance, performed by men and women of the warrior class, described by the Franciscan missionary Sahagun ten years after Cortés entered Mexico city. The account further affords an excellent idea of the clothing and ornaments worn by the 'upper middle class' on festive occasions:

The women wore rich and costly garments adorned with intricate embroidery; some being of white cloth with elaborate designs in needlework. The under-robcs, of white cloth, were sometimes without patterns, but deep fringes bordered the neck opening, hanging down over the breast, as well as the lower edge of the garment. The hair of these women was loose, confined only by a fillet which passed from the forehead to the back of the neck. Their faces were smooth and clean, devoid of ornament. The men were dressed as richly, in cotton mantles of a mesh so wide that it might almost be called a net. Those who were recognized 'braves,' and possessed the right of wearing a stud in the lower lip, wore cloaks edged with small white shells; while those less distinguished wore plain fringed cloaks of black. Ear studs of various metals were worn by all the men, the nobles displaying ornaments of copper with gold pendants in their lips as well as in their ears. The lip studs were in the form of small dogs, or lizards, or two small squares of metal. Young warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle wore a large disk in the lower lip with four smaller disks arranged cross-wise about it. The youngest of all wore a single plain disk. . . .



INSIGNIA OF AZTEC VALOUR

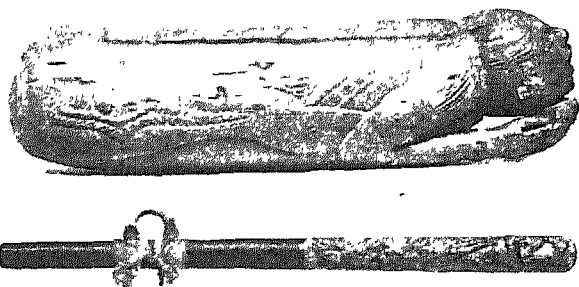
This MS. drawing not only conveys some idea of the elaborate fringed mantles and feather head-dresses worn by Mexican braves, but shows ear pendants and two styles of nose ornament—tubular and flat—in position.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

Commoner folk wore as decoration a kind of chaplet, yellow in colour, and made of objects from the coast of small worth; and such men as had taken a captive in battle displayed on their heads, as a token, an ornament of plumes. Feather decorations also were worn on the back by captains of notable courage . . . and all wore face paint applied in a variety of designs. Some had circles on the cheeks, with stripes running across the forehead from temple to temple, painted with a black pigment covered with iron pyrites. Others showed the stripe extending to the ears, while others again were adorned with a stripe running from the base of the ear to the mouth.

As regards the city itself, it was destroyed so utterly that the accounts of the early eye-witnesses are virtually our only source of information. The twin islands of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco were little more than low-lying swamps when the Aztec first settled there in rude pile-built dwellings of reed and sun-dried brick. In course of time the building of the great dam across the lake and the construction of causeways brought about a fall in the level of the lake and an extension of the dry land; but at the time of the conquest Mexico was still a sort of Venice, intersected by canals, which were the highways of traffic.

The ceremonial buildings were of stone; temples and shrines erected on lofty pyramids, usually at the eastern end of a court, in accordance with the old Maya tradition. The Great Pyramid of Mexico City, crowned by the two temples



WOOD CARVING AND METAL WORK

Wood carving was practised with success under the Aztec regime, as shown by this hollow wooden drum (top) and spear thrower. The latter object also reflects credit on the metal worker, the carved end that engaged with the butt of the spear being covered with thin gold foil of great delicacy.

British Museum

(apparently constructed chiefly of wood), to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, was built in five tiers of masonry, with a base over a hundred yards square. A flight of more than a hundred steps on the west side gave access to the summit, and the two shrines stood on the eastern edge of the upper platform, faced by the stone of sacrifice. The great court below measured some 300 by 350 yards, and was enclosed by a wall with carved ornament representing snakes. Within the court were other shrines dedicated to various gods, and the 'tzompantli,' the frame on which the skulls of the sacrificial victims were stored. (See plan in page 3365.)

The houses of the chiefs were spacious, built of stone and lime on terraced foundations. The buildings usually enclosed a court, and there was a garden attached where the girls of the household could walk under the supervision of duennas. Some were built in two storeys, and the roofs of the best residences were flat and ornamented with battlements. Diaz mentions the great houses of Iztapalapa, 'how well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet-scented trees; with great rooms and courts, wonderful to see, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.' In the chapter on American Origins it has been stressed that American civilization was essentially a stone-age civilization. It is true that the Aztec had access in quantities to certain metals, gold and copper, which were unknown, or at any rate very rare, in

Early Maya times. Yet these metals are almost useless for the cutting of stone, and it is certain that masons and sculptors relied on stone tools and implements of wood and bamboo reinforced by sand.

Aztec sculpture has a peculiar quality of its own. Though it was based on Maya traditions, received through the Toltec, and though lapidary work was in the hands of tribes who were in the main of Toltec stock, there is little difficulty in differentiating between the carvings of Aztec times and those belonging to

an earlier period. The difference is easy to demonstrate by means of specimens, but difficult to describe in words. Sculpture of the Aztec period shows in certain respects a superior technique, especially in dealing with hard stones. Artistic expression becomes simplified, in most cases much cruder, and in a sense far 'fiercer.' The advance in technical achievement is accompanied by a more 'primitive' method of expression, which in most cases produces a mechanical effect; but in the masterpieces of the period the conventionalised simplicity is relieved by an underlying subtlety of modelling which at any rate compares very favourably with the sculptures of ancient Egypt. (See page 3360.)

Yet in estimating the position of the Aztec in the history of world culture it must be remembered that they were neither artists nor artisans. Their genius lay in organization. The artists and craftsmen, weavers, potters, gold workers, scribes were in the main folk of Toltec descent and were maintained in their hereditary professions. The pottery vessels in daily use on the tables of the Aztec nobles, even of the great Motecuzoma himself, were made in Cholula (a former Toltec centre where the most important temple to Quetzalcoatl was situated) because it was infinitely superior, both in technical and artistic qualities, to the ware of the Aztec clay workers.

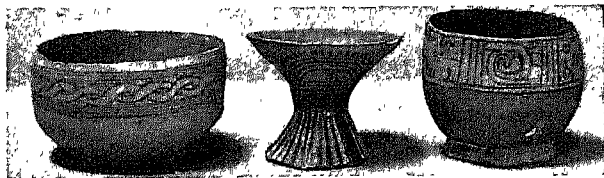
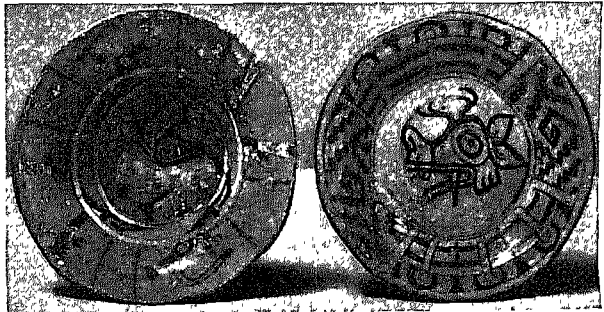
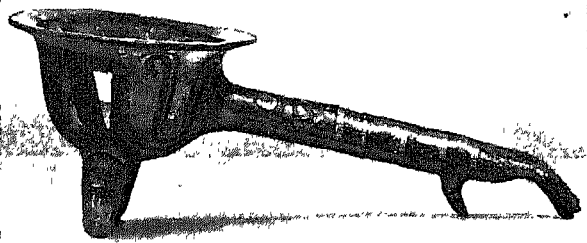
**Aztec not artists
but organizers**

It is impossible to deal in detail with the organized life of the inhabitants of Mexico City; but, in illustration of the systematic rules which governed the life of the population at large, a few words may be said about the education of children. The Mendoza Codex, mentioned above, illustrates the training which boys and girls received at the hands of their parents from the ages of three to fifteen. Here are recorded the tasks, punishments and food ration suited to children according to age and sex, and Sahagun quotes the moral lectures which were delivered to them by their mentors. Provision was also made for secondary education. There were two great public institutions, the Telpochcalli and the Calmecac. The first corresponded to the ordinary 'public school,' and was devised to give the young lad the training which should make him a good warrior. It was under the direct protection of Tezcatlipoca, and the regime, partly religious, was rigorous, commencing with the severest form of 'fagging' in menial occupations. The Calmecac provided the training for the children of the upper classes, destined for the priesthood and higher military and government appointments. This institution was under the protection of Quetzalcoatl, and the course was even more severe, involving the practice of fasting and other penitential rites.

Girls also were admitted to this establishment, where they were trained as priestesses, a vocation which involved perpetual virginity. But the initial steps were not vital, because a girl wishing to marry could be released on payment of compensation, and many entered the establishment in the hope that a term of service to the gods would be requited with the reward of a good husband.

At the time of the conquest the Maya, originally the pio-

neers of Central American culture, had suffered a decline. The great architectural complexes in the central area had been deserted, and even the 'cities' erected in Yucatan in the Late Maya period were falling into decay. Some six centuries before the arrival of Cortés Yucatan was under the stable government provided by the union of three ruling houses, the Itzá at Chichén-Itzá, their close relatives, the Tutul-Xiu, at Uxmal, and the Cocom at Mayapan. Though the Xiu and Itzá seem originally to have been the more powerful tribes, the Cocom appear to have been the chief power in the League of Mayapan, as it is called. Two centuries later dissensions broke out, in which the Cocom, by the aid of Toltec mercenaries, were the victors. These Toltec, as the price of their assistance, were given Chichén-



POTTERY OF THE AZTEC AND THEIR SUBJECTS

The Aztec themselves were no great potters, but imported their finest ware from the Toltec centre of Cholula, where the older artistic traditions were carried on; compare the bottom row here (native Aztec from Mexico City) with the three Cholula specimens above. The topmost object is a censer.

British Museum

Itz'a, and the later buildings at this site afford abundant evidence of their characteristic art. The effect of their presence in Yucatan went further, the bow became the principal weapon, cremation was introduced and human sacrifice became a frequent feature of Yucatec ritual. But the break-up of the League sounded the death knell of Late Maya culture. Centralised control vanished, and was replaced by petty independent communities; and then came pestilence, which resulted in the depopulation of large areas.

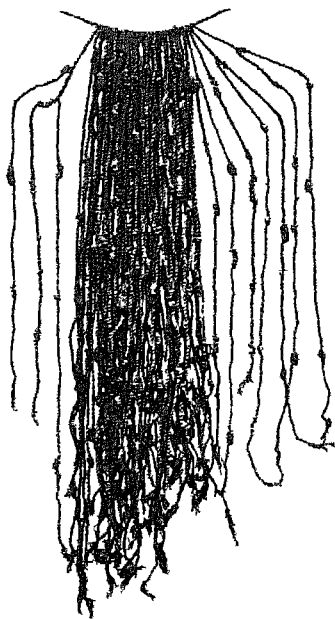
The old days of prosperity were not so distant that Bishop Landa and Cogolludo were unable to collect invaluable information regarding Yucatec religion and mode of life. Maize culture, hunting and bee keeping were still the main occupations of the population. Head deformation was still practised. The worship of the old gods was still maintained, though a great deal of Mexican ritual had been introduced. And a simplified form of the Early Maya calendar, more intricate than that of the Aztec, was still observed. But the Maya were no longer a power, and though Valdivia, Grijalva and Cortés met with opposition when they first landed in Yucatan the occupation of the Maya lands followed, as a necessary consequence, the subjugation of Mexico.

At the time of the expedition of Pizarro to South America the predominant power was the Inca of Peru, whose domination extended from Quito in Ecuador to the northern regions of the Argentine Republic and Chile. Like the Aztec, they were the inheritors of an earlier civilization, and their conquests were undertaken in the name of religion, but

their external policy was entirely different. As they extended their conquests they consolidated their power with the aim of securing peace within the limits of their 'empire.' War was only the means to an end, the end being the firm establishment of a great communistic theocracy, secured

by a rigid framework of laws and regulations, within which war, dissension and even controversy had no place whatever.

Inca history is less definite than that of the Aztec, because no form of script, even of a pictographic nature, was known to the Peruvians. The only form of record consisted in an elaborate system of knotted cords, which served the purpose of account-books and ledgers (see page 1063). It has been said that these 'quippu' were used to chronicle historical events, but the statement is doubtful. For Inca history we are dependent almost entirely on tradition. Of this there is no lack; many of the earliest explorers and missionaries have left records of Inca history



PERUVIAN QUIPPU

Unlike the Central Americans, the Peruvians had evolved no form of script; but used systems of knotted cords called 'quippu' as a kind of mnemonic technique for messages and accounts

British Museum

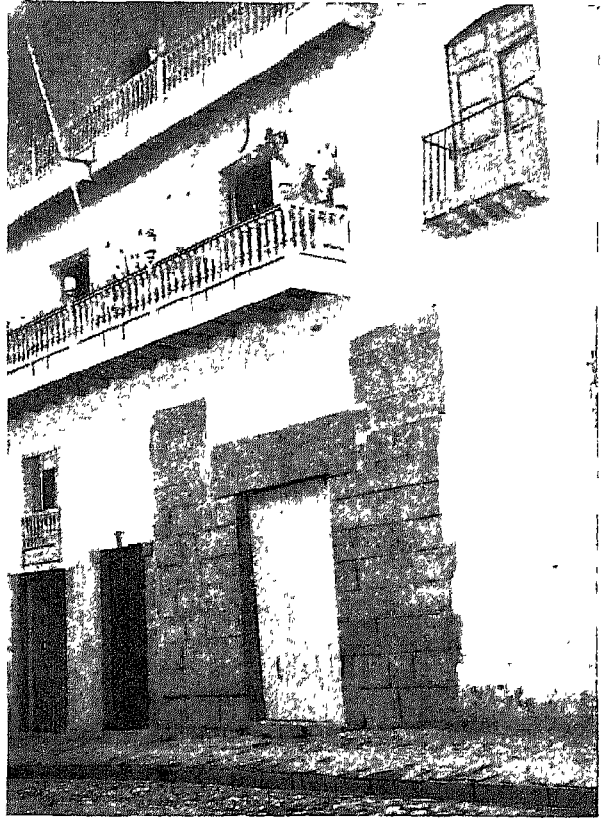
which they obtained from the natives, and one account which has survived is of particular interest. This is the relation of Garcilasso de la Vega, son of one of Pizarro's lieutenants and a grand-daughter of a ruling Inca.

As a child he was brought up by his mother, and was for years in direct contact with the surviving nobles who had known the Inca regime in its prime. His account is invaluable, but it is evidently coloured by the desire to glorify his mother's people. On the other hand, the careful history of Sarmiento, who received an official commission to prepare it, is even more tendentious, because he was expected to show that the Inca were usurpers and oppressors, and

that, in consequence, the Spanish conquest was an act of liberation. The truth lies somewhere between the two, but, in the light of the great prosperity of the Inca country at the time of the discovery, probably nearer to Garcilasso than to Sarmiento.

All traditions agree that the Inca tribe entered Peru from the south, coming probably from the Bolivian highlands, and settled at Cuzco. Their leader was Manco Ccapac, their tribal god was the sun, and the history of their journey is replete with incidents of a miraculous character which place it in the sphere rather of mythology than of history. It was an ancient prophecy that when the golden staff carried by their leader sank into the ground, there the Inca should find a home and dominion, and it was fulfilled at Cuzco.

Manco was regarded as the original leader, but it is hard



TWO-STORYED INCA HOUSE

Inca buildings of more than one storey were uncommon. The only one surviving is the House of the Seven Pumas (so called from carvings on stones above the doorway) in Cuzco; the balconies and third storey are Spanish additions.

Photo, Merwyn Palmer



NICHE IN AN INCA FORT

Blind niches were almost the only exterior decoration that Inca masons permitted themselves. Apart from these it is hard to distinguish earlier Inca from pre-Inca masonry; many of the blocks in this example at Cuzco are polygonal.

Photo, Underwood

to place him in history. Eleven Inca had ruled in Peru before the Discovery. Some accounts make the first of these, Sinchi Rocca, his son, but Montesinos interposes some ninety rulers between Manco and Rocca. It is possible that Manco was a legendary figure, belonging to the first introduction of culture into the Cuzco district under the older megalithic 'empire' described in Chapter 99. Rocca was the first chief to bear the title of Sapa Inca, and it was under his rule that the city of Cuzco was rebuilt in Inca style, and the Inca began to make their power felt over the surrounding tribes.

At this period the highlands of Peru seem to have been inhabited by series of independent tribes, worshipping different tribal gods but observing similar religious

rites and social customs. Possibly the Inca retained a little more of the ancient culture than the rest, but there was no such difference between them and the other Peruvian tribes as existed between the Aztec and the Toltec of Mexico. This fact explains to a very great extent the rapidity with which Inca influence spread, and the ultimate cohesion of the great Inca domain. Rocca was followed as ruler by Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Ccapac and Ccapac Yupanqui, whose reigns saw the consolidation of Inca power in and around the Cuzco valley, and an extension of the nascent 'empire' southwards into the Bolivian highlands. The next two chieftains, Rocca II and Yahuarhaccac consolidated the ascendancy gained by their predecessors in this direction, and even undertook expeditions eastward, to the fringe of the Amazonian forest.

But the real commencement of the rise of the Inca as a great power belongs to the next two reigns, of Uiracocha and Pachacuti. The Inca were not the only tribe of highlanders to lay the foundation of possible empire. To the west and north-west had arisen a powerful confederation dominated by the Chanca people. A collision was inevitable. The Chanca invaded Cuzco, and a great battle was fought outside the city in which the Inca, supported by troops from their newly acquired territories in the south, achieved a signal victory. This event had very far-reaching consequences. The Inca realm was increased by a large area, well organized on, apparently, exactly the same lines. For this reason incorporation into the growing Inca state was simple, since it involved no material change in the life of the population as a whole. On the other



AUSTERE STRENGTH AND SUBLIME SURROUNDINGS OF MACHU PICCHU—

Coming from the south, the Inca seem to have settled in Cuzco towards the beginning of the twelfth century, and as their power began to expand their first care was to fortify the approaches to their capital city and then the country farther afield. Some fortresses, such as cyclopean Ollantaitambo, they found ready-made by their megalithic predecessors, whose culture is described in Chapter 99; but the stupendous fortress-town of Machu Picchu is almost wholly the work of their own hands.

Photo, Hiram Bingham—

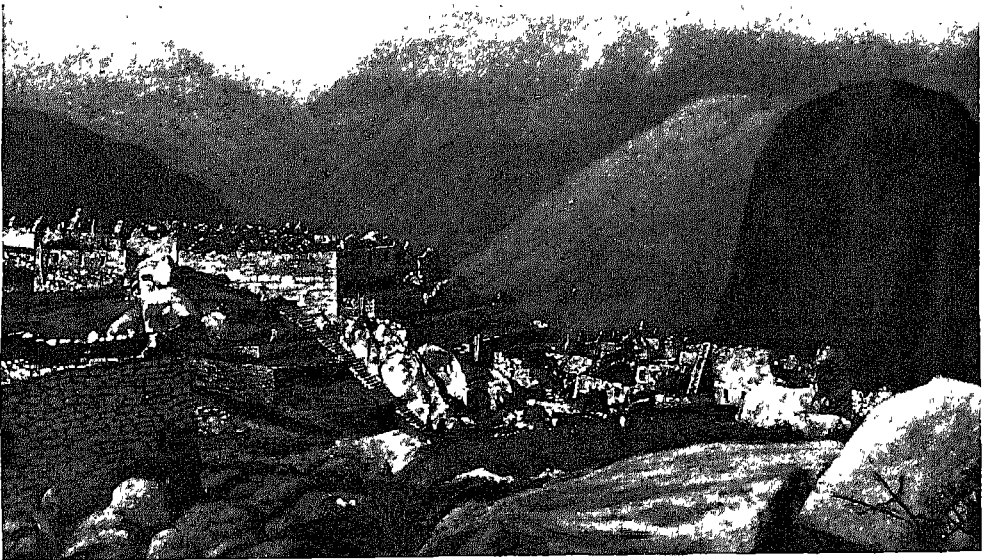
hand, the Inca received a tremendous impulse towards imperial ideas and, from this moment, began to assume the position of a ruling caste rather than that of a paramount tribe.

Pachacuti appears to have remodelled the Inca social and governmental system in the light of new political responsibilities. His successors, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, by periodical military campaigns, carefully planned, punctuated by intervals devoted to peaceful consolidation, gradually extended the Inca power until, shortly before the Spanish conquest, it reached from Quito in Ecuador, throughout the whole of Peru and the Bolivian highlands, to the river Maule in Chile, including also the north-western provinces of the Argentine Republic—a territory comprising more than thirty-five degrees of latitude. And it

must be remembered that this enormous territory, in spite of the difficulties presented to rapid communication by the mountainous nature of the highlands, was welded into a consistent whole.

We do not have here the loose control exercised by the Aztec in Mexico; but a very rigid combination of theocracy and state socialism with the corollary of a civil-service list of inordinate dimensions, in which nearly all the higher positions were occupied by men of original Inca stock. The qualification is necessary, because in the later stages of imperial expansion the Inca found it advisable to appoint the local rulers of tribes who submitted readily as 'curaça' or provincial governors, subject, of course, to loyalty and good conduct.

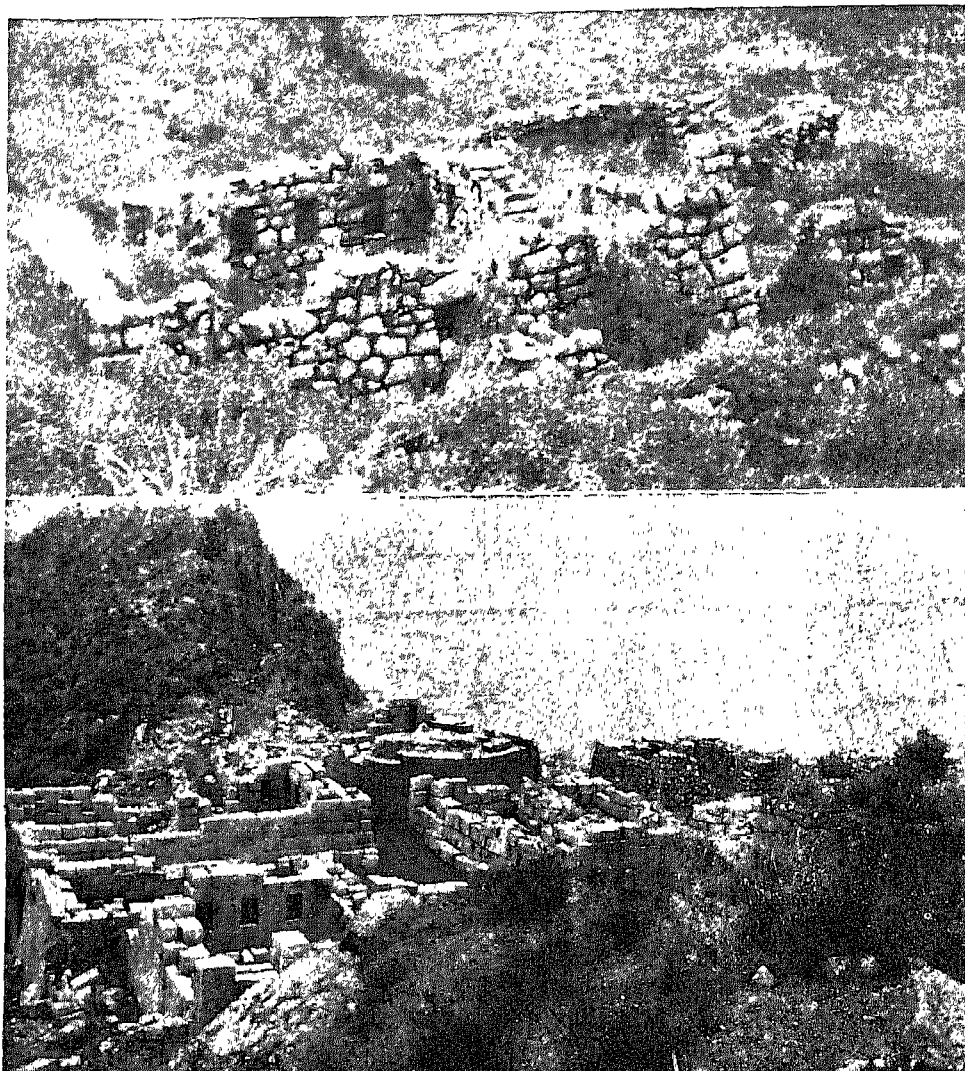
In the high country Inca progress was not difficult. The political system (based



—THE FORTRESS-TOWN BUILT BY THE INCA TO GUARD THEIR HOMELAND

Machu Picchu, north-east of Cuzco, dominates the Urubamba cañon from beneath the sugar-loaf peak of Huayna Picchu in a wild and desolately lovely setting. 'Andenes' or cultivation terraces climb the precipitous sides of the narrow saddle on which it stands, and dizzy stairways lead from wall to concentric wall, the whole comprising miles of beautifully worked masonry, austere unadorned, save where blind niches, hall-mark of the Inca builders, break the plain surfaces of a few walls.

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PERUVIAN DWELLING-HOUSE AND OBSERVATORY OF INCA TIMES

Inca dwelling-houses—that is, probably, of Inca governors or approved 'curaça'—must have abounded, to judge from the ruins, but the majority have been pillaged for building material; they were of stone and roofed with thatch. This example (top) is at Tipon near Cuzco. Below is the temple and observatory at Pisac where the solstices were calculated from the shadows of upright pillars observed at noon; the circular building in the background is known as the Intihuatana.

Photos, Ernest Peterffy

on the psychological tendency of the native Peruvian towards discipline) not only enabled the Inca rulers to concentrate great forces of men on a definite objective, but, in itself, was not distasteful to the conquered peoples. It was the coast which provided the greatest opposition, because, here, the religious question became acute. The coastal region of the northern half of Peru had been the site of a civilization, as described in Chapter 99, of a very

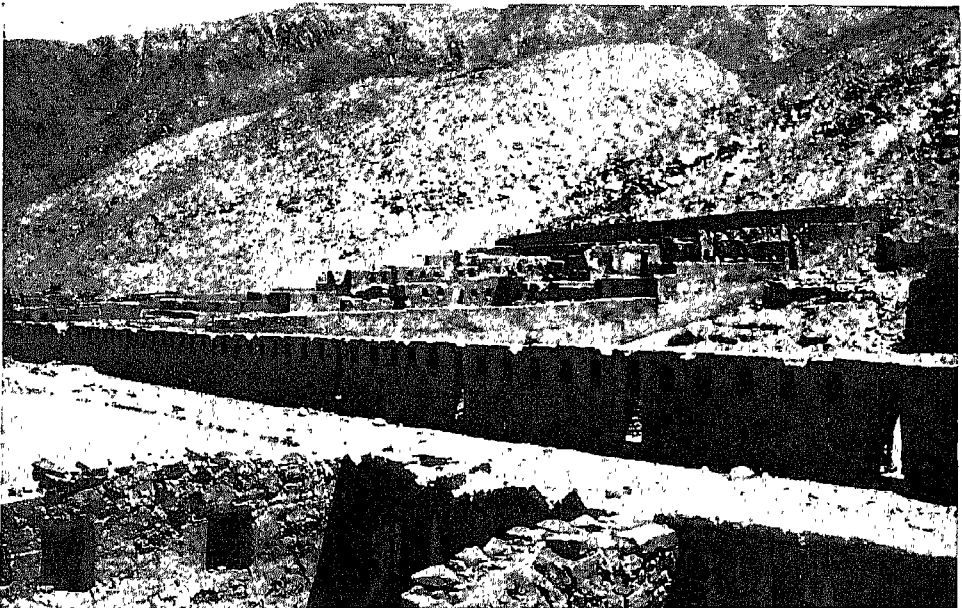
high standard, known as proto-Chimu, the pottery remains of which are unsurpassed in the history of 'primitive' man. There had been a 'dark age' on the coast, followed by a 'renaissance,' and from Huaman to Truxillo the maritime region was now ruled by a paramount chief known as Chimú. Other rulers held portions of the coast towards the south, but the conditions were similar throughout. Material culture reached a high stage in



LABORIOUSLY BUILT CULTIVATION TERRACES NEAR PISAC

Together with the aqueducts of the coast dwellers, the most marvellous engineering feats in Peru were the 'andenes' of the highlands. The latter are terraces, representing incalculable miles of masonry, built to prevent the soil of the mountain sides, on which the inhabitants depended for their agriculture, from being washed away by the rain. In fact, the highlanders 'built' their country.

Photo, Ernest Peterffy



MONUMENT OF INCA RULE OVER THE RAINLESS PERUVIAN COAST

The coast lands of Peru, irrigated by the aqueducts of the ingenious inhabitants, must have been infinitely more fertile and populous when the Inca conquered them than they are to-day; but the Inca, unlike their Spanish successors, though they cut the aqueducts to conquer the country took all pains to preserve its prosperity once conquered. A monument of this prosperity is the Inca palace (one of many) that stands finely preserved in the now scorched and barren valley of Pisco.

Photo, Mervyn Palmer

the coastal valleys; in particular, the ceramic and textile arts had been developed to a very high degree of perfection; but hardly a single tradition has survived which sheds any light on the social system or history of the coastal peoples.

The difficulties which the Inca encountered in the reduction of these valleys were based in the main on climatic conditions. Rain on the coast falls only about once in six years, and the life of the population was one long struggle against drought. Sea mists provided some moisture, but the main water supply was afforded by a wonderful system of aqueducts, constructed in early times, which brought water from the mountains. The sun, therefore, whose worship the Inca insisted on imposing on their subjects, was no benefactor here, but rather an enemy, and the coast folk fought hard to preserve their independence. The hot climate, moreover, proved very trying to the invading troops; and it was only after a long series of campaigns, during which the Inca succeeded in capturing the sources of water supply in the mountains, that the coast became incorporated in the Inca empire.



HOMES OF THE COAST DWELLERS

Forked poles of algarroba (carob) wood lightly roofed with beams and matting, as in the vase painting on the left, or more solid huts of adobe like the model on a vase, sufficed for dwellings on the stoneless Peruvian coast.

From Joyce, 'South American Archaeology'



EMPIRE 2,700 MILES LONG

At its greatest extent—that is, under Huayna Ccapac just before the Spanish conquest—the Inca empire stretched from the Ancasmayu to the Maule: some 36° of latitude.

To the east and south-east the forested regions proved an insuperable barrier to the Inca arms, and expeditions in this direction proved unsuccessful. Also, south of the river Maule in Chile, the fierce Araucanian nomads successfully maintained their independence. But in the reign of Huayna Ccapac, who died only very shortly before the arrival of Pizarro, the whole of the highland and coastal strip from Quito to the Maule had become an organized political whole.

The system which was devised for the control of this enormous territory was, as has been said above, a rigid form of state socialism, based on belief that the ruling Inca was a god on earth, whose ordinances were therefore invested with a divine sanction. Money did not exist in Peru, and 'taxes' were

paid in the form of personal labour.

Peruvian civilization was based ultimately on agriculture, and no man was exempt from agricultural labour, or from military service, except by special privilege. Weaving and spinning were matters of common knowledge, but mining, metallurgy and stone work were in the hands of selected artisans. For the purpose of agriculture land was divided into three classes, 'church' lands, common lands and royal lands. From the first were derived the revenues which supported the sun priesthood; the second were apportioned amongst the heads of families, according to the number of individuals composing the household; the third provided the state revenues.

A complicated hierarchy of overseers controlled the communal labour; an accurate census of the population enabled the higher officials to estimate the man power available in a given district; and certain drastic regulations provided for the distribution of labour according to the productive power of a given region. The Peruvian empire comprised every phase of

climate: high mountain plateaux where only the potato and the small variety of buck-wheat (the quinoa) could grow; temperate and sub-tropical valleys, well-watered by carefully planned irrigation systems, where every hill-side was built up in series of stone terraces—mile upon mile of masonry containing-walls which provided beds for maize; and then the tropical coast, watered by aqueducts, which provided other produce suited to local conditions. The Inca system provided for a more or less equal distribution of food products over the whole empire. The produce of the crown lands, and all surplus crops, were gathered into official granaries, so that the maize of the lower valleys could be sent to the barren highlands for the support of the shepherd class that tended the flocks of llama and alpaca, or could be employed for relief in districts where crops had failed. So, too, with manufactures.

The system, besides an elaborate civil service of overseers, entailed facilities of communication and a very drastic treatment of the population at large. As regards the first, the Inca were wonderful road builders over the most impossible country; and along these roads were series of rest-houses tenanted by official runners (called 'chasqui'), who carried verbal messages from post to post, or handed from one to the other the bunch



DRESS OF PERUVIAN BRAVES

Two warriors fighting on a Truxillo vase show the costumes in vogue, which were essentially similar throughout the Inca empire. He on the left wears the sewn tunic confined with a belt. Both llama wool and cotton were used.

From Joyce, 'South American Archaeology'

of knotted cords which constituted an official dispatch. The mountain roads in particular moved the admiration of the conquerors; Cieza de Leon writes:

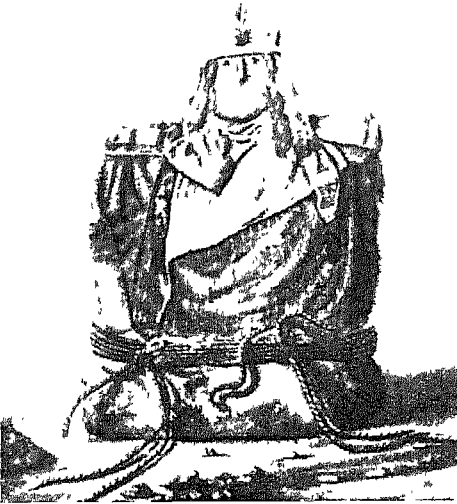
One of the things which I admired most in contemplating and writing down the affairs of this kingdom, was to think how and in what manner they could have made such grand and admirable roads as we now see, and what a number of men would suffice for their construction, and with what tools and instruments they could have levelled the mountains and broken through the rocks to make them so broad and good as they are. . . . Some of them extended for over one thousand one hundred leagues, along such dizzy and frightful abysses, that, looking down, a man's sight failed. In some



RITUAL DANCE OF MEN IMPERSONATING THEIR CLAN ANCESTORS

The basic religion of Peru, on which the Inca imposed their sun ritual, seems to have been clan-ancestor worship; even the sun was probably in origin the clan ancestor of the Inca. These ancestors, to which among many other things the term 'huaca' was applied, might be animate or manimate—birds, beasts, rocks, heavenly bodies, even Lake Titicaca; and when we find men, as on this Truxillo vase, masked and garbed as various beasts, they are probably impersonating their huacas.

From Joyce, 'South American Archaeology'



MUMMIFICATION IN PERU

Peruvian mummies, though never artificially embalmed as in Egypt, were often elaborately wrapped and sometimes made up in bundles of several bodies. This bundle from Ancon is topped by a false head with shell eyes and a wig.

After Reiss and Stübel, 'Necropolis of Ancon'

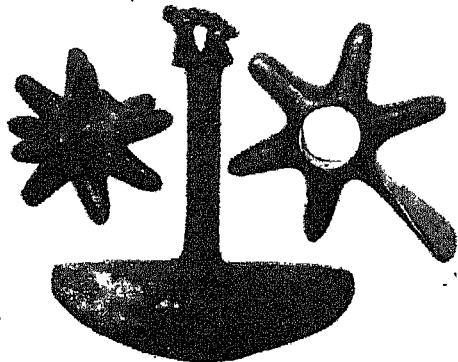
places, to secure the regular width, it was necessary to hew a path out of the living rock; all of which was done with fire and their picks. In other places the ascents were so steep and high that steps had to be cut from below, to enable the ascent to be made, with wider spaces at intervals for resting-places. In other places there were great heaps of snow, which were more to be feared. . . . Where snow obstructed the path, and where there were forests of trees, or loose earth, the road was levelled and paved with stone.

By means of the runner system, a message could be transmitted from Quito to Cuzco, over a thousand miles as the crow flies, through mountainous country, in eight days.

The maintenance of the communication system, and the system of distribution of products, necessitated an absolute control of the population; and this control existed in fact. With one exception, exercised at the discretion of the state, no member of the ordinary populace could rise from the estate in which he had been born, could move from his village or could marry outside his district;

the whole regime was based on a complete surrender of individuality to government needs. Even the exception was dictated by imperial policy. In the organization of their empire the Inca found it advisable to transport whole sections of the population from one region to another; such colonists were known as 'mitimaes,' and the practice fulfilled a twofold purpose. In the first place an interchange of a large section of the population of two newly conquered regions, speaking different dialects, provided very efficiently against revolt; in the second place, by this means, combined with the system of food distribution, large districts in the uplands were populated with herdsmen who could not have existed there without supplementary supplies. Under the Inca regime there was no poverty; but there was no chance of advancement. From a small tribe the Inca became a vast civil service, controlling the empire which they had built. Probably no other people in the world would accept the security of daily bread at the price.

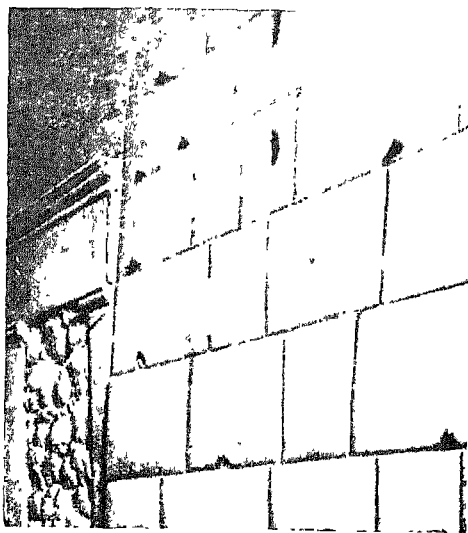
It has been remarked before that the state socialism of the Inca was based ultimately on religion, and a short account of the religious beliefs in Peru, so far as we know them, is necessary. Peruvian religion has always been associated with sun worship, simply because the Inca imposed their tribal god, the sun, on their tributaries; just as the Aztec enforced



OBJECTS OF PERUVIAN COPPER

Copper and an accidental bronze were known to the Peruvians, though they must have been useless for the cutting of stone. Left to right: a weight for a bolas (or throwing-thong), a knife and a mace or axe-head.

British Museum

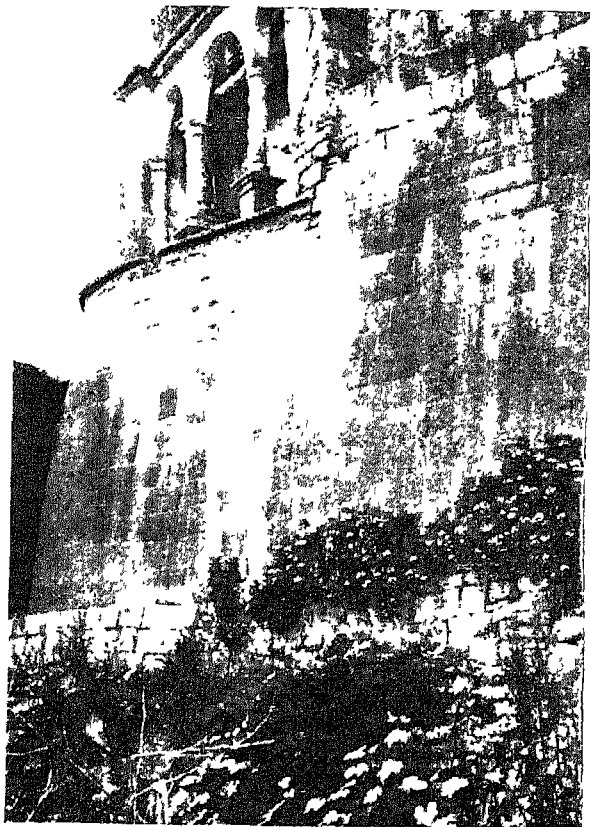


the worship of Huitzilopochtli. All evidence tends to prove that the inhabitants of this region of South America worshipped clan and tribal gods, many of them in the forms of birds and beasts—pumas, condors, snakes and the like. In many cases the god was regarded as the ultimate ancestor of the tribal or clan group, and it is possible that some form of totemism may have existed, though this has not yet been proved. Apart from the clan and tribal gods there were other, higher, divinities: gods associated with the sky and the creation of the universe, whose cult was rather of an esoteric nature. Such were Uiracocha, associated with the older civilization, and recognized by the Inca; or Pachacamac, the creator god worshipped on the coast, whose shrine still exists as a ruin in the neighbourhood of Lima.

The Inca showed the same catholicity as the Aztec. They made no effort to destroy local cults, but merely insisted that the worship of the sun, their tribal god, should take official precedence. Apart from this

they were prepared to admit the sanctity of local shrines, and the temple of the oracular coastal god Rimac (the pre-ent Lima) was recognized as an important religious centre up to the time of the Spanish invasion.

The attitude of the Peruvians towards the supernatural world is best expressed in their own word 'huaca'. There is no single word in English that provides an adequate translation. It means not only 'holy,' but also 'uncanny' or merely 'strange.' The high gods were 'huaca'; so were the tribal and clan gods, also the personal fetishes (called 'conopa'), a man with a hare lip was 'huaca,' or a llama born with six legs; even a strangely shaped rock. The cult of tribal ancestors, often in animal form, brought burial



MASONRY OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN

Much of the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco is preserved in the cathedral of Santo Domingo. Comparison with the photograph in page 2597 will show how Inca architecture differed from its megalithic forerunner, in its use of smaller blocks, rectangular and neatly dressed, and its power to achieve a rounded apse.

Photo, Mervyn Palmer

grounds within the range of the term, which survives to-day inasmuch as the pots excavated from ancient cemeteries are locally known as 'huacas.'

Peruvian religion, based as it was on the worship of a tribal ancestor, naturally involved a respect for the dead. The arid atmosphere, both of the coast and the uplands, arrested decay, just as in Egypt. Professor Elliot Smith has shown how the idea of mummification arose in Egypt as the result of climatic conditions; similar circumstances produced similar results in Peru, although the elaborate processes of embalming never existed there. But there were occasions when the ancestral 'mummies' were paraded at certain festivals held in honour of the dead.

The Inca regime, which provided for a proportional distribution of labour, proved an excellent foster-mother of arts and crafts. It is true that Inca masonry lacks the stupendous force of the older megalithic building, but the erections which survive, constructed of neat, rectangular stones, cut to size, accurately fitting without mortar, are perhaps the most perfect, from a technical point of view, which have ever been constructed by a people ignorant of iron. A fine example still exists in the apsidal end of the great Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, now incorporated in the cathedral of Santo Domingo.

Copper was used, and though many of the copper implements and ornaments contain tin, and therefore are in fact bronze, it is doubtful whether the alloy was intentional or accidental. Gold was common, but since it is useless as a tool, only appears as ornament. Gold and silver were royal property, and their use was restricted to the privileged classes. The ruling Inca amassed enormous stores of the precious metals, in the form of utensils and ornaments. We read in the accounts of eye-witnesses of artificial gardens, with trees and plants 'in gold and silver, with their leaves, flowers and fruit; some just beginning to sprout, others half grown, others having reached maturity. They made fields of maize,

with their leaves, canes, roots and flowers all exactly imitated. The beard of the maize head was of gold, and all the rest of silver, the parts being soldered together. They did the same with other plants, making the flower, or any part that was yellow, of gold, and the rest of silver.' The world has lost much in the fact that no single specimen of these works of primitive art escaped the melting-pot of the conquistadors.

In the matter of textiles, tapestry, woven cloth and embroidery the Peruvian stood supreme. It has been said, with justice, that if the whole of the textile industry in the Old World were to disappear it could be recreated from the fabrics recovered from Peruvian graveyards. Ceramic art flourished equally; but the pottery of the Inca period, whether in coast or highland, though superior in technique, was certainly inferior in artistic qualities to that of the prehistoric period. The sense of form persists, the firing of the clay is superior, but colour and ornament have sadly declined. It was the natural effect of mass production which, from the artistic point of view, has ruined the ceramic art of Europe.

In Mexico, Cortés succeeded by the sheer accident that he arrived in a year which foretold the return of Quetzalcoatl. Pizarro, in Peru, was even more favoured by chance. Huayna Capac had just died, and the legitimate heir was his son by his sister-wife, Huascar. But a pretender, Atahualpa, the son of a concubine of Ecuador, laid claim to the throne and, supported by levies from the Ecuadorian highlands, had raided Peru and captured Huascar. The whole country was in doubt in regard to the question who was the divine ruler. Pizarro by a sudden and treacherous move captured Atahualpa, and so obtained control of the whole of the over-organized Peruvian empire. The state socialism of the Peruvian regime was founded on the idea that the supreme ruler was a god on earth. His removal paralysed the whole system, and the enormous territory dominated by Cuzco fell like a ripe fruit into the hand of the unscrupulous Pizarro.

AFRICA IN THE DAYS OF VASCO DA GAMA

Survey of one of the World's Continents before Euro-
pean Exploitation arrested its native Development

By W. BASIL WORSFOLD

Author of South Africa, etc.

'**E**x Africa semper aliquid novi.' What the Roman said of the little bit of Africa which he knew—the Senatorial province officially so-called—that it was a land of surprises, has been repeated many times since of other parts and of the continent as a whole. It could never have been applied more suitably than to the Africa of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If only Europe had remembered the saying, and all that it implies, when the Portuguese navigators had rounded the Cape and found an ocean pathway to India, she would have been saved from a great political blunder, to say nothing of three centuries of strange geographical delusions. As it was, the Christian powers, in their absorption in the fierce contest of the Crescent and the Cross, stifled an African civilization which was the equal of their own, labelled the whole interior of the continent as unknown and unknowable, and then three centuries later set themselves laboriously to illuminate the dark continent whose chief civilization they had themselves extinguished, and to discover and evangelise the very countries whose intercourse with Europe they had themselves brought to an end.

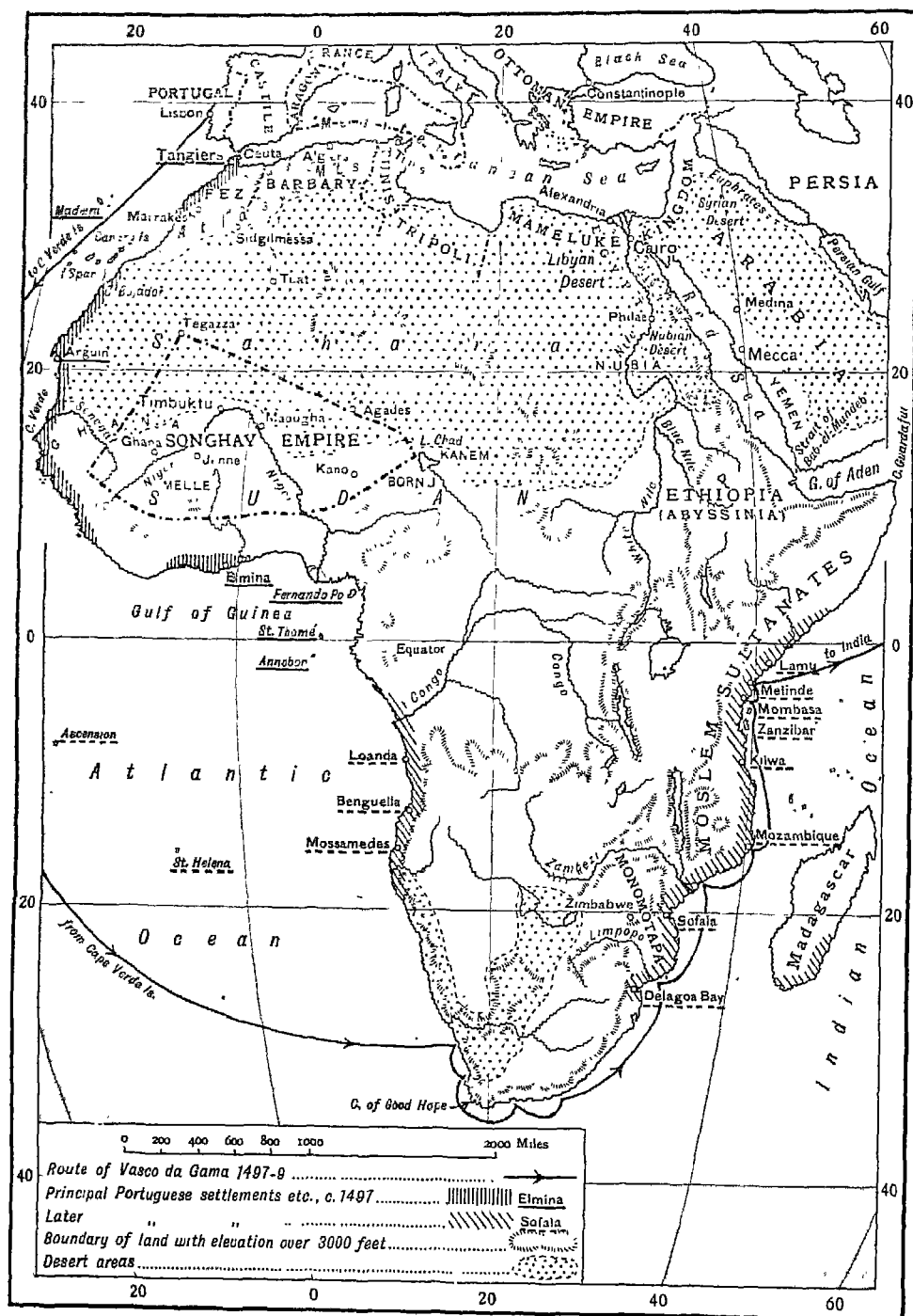
That it was within the power of Europe to deal thus injuriously with Africa is strange. The explanation lies in the nature of the continent and the character of its inhabitants. In the first place, Africa lies right across the equator, and spreads a much greater proportion of its surface between the tropics than any other continent. With Europe and Asia it forms the largest continuous land surface of the globe; but its coasts are far less indented than theirs, and it is altogether

more uniform and self-contained. Another characteristic is that while to the north and west deserts and low coastal plains prevail, south and east of the basins of the Congo and the upper Nile there are vast tablelands behind the littoral, with an average height of some 3,500 feet above sea level. As temperature falls (it is computed) one degree for every 300 feet of ascent, there are large areas of Africa which, in spite of their nearness to the equator, have temperate climates. In one respect, however, the high average elevation of so much of the interior of the continent has an injurious effect. With the exception of the Niger, the course of the great rivers of Africa is so frequently broken by abrupt descents that they provide very inadequate waterways from the coast to the inland countries.

One other physical feature of great significance remains. Below the mountain ranges, steppes and fertile littoral of the northern shores of Africa there stretches the Sahara, the greatest of deserts, forming with the Libyan and Arabian deserts a broad belt of inhospitable sands that runs eastward from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley. This desert barrier divides the rest of the continent from its northern coastlands far more effectually than the Mediterranean separates Africa from Europe.

In the recurrent glacial periods it would be natural for the primitive men of Europe and Asia to find a welcome refuge in this tropical continent, and archaeological discoveries show that there were men, or men-like creatures, there in a very remote epoch. At the dawn of history Africa was inhabited by races

Physiography of
the Continent



of both light and dark complexion; the former living in the temperate regions of the northern and southern extremities of the continent, the latter in the far more extensive areas of tropical heat. One or both of these contrasting groups of peoples may have come originally from outside, but it would seem that both had lived ages enough in their respective areas to be deemed true children of the soil, owing their complexions to their physical environment. That is to say, the skin of the negroes and negroid peoples had been burnt black by ages of exposure to the sun of tropical Africa, while peoples like the Berbers and the Hottentots, living in no such tropical heat, had remained, or become, light-complexioned, or been tinged only to the hue of copper.

From this mingling of fact and surmise there emerges a conception of an original Africa, which will render intelligible the subsequent movements that had made it what it was in the time of Vasco da Gama, and also the actual events to which the incongruity of its relationship

to Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries must be attributed. Africa, then, when history first takes note of it, is the special, though not the exclusive, home of the dark-skinned peoples; while Europe belonged to the white, and Asia to the yellow races. Its inhabitants are markedly inferior, if not in mental endowment, at least in the capacity for social and political organization, to those of Asia and Europe. With the exception of Egypt—which is, in fact, no exception, since the political and cultural affinities of the Nile valley were Asiatic and not African—it has made no contribution to the general progress of mankind.

With such inferiority it is not surprising that Africa was subjected long ago to the tutelage of Asia, as it is now to that of Europe. Of the earliest manifestations of the tutelage of Asia history has little to say; but there is archaeological and ethnographical evidence to show that long before the birth of Christ Asiatic peoples entered Africa. Some parts of it they occupied permanently, mingling with the indigenous Africans; elsewhere they

merely imposed, for longer or shorter periods, their civilization and supremacy upon the African populations which they exploited for their own purposes. On the west, Africa was shut off from intercourse with the outer world by the impenetrable waters of the Atlantic. The east coast looked out upon the calm seas and neighbouring shores of Arabia and India. From the delta of the Nile to the mouth of the Limpopo Africa was impregnated with Asiatic influence. And here on the eastern, as on the northern, littoral there was the stir of human activity.

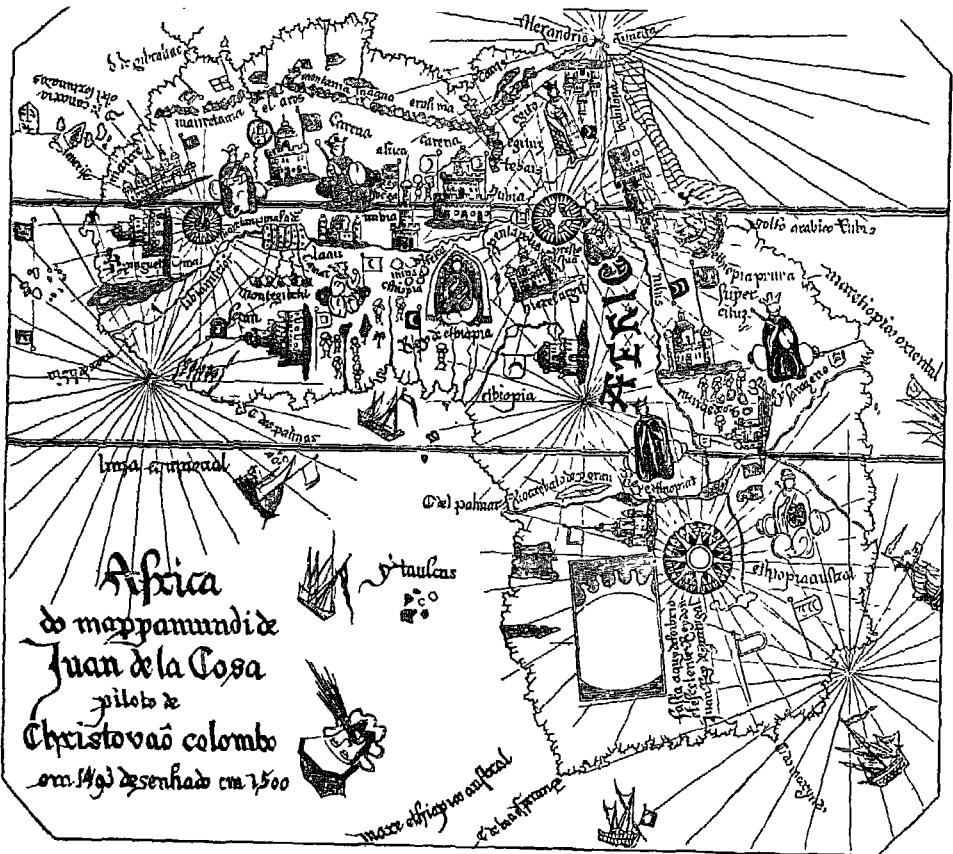
The first Asiatic penetration (apart from the close intercourse with Egypt) to produce effects recognizable in the subsequent history of the continent is that of the First Asiatic Phoenicians, who began more penetration than 1000 years before the birth of Christ to plant trading stations on the north coast. With the rise of Carthage (see Chap. 38) in the sixth century B.C., the Mediterranean seaboard of Africa became increasingly detached from the rest of the continent; and from the incorporation of this seaboard into the Roman Empire in the first century of the Christian era down to the Mahomedan conquest in the seventh century, the countries north of the Sahara and the desert zone must be written off the books of Africa. Indeed the period from which these countries have shared in varying degrees in the civilizations of the Asiatic and European shores of the Mediterranean is so remote that, although no hard and fast line can be drawn, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Barbary and Morocco should have no place in any general conception of Africa as one of the three units into which geographers and historians divided the globe, before the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, at the end of the fifteenth century. Africa, south of the desert barrier between it and Europe, is the Africa of independent development, and it is with the political organization and distribution of the inhabitants of this Africa at the time of these epoch-making voyages that we are concerned.

The early intrusions of Asia upon the eastern side of the continent, before and after the birth of Christ, were followed

in the seventh and eighth centuries by the occupation of all Mediterranean Africa, Spain and Sicily by the Arabs. This event, the Mahomedan conquest (see Chronicle XV), far transcended in the magnitude and duration of its effects any former intrusion of the East upon the West; and Vasco da Gama's voyage from Lisbon to India (1497-9), round the vast bulk of the African continent, marked the achievement of the most effective counter-stroke of the West—the establishment of direct maritime communication between Europe and the Far East. But though the Arabs failed to obtain a permanent lodgement in Europe itself, they wrested from Byzantium the African

shores of the Mediterranean, and they and the Turks kept them detached from Western influence up to the nineteenth century. And entering the real Africa from this new base, as well as from their old base in Asia, the Moslem Arabians between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries did, in fact, bring no small part of the continent under the effective tutelage of Asia, and convert an appreciable proportion of its dark-skinned pagan inhabitants to Islam.

One other thing they did. Amalgamating with the white indigenous population of north-west Africa, they built up the Empire of the Two Shores, which in its zenith ruled from the Pyrenees to the



AFRICA AS REPRESENTED IN VASCO DA GAMA'S TIME

Juan de la Cosa accompanied Columbus on his expedition in 1492, and in 1500 joined Alonso de Ojeda on several voyages. He was killed at Cartagena in 1510 in a battle in which the natives defeated Ojeda. Above is a section (slightly edited) from his famous Mappamundi, dated 1500, showing Africa as he conceived it to be. The representation of territories by figures of their rulers and political spheres by flags was a useful convention in an ill-informed age

From Edouard Charton, 'Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes'

Senegal, and created with it the splendid Arabic-Berber civilization under which from the tenth to the sixteenth century first Moslem Spain, and later Moslem North Africa, held centres of learning and enlightenment more advanced in scientific knowledge than any that could be found in Christendom. So long as the Church forbade the study of the natural sciences, it was in the courts and schools of Moslem Spain and North Africa that Christian students of natural phenomena found the information and scientific equipment which enabled them to achieve the objects of their researches, and, replacing the mysticism of the Middle Ages in Europe by observation and experiment, to prepare the way for the geographical discoveries and the religious, political, and material readjustments that marked the beginning of the modern era (see Chap. 129).

Two movements account for the spread of the brilliant Arabic-Berber civilization of the Empire of the Two Shores to the

Results of the African populations of the Sudan. After the conversion of north-west

Berber emigration Africa to Islam, numbers of the more nomadic Berbers withdrew southwards to escape the restraints and exactions of Arab rule, and established themselves in the semi-arid country between the Atlas ranges and the desert, in the oases of the Sahara, and in the western Sudan. In these areas they found kindred Berber clans, and pagan African peoples who, although they were black-skinned, were not negroes; and who, moreover, proved to be capable of receiving instruction in the Moslem faith and civilization. From this Berber emigration in the eighth century it resulted that before the eleventh century the northern half of the western Sudan had been brought within the area of the Arabic-Berber civilization. In the great days of the Khalifate of Córdoba (757-1031), Ghana, then the chief pagan kingdom in the western Sudan, sent its gold and ivory, its slaves, its corn and cotton and other produce to Moslem Spain; and in exchange its townsmen, both Berber and pagan, received a plentiful supply of northern manufactures.

When, in the eleventh century, in Spain the Khalifate of the West fell into dissolu-

tion, in Africa south of the Atlas ranges a Berber chieftain, Yahya, was winning a desert empire for the Berber clansmen who, like their Tuareg kinsmen, were 'wearers of the veil.' In 1048 he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, where he learnt how grave were the shortcomings of his people in the practice of the faith. Resolved to remedy the evil, Yahya brought back with him an approved teacher, Ibn Yasin, who taught the Sanhaya tribesmen the pure doctrines of Islam, and inspired them with a burning zeal to spread the true faith of the Prophet.

In 1053 Yahya led the Sanhaya clans northward into the Farthest West (Maghrib el-Aksa), the south of which they wrested from the Zenata

who ruled at Fez; there in **Dynasty of** 1062 they founded Marra- **Berber zealots** kesh, the town from which

the whole country was to take its name—Morocco. Later, all Morocco was conquered, and Moslem Spain restored and reformed, by these Berber zealots of the desert, whom Yasin called the Champions of the Faith, and history the Almoravid dynasty of the Empire of the Two Shores (1084-1145). Yahya died in 1056 in the full tide of his northern conquests, but before his special mission was accomplished. His brother, Abu Bekr, to whom he left his kingdom, handed over Morocco in 1061 to a cousin, Yussuf ibn Tashfin, and betook himself to the work of converting the pagan peoples of the Sudan.

The conversion of the Sudan—the second of the two movements indicated—was accomplished before the end of the eleventh century. Ghana was subdued in 1067, twenty years later Timbuktu was founded, and from the Atlantic to the eastern bend of the Niger the Berber clansmen were established by Abu Bekr as rulers in a belt of African states running between the negro populations in the south and the Sahara on the north; and later this chain of Moslem states was extended to the Nile by Berber clansmen from Tripoli and the east. Thus the fertile valleys of the Senegal and the Niger were brought within the field of the Arabic-Berber civilization, and for three centuries, 1200-1500, the African peoples of the western Sudan shared the institutions, the

arts and the literature of the highly developed communities of Moslem Spain and North Africa.

The common civilization was maintained by an active commercial intercourse, by the presence in each state of civil and religious officials and professional practitioners, trained in the same famous seats of learning, and by the use of a common language and the enjoyment of a common and abundant literature. It is this Arabic literature of the Sudan which enables the historian to attribute without hesitation to these African Moslem states a degree of civilization not inferior to that of the average peoples of contemporary Europe.

The conclusion is based not so much upon the information which these authors supply as upon the character of the

authors as revealed in their writings. And yet some of this information is sufficiently surprising.

Christian Europe, in its desperate struggle with Islam, had no commerce with Arabic literature. And without the knowledge which Moslem writers would have given them, how could contemporary Europeans have supposed that in 1153 the palace of the black African king of Ghana was decorated with pictures and sculpture, and lighted with windows of glass? Or that, while cannon were known in Europe for the first time at Metz in 1324 and Crécy in 1346, they had been used half a century before on the edge of the Sahara at the siege of Sidgilnessa in 1247? Or, again, that in 1353 twelve thousand camels laden with merchandise from Egypt—carrying the tonnage of some twenty to thirty of the ships of that age—passed every year through the desert town of Tekadda on their way to the African kingdom of Melle?

Whatever vague knowledge Europe possessed of an African civilization beyond the Sahara came from intercourse with the brilliant Moslem courts of Spain and North Africa. Christian visitors to Seville, the Spanish court of the khalif Yakub el-Mansur, third and greatest of the Almohade sovereigns of the Empire of the Two Shores (1184-1199), found a black African, Abu Ishak Ibrahim of Kano, a 'learned and celebrated poet,' holding there the office of laureate. Had they crossed the straits

they would have seen installed at the khalif's African court, Marrakesh, no less a personage than the great Arabian scholar, Averroes. Certainly Prince Henry of Castile, when the anger of his brother, Alphonso X, had driven him to seek refuge at the court of el-Mostansir, the Hafsid sovereign of the kingdom of Tunis (1249-1277), must have learnt something of these African states. For among the distinguished men of letters and science, and the envoys of foreign powers who thronged the khalif's court, was a mission from the black king of Kanem and Bornu, bringing, among other gifts, a giraffe; and the sensation which this animal caused in the streets of Tunis would have aroused Prince Henry's interest in the countries of the Sudan.

Accounts such as these, written not for ignorant Europe but for Moslem readers who were well acquainted with the countries described, are little likely to have been invented. Apart from instances where the authenticity of the statement is inherent, we know that patriotism, religious zeal or the prejudice or vanity of the narrator may so distort the facts with which he deals as to render his narrative almost devoid of historical significance. We may hesitate to believe that the house of Ahmed Baba, a doctor of Timbuktu—his tomb may be seen there—although 'of all his friends he was the one who had fewest books,' was pillaged of 1,600 volumes when, in 1591, that town and the Songhay Empire of which it was then the capital were conquered by the Moors of Morocco. But when the black African historian es-Sadi, a native of Timbuktu and the imam of its cathedral mosque, in describing the flight of the learned and wealthy classes from the town on the approach of Souni Ali's army in 1468, comments on the educational value of 'games' for school children to much better effect than the German philosopher Schiller, then all doubts as to the reality of the civilization of Timbuktu in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are set at rest. For a man who writes as does the chief author of the *Tarikh es-Sudan*, who, in the words of Félix Dubois, is 'not content to record

events, but explains them,' must have grown up in enlightened surroundings.

In the inherent evidence of mental and moral refinement contained in the books of es-Sadi (1596-1656) and earlier contemporary African and Arab-Berber writers, we have, therefore, convincing proof that for three centuries before the coming of the Portuguese there was an African civilization in the Sudan not inferior to that of contemporary Europe, and that at the very moment of da Gama's memorable voyage to India the last and greatest of these African Moslem states, Songhay, was just entering the period of its highest political and intellectual development. For, again in Dubois' words, the sixteenth century was 'the apogee of the scientific and literary greatness of Timbuktu.'

Another movement, closely connected with the Arabic-Berber penetration of the Sudan, contributed to make Africa what it was at the end of the fifteenth century. This was the southward migration of population; and it affected the entire continent beyond the countries on the Mediterranean coast. In the formation of the belt of Moslem states south of the Sahara the less virile and intelligent African peoples in the fertile basins of the Senegal and the upper and middle Niger were thrust southward to join the dense negro population in the low, tropical, coastal plains of the Gulf of Guinea. The negro population in that area, thus swollen

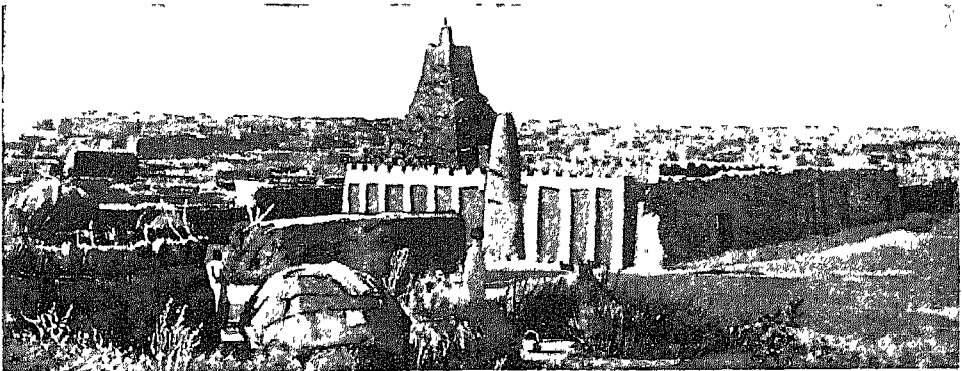
in numbers, in turn displaced the weaker of the original inhabitants, and thrust them eastward to migrate still farther southward. So the Negritos, the dwarf people, from 3½ to 5 feet in height, the yellow-skinned and hirsute forest people who, as the pygmies of Herodotus, dwelt in the central regions of the Niger valley, were found by Stanley in the Congo forests.

A more important phase of the same movement was the southward migration of the Bantu negroids, which is generally supposed to have begun at a period synchronous with the Arabic-Berber penetration of the Sudan.

Southward Trek of Bantu Peoples

In the course of it the tribes of this family established themselves on the higher tablelands which run parallel to the east coast from the region of the great lakes to the southern littoral of the continent. In the temperate uplands of south-central Africa they probably encountered, and drove westward and southward, the Bushmen and Hot tentots, who like the forest dwarfs were yellow-skinned, indigenous Africans, and whom the Dutch settlers found at the Cape in 1652, although the latter did not come into contact with the Bantu until a century later.

The name 'Bantu' gives no hint of the geographical or racial origin of the peoples it is used to designate. It is applied to all the dark-skinned, indigenous populations



RELIC OF EARLY CIVILIZATION IN TIMBUKTU

There was a flourishing civilization in the African Sudan three centuries before the Portuguese explorers came there. The beautiful cathedral mosque of Sankoré in Timbuktu which is here depicted formed a centre of university training for intellectual Africans. Families living in the neighbourhood were keenly interested in learning and culture, and formed a section of the town almost analogous to the French Quartier Latin. The black historian, es-Sadi, was imam of this mosque.

From Dubois, 'Tombouktou la mystérieuse'

of central and southern Africa whose languages have certain common characteristics, notably that of being inflected by prefixes. Thus the word itself, 'aha-ntu,' meaning human beings, is the plural of 'um-ntu,' a human being. To this similarity of language is added a common infusion of Asiatic blood, which gives the

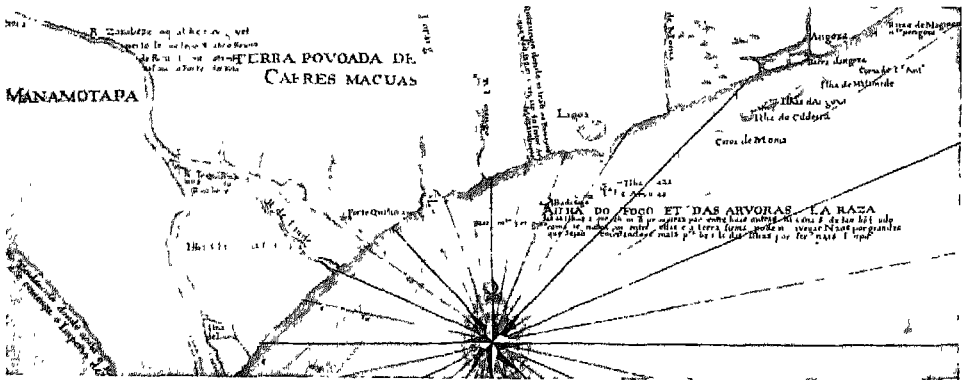
Bantu mental and physical Semitic strain qualities that make them in the Bantu superior to the negro. It is not known whether this Semitic strain is due to an Asiatic origin, or to the mingling of their progenitors with one or other of the Asiatic peoples who have made settlements upon the east coast of Africa. But while the cradle of the race is uncertain, there is evidence which indicates that the Bantu have thus made their way southward from some more northern region, and that while to-day their chief seat is on the eastern side of South Africa, they did not come south of the Zambezi until the Middle Ages. It is to their contact in the course of this southward progress with the Moslem and Hindu traders on the east coast that the Bantu of East and South Africa owe their more familiar name of Kaffirs, that is, 'unbelievers.'

The superiority of the Bantu in comparison with the negro is shown conspicuously by their greater capacity for political organization. The peoples of this race have a simple, but fully developed, tribal system of government, with a body

of customary law, tribunals of justice and a system of land tenure. They have an adequate language, and, while there is no written literature, the traditions of the tribe are preserved by oral narrative and folk-lore. (This refers, of course, to the independently developed Bantu; or the 'red' Kaffir of South Africa. The detribalised Kaffir of to-day in South Africa, under missionary and state education, has Kaffir text-books in his schools, and expresses his aspirations and grievances in the Kaffir press.)

Horned cattle being their distinctive form of wealth, and the common medium in which the bride-price and the tribute to the chief are fixed and paid, both the military and industrial tribes possess a knowledge of agriculture and stock-raising. But while the latter have some skill in the working of metals, pottery and weaving, the former have a special aptitude for military discipline which more than once has enabled powerful and ambitious chiefs to convert the whole of the adult males of the tribe into a man-slaying machine.

The religious sense of the Bantu is based upon the belief of the survival of the soul after the death of the body. The main purpose of their religious exercises is to placate the spirits of the dead, to which they assign power to work good or evil upon the living; and to this crude, ancestor worship they add a belief in witchcraft and other supernatural agencies.



PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In 1634 Pedro Barreto de Rezende, secretary to the count of Linhares, Portuguese viceroy of India, drew up a report on the condition of the country for the information of King Philip IV of Spain (III of Portugal). It includes a map prepared under the supervision of Rezende, who had visited all the places described, and above is a section of the map showing the east coast of Africa northwards from the delta of the Zambezi, with the important Monomotapa region correctly located.

British Museum: Sloane MS. 197

At the time of Vasco da Gama the Bantu had thrown up one loosely organized but considerable political system, which possessed an industrial output and an established commerce in mineral and other products, and maintained relations with the Asiatic traders on the east coast of the continent. This system, shown on the Italian and Dutch maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as 'the empire of the Monomotapa,' afforded a second field of organized African life; and to this and the Arabic-Berber states in the Sudan there must be added two other such fields—the East Coast sultanates and Abyssinia. Of these four distinguishable areas of human activity in Africa south of the Mediterranean littoral, the Arabic-Berber civilization was incomparably highest in development and most extensive.

In the references hitherto made to the Asiatic tutelage of Africa attention has been directed almost exclusively to the Moslem states of the Sudan. This, however, although the most conspicuous, was not by any means the only area in which Asiatic civilization had taken root. A glance at the map will show that, while at the northern end of the Red Sea the land surfaces of Asia and Africa actually meet, at its southern end they again

approach so closely that only the strait of Bab el-Mandeb lie between them. It will show also that just there Africa extends eastward, parallel to Arabia, by the Somali promontory that terminates in Cape Guardafui. These two ends of the Red Sea were the bridges, so to speak, by which the two main roads of intercourse between Asia and Africa crossed from one continent to the other. The northern road, linking Egypt to the Euphrates valley by way of Syria, passed through the isthmus of Suez; the southern road, linking Africa directly with Arabia, and less directly with the Euphrates valley, Persia and India, crossed over by the narrow waters in which the Red Sea mingles with the Gulf of Aden.

It was by this latter route that the merchandise of India and the Far East, and possibly the gold of the high plateaux of south-east Africa, gathered by the



PORTUGUESE IN BENIN BRONZE

This figure of a sixteenth-century Portuguese soldier is a good example of the bronze-casting art evolved by native Africans in Benin. He is equipped with dagger, match-lock arquebus, and what is perhaps a native leather breast-plate.

British Museum

Sabaeans of Yemen, had passed across the Sahara to Carthage. For that great daughter state of Tyre, apart from holding the one natural harbour on the whole Mediterranean coast of Africa, was so conveniently placed beyond the barrier of the Atlas ranges that she commanded a vast land-borne commerce with the interior of the continent. And by this southern portal, the Bab el-Mandeb, from time immemorial the brown nomads of the Asiatic reaches of the common desert zone entered Africa, sometimes mingling with, but more often displacing, the black-skinned peoples they encountered. By this portal, too, an intermittent stream of more distant Asiatic emigrants reached the

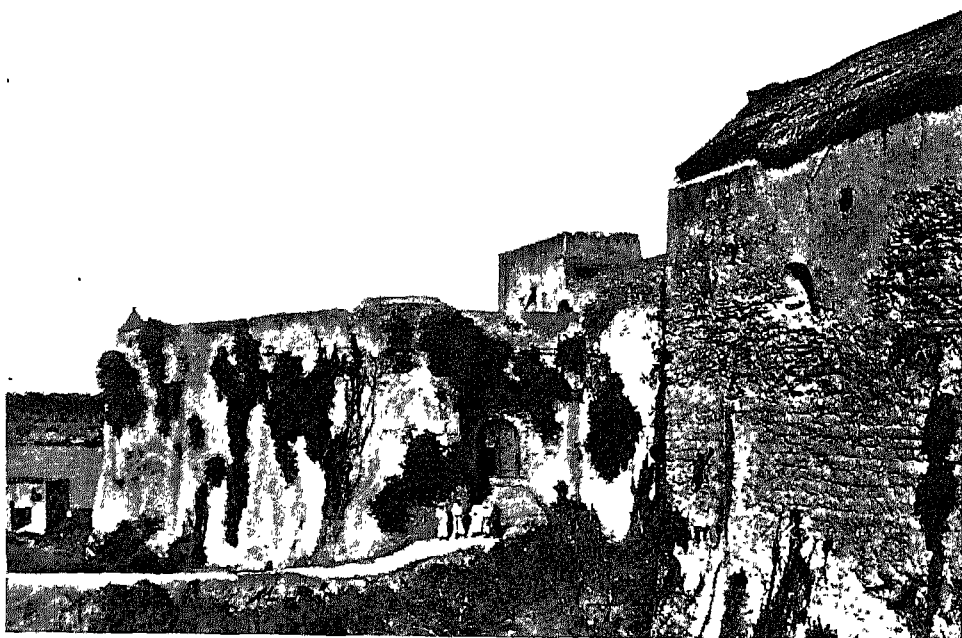
north-eastern highlands, or spread southward down the eastern littoral.

At the end of the fifteenth century the East Coast ports were in Arabian hands, and some of them were the seats of sultanates of considerable extent and commercial importance. In the case of the most northerly the trade was not limited to an exchange of sea-borne goods from the Persian Gulf and India for the products of the African peoples of the coast and the interior, but it included the handling of large quantities of eastern merchandise in transit, by the caravan routes across the desert, to the towns and ports of the Moslem countries on the Mediterranean. In the first twenty years of the sixteenth century the Portuguese, in establishing their early monopoly of the maritime trade between western Europe and the East Indies, the fruit of Vasco da Gama's enterprise, wrested the East Coast ports between the Limpopo and Cape Guardafui from the Arabs; and, finding them more profitable than their earlier

trading stations on the western coasts of the continent, made some efforts to colonise them and develop the interior. The Portuguese monopoly of the lucrative Indian trade was quickly challenged by Holland and England, and the knowledge of the east coast of Africa that came to Europe through the sea captains and merchants engaged in this trade is reflected in *Paradise Lost*. For, when Adam (to console him for the loss of Paradise) is given a prophetic vision of 'all earth's kingdoms and their glory,' these sultanates were deemed by Milton sufficiently important to be included in it:

Nor could his eye not ken
The empire of Negus to his utmost port
Ercoco, and the less maritime kings
Mombasa, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm
Of Congo

Among these intermittent Asiatic immigrations the most interesting perhaps was that of the Jews. From the time of the Babylonian captivity (587 B.C.)



'JESUS OF MOMBAS': PORTUGUESE STRONGHOLD IN EAST AFRICA

There are few tangible memorials of Portuguese rule over the East African coast. One such is the fortress named 'Jesus of Mombas,' or Mombasa, of which the main gate is here shown. The Portuguese began its erection in 1593, and it lasted for some decades. The sturdy stronghold fell at last in 1698 before the persistent attacks of the Arabs who had been besieging it since 1696. In 1728 the Portuguese recovered it for a short period, but definitely abandoned it in the following year.

From Justus Strandes, 'Die Portuguesenzeit von Deutsch-und-Englisch Ostafrika'

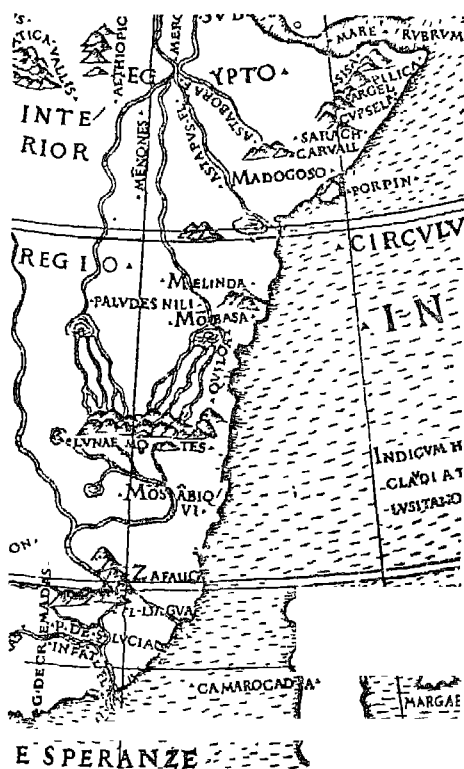
companies of these near kinsmen of the Phoenicians began to enter Africa by one or other of the Red Sea portals. Under the protection of the Ptolemies a numerous colony of Jews was established at Alexandria. Later, the rigorous suppression of the Jewish revolts against Rome (A.D. 66-132) caused a further migration from Palestine to Africa. Most of the immigrants made their way along the Mediterranean coast, where they founded the settlements from which the existing Jewish communities in French North Africa and Italian Libya are descended. Of those who entered by the southern portal, some made their way from the east coast across the desert; and to-day the traveller in the Algerian Sahara may well believe that in the sacred town of the Mozabite communities he sees the sights and shapes of the Judaea of the Maccabees.

Two circumstances invest the region of tablelands between the Zambezi and the Limpopo, known to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Monomotapa, with a special interest. It is the site of what was probably the greatest goldfield of the ancient world, and it is now, as Southern Rhodesia, the youngest self-governing colony in the British Empire. The only reliable evi-

Antiquities of Monomotapa dence of the nature of the people who lived in this region of the continent before the Bantu comes from

archaeological remains, as yet imperfectly explored. The discovery in 1921 of the skull of the Broken Hill man (*Homo rhodesiensis*; see page 169), together with the numerous palaeolithic implements found in the country, shows that this very new British colony may have been peopled before the close of the last glacial period—i.e. before Man (*Homo sapiens*) was fully evolved. The 426 Bushman paintings (see pages 203-4) which have been found in caves make it reasonably certain that before the Bantu spread southwards these tablelands were the home of these yellow-skinned, primitive people. This evidence relates to the whole region.

Two other and more distinctive classes of remains are found in the mineralised area, 500 miles long by 400 broad, which forms the ancient goldfield. Here more

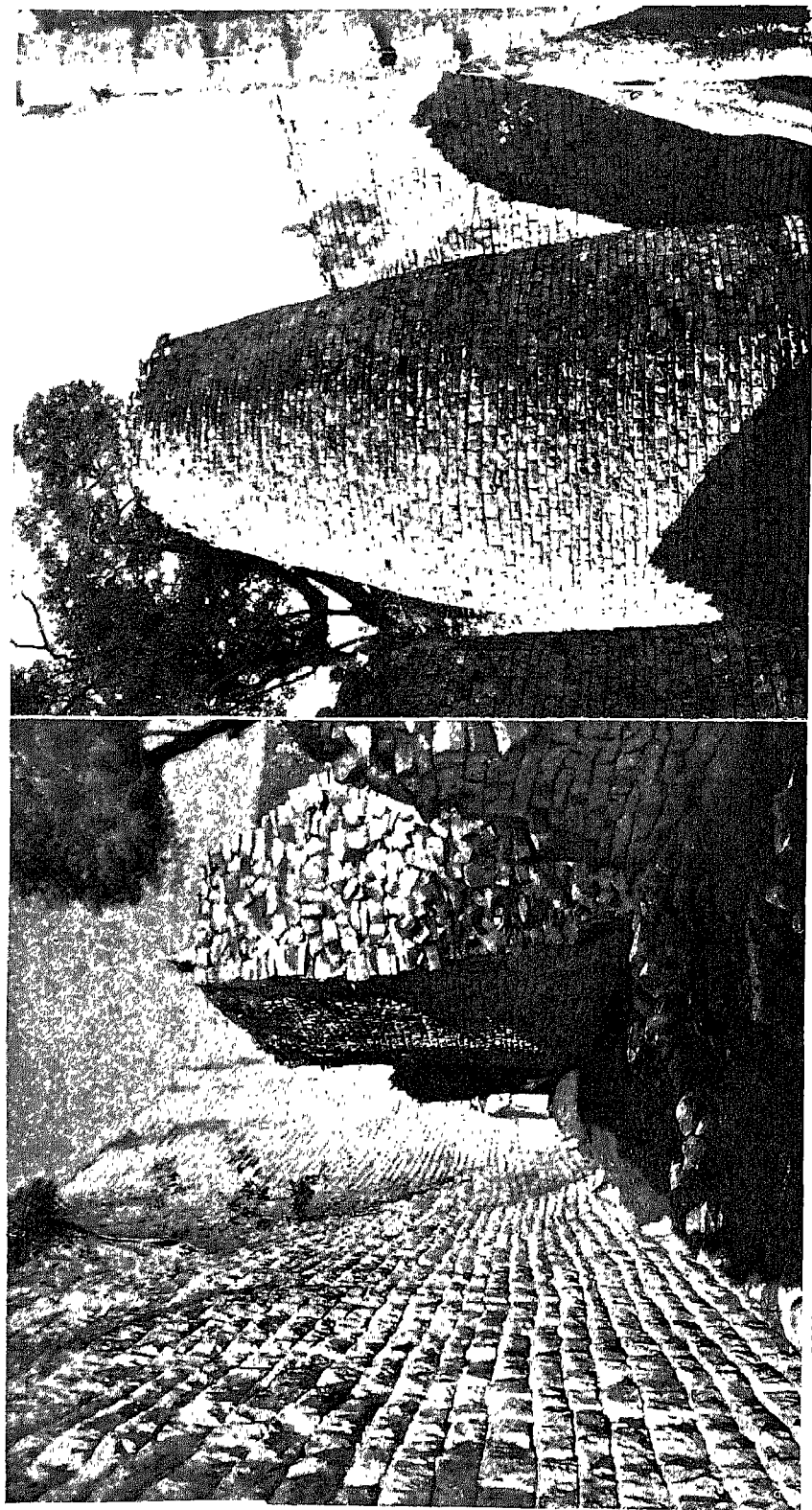


PART OF AN EPOCH-MAKING MAP

Portuguese discoveries along the coasts of Africa are recorded in Joh. Ruysch's map published in 1508—the first printed map representing Africa as an ocean-encompassed peninsula and with its southern point on a nearly correct latitude.

From A. E. Nordenskiöld, 'Facsimile Atlas'

than 100,000 sites of ancient workings have come to light, and the oldest and finest rock mines, sunk sometimes to a vertical depth of 150 feet, are pronounced by mining engineers to be undoubtedly the work of Asiatic miners. The evidence of the 400 remains of stone buildings is more difficult to interpret. They vary from the aqueducts and horticultural terraces of the Inyanga mountains to the group of intricate ruins, known as the Great Zimbabwe, seventeen miles from the township of Fort Victoria, which seem to be both religious and military in purpose. The origin and date of these ruined buildings are undetermined. According to one opinion, while they differ in period, some being prehistoric, some medieval and some quite recent, the oldest among them are the work of the ancient gold-



MONUMENTS OF A LOST AFRICAN CIVILIZATION: THE WALLS AND TOWERS OF ZIMBABWE IN RHODESIA

No date can be assigned with certainty to the mysterious ruins of the Great Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, which fable has identified with the gold-bearing 'land of Ophir.' Evidence of agriculture and mining tells the explorer that the district was once populous, and the beauty of the ruins bears witness to architectural skill. The style of masonry is shown on the broken inner wall of the elliptical temple (left) famed for its double walls. A solid conical tower (right) stands beside the passage to the sacred enclosure; at its side is a much smaller one. These towers seem to have been religious in purpose.

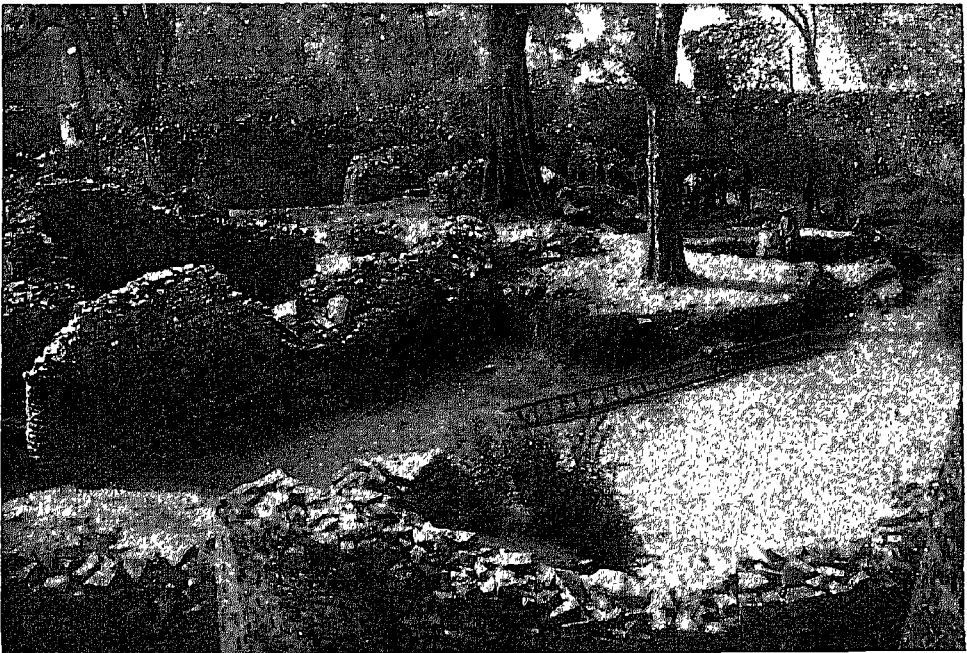
Courtesy of British South Africa Company

miners. But in conflict with this opinion it is also maintained that none of the existing ruins are the remains of buildings constructed before the Middle Ages.

Another piece of evidence which, as indicating the possibility of a Hindu colonisation such as occurred in Java, deserves consideration is the prevalence throughout the gold-bearing area of non-indigenous plants and trees of Indian habitat. But whatever may be the outcome of archaeological research in Southern Rhodesia, there already exists a body of trustworthy evidence which goes to show that, while Yemen, the country of the Sabaeans in the south-west corner of Arabia, was the Ophir of Solomon and yielded the main gold supply of the Graeco-Roman world, the gold itself came from the uplands of south-eastern Africa.

In the fifteenth century this gold-bearing area was within the territory of the paramount chief of the Kalanga, a tribe of industrial Bantu; and it was by the sonorous title of the Monomotapa, or Lord

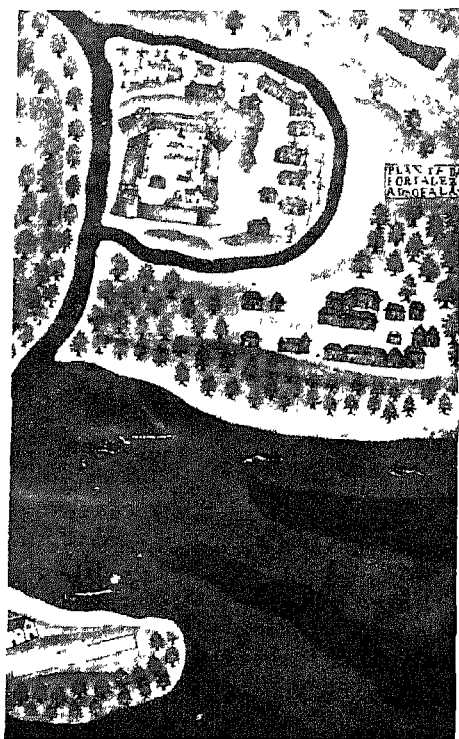
of All, that he and his country became known to the Portuguese. At that time the finely tunnelled rock mines had been long abandoned, but gold was won by washing the river sands and by primitive methods of quartz crushing within the knowledge of the Kalanga. The trade was in the hands of the Arabs, by whom the gold dust, brought to Sofala on the coast, was shipped to the East Coast sultanates. In 1500, when Cabral, the Portuguese commander, assembled the remaining vessels of his storm-tossed fleet off that place, he found there two Arab vessels ('zambucos') about to sail back to Melinde, whence they had come to trade for gold. The Portuguese were anxious, naturally, to gain possession of this gold-bearing country, but it was protected by the low-lying and pestiferous plains that lay between it and the coast. During the period of their occupation of the Zambezi region (1505-1760) they remained in complete ignorance of the real gold mines—the ancient Asiatic workings—and never succeeded



RUINS WITHIN THE GREAT ENCLOSURE OF ZIMBABWE'S TEMPLE

Inside the temple enclosure, which is elliptical, with a maximum length of 292 feet and a maximum breadth of 220 feet, the floor, originally a thick pavement of concrete, is covered with a maze of small buildings. Ruins of what seems to have been an altar, monoliths which may have been sacred pillars, and various phallic emblems, lend colour to the suggestion that the Great Enclosure, the actual Zimbabwe, was a religious building; but equally it may have been a military strong-point.

Courtesy of British South Africa Company



SOFALA IN ITS PRIME

The town of Sofala, south of Beira, was in Arab hands for 300 years before the Portuguese took it in 1505. This plan, drawn in 1634 by Barreto de Rezende, shows the harbour—now silted up—with its obstructing bar and the Portuguese fort.

British Museum, Sloane MS., 197

in obtaining even a moderate revenue from the 'mines' granted by the Monomotapa, Manuza, to the king of Portugal in 1629.

Twenty years after this last date the Portuguese ceased to collect gold dust from the Bantu, and replaced the illusory enterprise of finding and working the mines of Monomotapa by the capture of Africans for exportation as slaves to Brazil and other Portuguese possessions. This new industry, which inaugurated the slave trade, proved a far more lucrative source of revenue.

But where military expeditions and treaties failed the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries succeeded. Whatever progress was made in the exploration of the interior, and in establishing industrial relations with the Bantu peoples, was due to their efforts; and among the records of

the period the letters and reports sent by these resolute and devoted men to their ecclesiastical superiors in Portugal and Rome help us most, perhaps, to form some rough idea of the condition of Monomotapa and its people. A report on 'the state of Christianity' in East Africa furnished by a Dominican priest and forwarded on June 28, 1631, from Lisbon to the Praefect of the Propaganda at Rome, gives us, for example, the following business-like account of the country.

The kingdom of Monomotapa is very large and full of people, nearly all Pagans, and without knowledge of religion. It is rich in gold mines, ebony and ivory. And in the opinion of many it is the ancient Ophir, where Solomon sent his ships, which sailed through the Red Sea to the coast of Africa. A very easy navigation and full of ports. The extent of the kingdom is not known, but it is believed to be bounded on one side by the Kingdom of Angola and on the other by Prester John. [Trs. of documents in the Propaganda at Rome published in 'Monomotapa,' by Hon. A. Wilmot, London, 1896.]

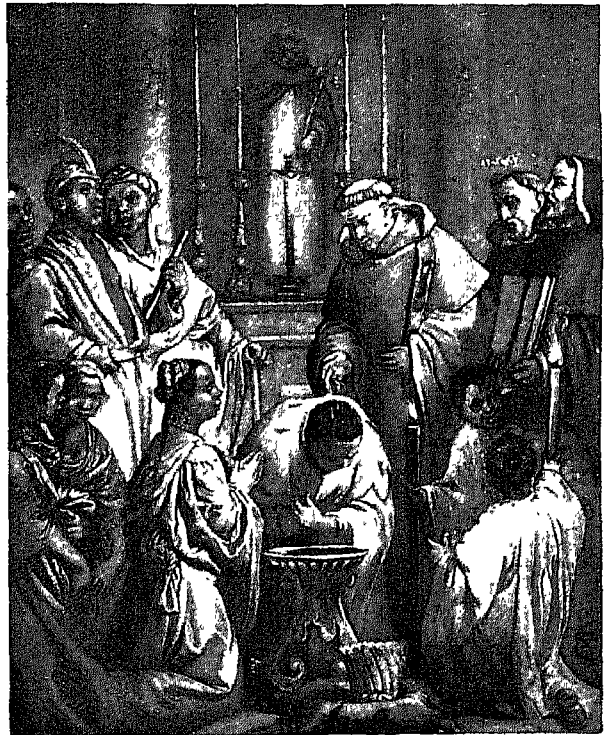
The Kalanga were the most advanced of the Bantu peoples, and from the many accounts of the Portuguese missionaries and others which have been preserved it would appear that the system formed under their paramount chiefs marks the highest degree of civilization attained by Africans as an independent development. An example of the mental capacity of individuals among them is afforded by the career of Miguel (so baptised), the son and heir of the paramount chief, Kapranzine. After the substitution of Manuza for Kapranzine by the Portuguese in 1629, the latter and his adherents were defeated two years later in a decisive battle, in which, among other captives, Miguel was taken prisoner. The child was sent to Goa, the seat of the Portuguese Indian administration, where he was baptised, educated and maintained as a state prisoner by the governor-general. There he entered the Dominican order, became a popular preacher, was awarded in 1670 the degree of Master in Theology by the general of the order, and died (since Manuza had remained loyal to the Portuguese connexion), vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara.

One of the conditions imposed upon Manuza when, in 1629, he was set up as paramount chief, was an undertaking to allow the missionaries to build churches and teach Christianity to his people. He himself was baptised a few months later, and was thenceforward known as the Monomotapa Philippe. He died on May 25, 1652, just seven weeks after Van Riebeck's three ships, bringing the first European settlers to South Africa, had come to anchor in Table Bay. The successor to the chieftainship had adhered to the Kalanga beliefs, but to the great relief of the Dominican fathers he yielded to the arguments of Aleixo do Rosario, and announced his conversion. The scene of his baptism, and that of his chief wife, on August 4, 1652, is the subject of a picture, which may be seen at the House of the Dominican order in Rome. The news of the conversion of the Monomotapa Domingos and his wife Luiza (for so they were named) caused great satisfaction in Portugal, and for a time it was confidently expected that Monomotapa would become a Christian state as well as a most valuable possession. These hopes were never realized.

From the time in question, the middle of the seventeenth century, Portuguese influence in East Africa and India rapidly declined before the increasing success of Dutch and English enterprise in the East Indies. In the eighteenth century the 'kingdom of Monomotapa' (that is, the widespread region in which the authority of the paramount chief of the Kalanga was recognized) broke up into independent chieftainships; and in 1840 the country was overrun by the Amandibele (Matabele), a tribe of military Bantu akin to the Zulu. From the cruel supremacy of Lobengula, the paramount chief of this tribe, the Mashonas and other survivors of the Kalanga

peoples were delivered half a century afterwards by the British South Africa Company. The condition of the Mashonas, as they were found by the company's pioneers, when they reached the site of Salisbury on September 12, 1890, was probably much the same as that of their ancestors two centuries before. But in any case the description of them given by Frank Surridge, the chaplain of the Pioneer Force, will help to picture the life of the Kalanga under the Monomotapas. The appearance of a white stranger with a huge camera and tripod cleared the village of inhabitants (he tells us), and left him in possession of the chief's kraal. Then he visited the 'quaint little houses,' and saw something of the way in which their occupants were employed:

There stands the smith's forge, of a very primitive type of their own designing, but sufficient to produce some splendidly finished



BAPTISM OF A KALANGA POTENTATE

The progress of Christianity in Africa seemed likely to suffer by the death of the Monomotapa Manuza in 1652. To the relief of the Dominican missionaries, however, his pagan successor announced his conversion and was baptised by the name of Domingos, his chief wife being christened Luiza.

House of the Dominican Order, Rome; from Theal, 'South Africa'

specimens in wrought iron, such as assagais, reaping implements and knives. At another place may be seen the miniature arsenal, where the native men had been occupied in the manufacture of their own gunpowder. Another man may be bestowing some time and labour in carving a charm in ivory or a pillow in wood. Others may be occupied in cotton-spinning or mat-making. And last, but not least, there might be seen the native brewer labouring at his trade, and producing what is generally known as *atchuala*, or beer very small in character. Around the village there is some agricultural land, the women are the labourers, and gather in their harvests of corn, rice, tobacco, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and monkey-nuts.

In the highlands beyond the Nubian desert, where the Blue Nile rose, a mountain people had preserved the earliest rites and beliefs of Christianity, free alike from ecclesiastical accretions and the violence of Islam. And in

Africa's one Christian state the centuries between the Mahomedan conquest and the Portuguese occupation of the east coast (700-1500) the loosely-connected provinces of dark-skinned peoples of mingled African and Asiatic blood, who lived in and around the mountains of Ethiopia, remained the one Christian state in Africa. It is from its mixed population that the country gets, probably, its modern name, Abyssinia (i.e. from the Arabic 'habasha,' to mingle).

Every legitimate 'negusa negust,' or king of kings, traces his descent from the union of King Solomon with the Queen of Sheba. The substance of the claim is supported by the presence to-day of some 70,000 Jews in the southern provinces of Abyssinia, most of whom live in the district of Harrar, the trading post on the caravan route from the ports of the strait of Bab el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden to Addis Ababa in the highlands. These Jews are not recent arrivals, for the tropical sun has burnt them to blackness; and the account they give of themselves is this. When the Queen of Sheba bore a son to Solomon, she reigned at Axum, the great city of Ethiopia; for at that period (eleventh century B.C.) the Sabaeans held the country on both sides of the Red Sea. Solomon desired that this son, Menelek, should succeed him, but the people of

Israel would not accept an heir to the throne of David whose mother was of black blood. Thereupon the king sent Menelek back to Ethiopia, and with him a great company of Jews to make a prosperous kingdom for him. This they did, and Menelek, ruling as David I, was the founder of the present dynasty. Of the Jewish immigrants some mingled with the people of the country; but others kept apart, refusing to intermarry with strangers, and thus preserved their race and religion. It is from the latter that these Falasha Jews of Abyssinia claim to be descended. But what-

ever may be the actual **The Coptic Church source of Abyssinia's** relation to Jerusalem,

there is no question as to its long and close connexion with the church of Egypt. From the time when, c. A.D. 330, Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, sent Frumentius to be the first bishop of Ethiopia, to the present day, with one interval, its metropolitans have been consecrated by the patriarchs of Alexandria; and since A.D. 536 these patriarchs were Coptic—i.e. Egyptian and monophysite—not Orthodox Greek.

In 1924 the regent and heir-apparent of Ethiopia, H. I. H. Taffari Makonnen, made a journey to Jerusalem in connexion with the settlement of a dispute between the Coptic and the Greek Orthodox churches as to their respective portions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—a fact significant of the unique position which Abyssinia holds among African states.

The break occurred in the sixteenth century, and it was a direct result of the opening up of the East Indies to Europe by the Portuguese navigators. The Coptic church survived the Mahomedan conquest, and its relations with the Abyssinian church remained unimpaired up to the fifteenth century. They would appear to have been interrupted by the repressive measures which the Mameluke sultan Mu'ayyad (1412-21) put in force against the Copts and Jews in Egypt; and in these circumstances the Abyssinians appealed to the Western church for assistance. Rome, whither the Abyssinian envoys had betaken themselves, was at that time powerless to aid them; but

a century later, when the Portuguese Indian administration had been established, and the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola (1540), a Jesuit mission was sent from Goa to Abyssinia. Not unnaturally the Jesuit missionaries endeavoured to win Abyssinia for the Western church; and in 1604 a formal submission to the authority of the pope was obtained from the negus. This change of ecclesiastical allegiance, however, was repudiated by the people; the negus was killed in the insurrections that followed; the Jesuit fathers were expelled finally in 1633; and the relationship of the Abyssinian church to the Egyptian church was restored.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the European conception of Abyssinia was dominated by the fact that there alone in Africa Christianity survived as a state religion. Thus John Pory, when supplementing in 1600 *The History and Description of Africa*, by the Arabic-Berber writer known as Leo Africanus, gives to 'Abassia' the alternate name of 'The Empire of Prete Ianni, commonly called in Latin writers Presbiter Iohannes.' His account is probably a fair

representation of what Europe knew of the country at the time of Queen Elizabeth. The prince, he wrote, derives his 'petigree from Melich, the son of Salomon by the Queen of Saba'; and the Abyssinians claim to be descended from the 'officers and attendants' whom Solomon appointed when he sent Menelek home to his mother. Throughout all the dominion of the Prete there was no single city of importance, for the largest towns had no more than 2,000 households. These towns were all open and exposed to the attacks of the desert tribes. The 'Portugales,' therefore, had recommended the Prete to build castles, and fortify his cities, to protect his people against 'the outrageous injuries and losses daily inflicted by the Moores and Mahumetans both upon their goods and persons.' In this condition, a prey to strife within and invasion from without, the land of Prester John was found when, in 1805, it was opened to European travellers and merchants by its alliance with England against Napoleon.

Of these four main areas of organized human life in Africa (exclusive of the Mediterranean littoral), at the time of Vasco da Gama, the Sudan was incomparably the most important. There, where the tutelage of Asia was most



BATTLEMENTS AND TOWERS OF A PORTUGUESE CASTLE IN ABYSSINIA

Early in the seventeenth century rumours reached Europe of a Christian kingdom in the Abyssinian highlands, sorely beset by hordes of Moslem fanatics, and in 1640 a Portuguese expedition was dispatched to its assistance. At Gondar, near the source of the Blue Nile, the Portuguese built this formidable stronghold on the top of an almost impregnable escarpment. Before long their proselytising zeal led to the ejection of the Portuguese, but the deserted castle still frowns over the country.

Courtesy of Field Museum, Chicago

direct, but where also intercourse with Europe was most active and fruitful, African civilization had attained its highest and most assured development. The tutelage of Asia was effectuated directly by the conversion of large numbers of the pagan Sudanese to Islam in the eleventh century; but the process was accompanied by the extension to the African states of the Arabic-Berber civilization, which, being based on Moslem Spain, was a purveyor of Western ideas and a vehicle of European intercourse.

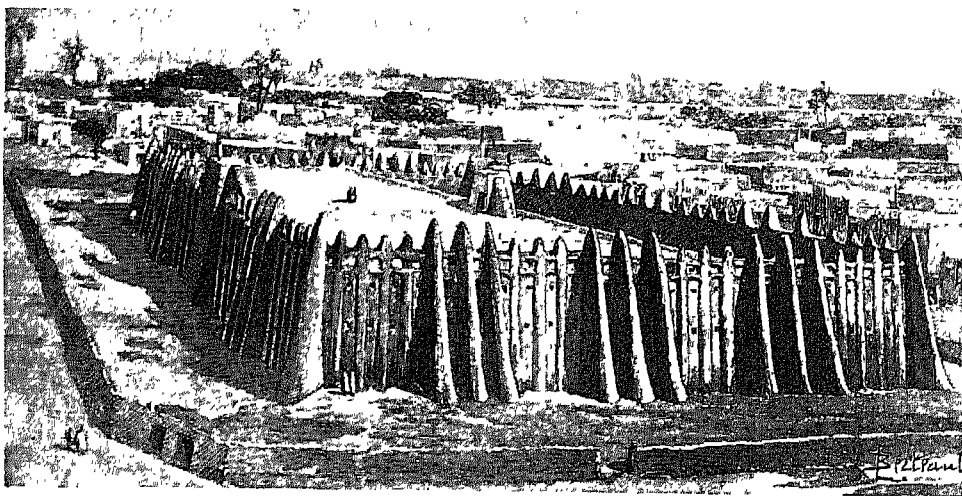
Asiatic influence in the Sudan was long anterior to the introduction of the Moslem religion. The

Emigration from black Africans of the Nile Valley Sudan were distinguished

from the negroes of the Guinea Coast and central Africa by mental and physical qualities of Asiatic origin. The identity of some among them with the peoples of the Nile Valley is generally recognized, but the period at which these Nubians spread westward is not determined. The earliest migrations may have taken place even at the remote age when Meroe was a cradle of civilization in Africa as important as Egypt. But in the case of the Songhays, whose political development culminated

in the time of Vasco da Gama, Félix Dubois has assigned a definite date and occasion to the exodus.

The author of *Tombouctou la mystérieuse* shows, by historical, linguistic and ethnographical evidence, that the Songhays were driven from their home in the Nile Valley, south of Philae, by the Arabian conquest of Egypt. Starting in the middle of the seventh century, and following the southern edge of the desert zone, they made their way in the course of years past Agades, north of Lake Chad, to the eastern Niger. Here, in a country fertilised by natural irrigation like the Nile-land that they had abandoned, they placed their first capital, Kaougha, on the site of the Gao of to-day. Later, they advanced westward to the farther side of the Bend of the Niger, where, about A.D. 765, they founded Jenne. From 700 to the sack of Timbuktu by the Moors in 1591—a period equivalent to the duration of Rome from the foundation of the Republic (510 B.C.) to its subordination to Byzantium (A.D. 395)—Songhay held a place among the great African kingdoms of the Sudan, Ghana, Melle and Bornu. In the fifteenth century under Suni Ali (1464-93) and Askia the Great (1494-1529) it achieved an extension of territory and an efficiency of



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT JENNE

Jenne was a capital of the Songhays before Timbuktu and here, on the conversion of the people to Islam in the eleventh century, an immense mosque—shown above in reconstruction—was built about 1050, it speedily became the most famous in the Niger Valley, and was said to be finer even than the great mosque at Mecca. The mosque was a large, rectangular building, with crenellated walls and pylonic buttresses arranged in groups of three, the whole enclosed within a brick wall,

From Dubois, 'Tombouctou la mystérieuse'

administration that made it in the sixteenth century the predominant state in the Sudan.

Both of these rulers were black-skinned Africans. Suni Ali, whose conquests made Songhay an empire, remained a pagan at heart, although he adopted the faith of the Prophet on grounds of policy. In his time, while the educated and wealthy were Moslem, among the masses magic was practised and fetishes were worshipped in the pagan temples that were still to be seen even in the larger towns. Askia, on the other hand, became a devout Moslem. Directly his power was established (1495) he placed the government in the hands of his son Omar and spent two years in visiting the holy cities in Arabia, and Cairo, then the seat of the Khalifate. By Mutawakkil, the last of the Abbasid khalifs, he was invested with a white turban and a green fez, and proclaimed the khalif's deputy in the Sudan with the title Emir Askia el Hajji Mohammed. At both these centres of Islam, by intercourse with the theologians and jurists, he learnt the principles of administration which his natural aptitude for political organization enabled him afterwards to apply successfully to the government of his kingdom.

His own conquests added to those of Suni Ali brought him an aggregation of states and peoples that stretched southwards from the salt mines of Tegazza in the Sahara to the mountains which fenced in the dense negro population of the Guinea coast, and eastwards from the confines of the Atlantic to Lake Chad. The central regions were fertilised by the Niger, and midway upon the northern reaches of the great river was Timbuktu, the Songhay capital. To all this motley congeries of states and peoples Askia brought order and security, and he then consolidated the whole vast area, some 1500 miles from east to west, by an administrative system so admirably adjusted to the conditions of the population that its efficiency was only temporarily impaired by his least worthy successors.

Of this system only the briefest outline can be given. The entire territory was

divided into four viceroyalties, and the viceroyalties subdivided into provinces. The viceroys were responsible to the king, but the governors of provinces to one of the four viceroys. The method by which Askia secured a reliable personnel for the administration was simple. The highest offices were filled by members of his own family, and when the supply from this source proved insufficient he married his daughters to competent persons outside the royal house. Thus in course of time a dynastic aristocracy, or governing class, was created. Hitherto, in time of war production and commerce were dislocated by the withdrawal of men for military service. To obviate this economic evil Askia established a permanent army, with the result that during his campaigns industry and commerce were undisturbed. At the same time measures were taken to stimulate and develop both. A fleet, with its headquarters at Kabara, was built to regulate and promote the usage of the great natural waterway of the Niger. For the divergent weights and measures of the various peoples now incorporated into the Songhay kingdom a single system, common to them all, was substituted; and to ensure its adoption and check fraud the weights and measures used by traders at the principal markets were periodically inspected. The internal trade was centralised at Jenne, and the external at Timbuktu. To the latter an abundance of European merchandise was brought by the desert caravans from the Moroccan ports by way of Touat, and from Tripoli and Egypt by way of Gao. And, besides the merchants, scholars and men of distinction came from all parts of the Moslem world to the Songhay capital, where at the court of Askia not only the etiquette and ceremonies, but the sumptuous entertainments of the courts of the khalifs were sedulously reproduced. At this time the harem system and the veiling of women were adopted by the Africans.

The prosperity of Songhay continued until the last decade of the sixteenth century. It was brought to an abrupt close by the Moroccan conquest of the western Sudan in 1591-5. Making all allowance

Organization of
Askia's empire

Extent of the
Songhay State

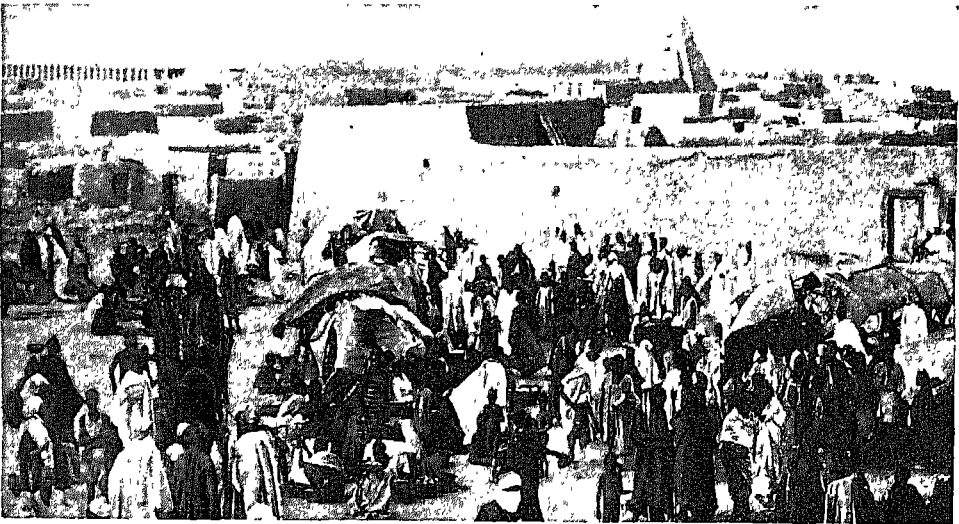
for patriotic and religious bias, there is ample evidence not only to establish the reality of the African civilization of which the Kingdom of Askia the Great was the highest product, but to justify the language in which es-Sadi, the black-skinned African chronicler of the Sudan, writes of the catastrophe of its dissolution. 'All was changed in a moment,' says the

End of the Songhay Empire Tarikh es-Sudan (as rendered by Lady Lugard in *A Tropical Dependency*); 'danger took the place of security, destitution of opulence, trouble, calamities and violence succeeded to tranquillity. Everywhere the populations began to destroy each other. In all places and in every direction rapine became the law; war spared neither life nor property, nor the position of the people. Disorder was general; it spread everywhere till it reached at last the highest degree of intensity.'

How did it come about that the people who produced the Empire of the Two Shores and the brilliant Arabic-Berber civilization of Spain and north-west Africa—the people known to Europe as the Moors—destroyed the Sudanese civilization which they had themselves made

possible? To answer this question, two other questions must be answered. How was it that this great African civilization was unknown to Europe, and what part did the Christian powers take in destroying it?

Europe had remained in ignorance of the Moslem African civilization in the Sudan for the sufficient reason that the books which described its progress, and recorded its achievements, were written in Arabic. As such they were banned as the work of the 'infidels,' between whom and Christendom there was an implacable hatred and unending warfare. Portugal, when making her earliest settlements upon the Atlantic coast of the continent, did seek to establish commercial intercourse with the Songhay kingdom, but failed to do so. Both there and still more effectively on the Guinea coast the insanitary coastal plains, and the belt of savage negro populations that inhabited them, barred her (and her European competitors) from access to the civilized interior. In the fifteenth century the battle of the Crescent and the Cross had gone well for Europe in the West. In 1492 the Moslem kingdom of Granada submitted to the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, and soon afterwards the Moors



MARKET DAY IN TIMBUKTU, CHIEF MART OF WEST AFRICA

Settled by the Tuareg in the eleventh century, Timbuktu speedily became famous as a market for gold and salt, and reached its highest development under Askia the Great. It is still a centre of the transit trade, receiving quantities of British and German goods from Morocco and important consignments of salt—an article which the Niger countries lack—from the Taudeni district, while cereals, gold and native cotton goods are brought there by boat from the Upper Niger,

Photo, E.N.A.

were driven out of Spain. But in the East the battle had gone against her. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, and then for over a century the Near East was closed to Europeans. In the sixteenth century Europe was again successful in the West. The great counter-stroke of Henry the Navigator was delivered, and Europe could trade by sea, without Moslem middlemen, with the Far East. Christian Spain carried the war across the Strait into Moslem North Africa. At that moment the Turks, still victorious in the East, intervened in the West. The Moslem advance into Europe was stayed by the successful resistance of Vienna in 1528, but the sultan's empire was extended from Egypt to Tripoli and Barbary (north-western Africa east of Morocco).

In the third quarter of the century the tide of Turkish conquest ebbed. At Lepanto in 1571 Turkish sea power in the Mediterranean was destroyed. Assured of the East Indian trade, Europe could afford to exclude Moslem

Islam entrenched in North Africa merchantmen from her southern ports. But while the fleets of Spain,

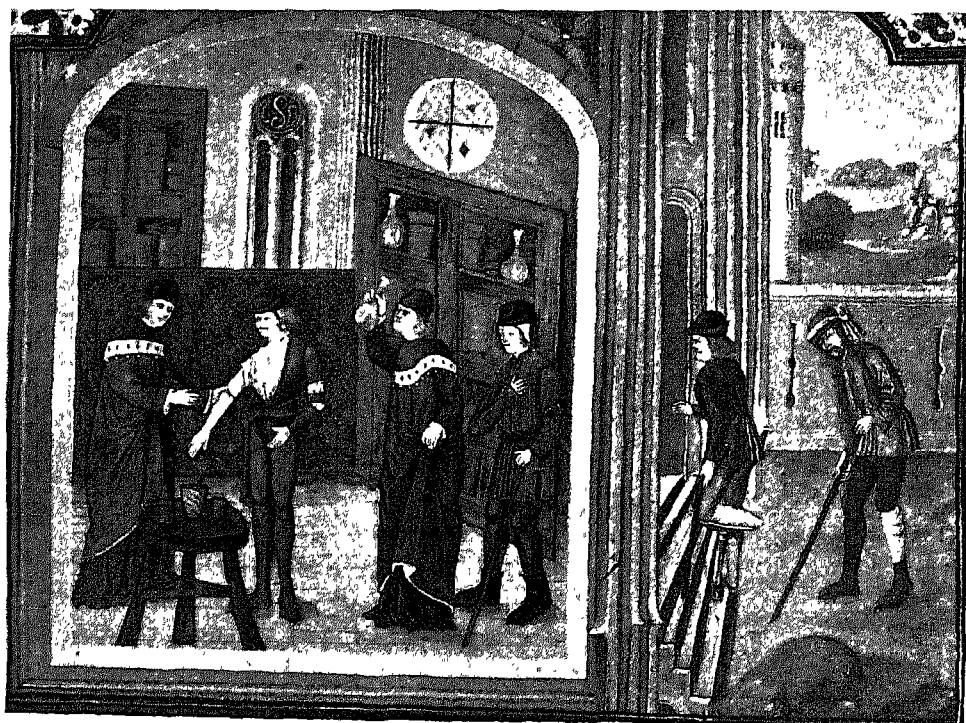
France and Italy could—and did—close the Mediterranean to Moslem sea-borne trade, they were powerless to win back for Europe the North Africa which Islam had wrested from Byzantium. The ports of Barbary and Morocco, once the marts in which the products of Africa and the Far East were exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, were emptied of merchant shipping. Soon they became the harbours of different and more sinister craft. Excluded from commerce and intercourse with Christian Europe, the Moors took by force of arms what they could no longer obtain by the methods of peace. Every Christian sail afloat was an enemy vessel and a lawful prize of war; its cargo subject to pillage, its crew and passengers to death, or, if taken prisoners, to slavery or ransom. In its origin the cruel work of the Barbary corsairs and the Saltee rovers (see Chap. 146) was a reprisal amply justified by the international practice of the age, and by the actual treatment which the Moslem states of north-west Africa had received from the Christian powers. And, moreover, by the inter-

national practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such reprisals between the subjects of even the powers of Western Europe were held to be permissible, when no state of war existed between the governments concerned.

The Moors made one desperate effort to redeem the loss of their Mediterranean commerce. Turning their backs to Europe, they strove to win a new field of activity **Moorish conquest of the Sudan** in the interior of Africa.

The conquest of the western Sudan, being only transitory and ineffective, failed to avert the decay of Morocco, but it destroyed the Songhay kingdom and the Moslem African civilization of which it was the crown. Severed from all contact with European progress, the Sudan never recovered from the disorder in which the Moroccan conquest had plunged it, and sank slowly into the barbarous condition in which it was found by the early European travellers in the nineteenth century. For 300 years the Moslem states of North Africa, thus isolated, stood like a wall between Europe and Africa, and in the seventeenth century intercourse between them was limited to such as was carried on by the European trading stations with the neighbouring coastal tribes.

Nor was this the only way in which Europe suffered by her severance of all natural ties between herself and the Moslem peoples on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Piracy was the only trade she had left them, and for three centuries the practitioners of this trade plundered her merchantmen and visited their crews and passengers with death, slavery and degrading cruelties. Except for the periodic, and mainly unsuccessful, attempts to suppress the Barbary corsairs, and the unexpected development of the Dutch East India Company's victualling station at Table Bay into a European colony, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century Africa was a derelict continent. Europe had deprived her of the benefits of Asiatic tutelage, and then forgotten her in the pursuit of the new and vast opportunities of trade and colonisation which the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama had revealed.



FAMILY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND A VISIT TO THE DOCTOR

There is quite a modern note in the picture (top) of a medieval family at dinner. The fashion for a musical accompaniment to meals was popular even then; the family pet is a dog, and a beggar who approaches is requested to move on. A fifteenth-century illustration of a doctor's house (bottom) shows the scene both within and without. In his 'surgery' the doctor examines and attends to a young man's injured arm, while other patients limp to the door awaiting treatment.

British Museum, Royal MS. 15 E.2 and (top) Additional MS. 28,162

EUROPEAN LIFE AND MANNERS

Change and Progress in the daily Habits of the West
between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

By F. J. C. HEARNshaw LL.D.

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THE purpose of this chapter is to depict the way of life pursued by the peoples of Europe during the four centuries which intervened between the Papacy of Innocent III and the publication of the Edict of Nantes, that is roughly during the period A.D. 1200-1600. The main topics which will command attention will be the home life of the people in their various ranks and positions; their religious ideas; their daily avocations and their manner of fulfilling them; their recreations and amusements; their health and the way in which they coped with disease; their wealth, their economic principles and ideas, their treatment of the problems of unemployment and poverty; their dress, their food and drink; their standards of morality and codes of etiquette; their houses, halls and churches; their arts and crafts; their schools and universities; together with the popular movements of the period which showed the direction in which European civilization was tending.

Themes so varied and so vast as these can obviously be treated only in the broadest outline. Further, it will be evident that in a region so extensive and so highly diversified as Europe, local differences were so great as to render generalisation extremely difficult; many statements that would be true for England, France and Spain would not be true for Germany or Italy; and many more statements that would be true for eastern Europe as a whole would not be true for western Europe. And moreover, a certain amount of recapitulation of matters discussed more fully in earlier chapters is inevitable.

Before the end of the fifteenth century the whole of eastern Europe was sub-

merged by floods of Asiatic nomads, and its highly developed polity was obliterated by Oriental barbarism. In central Europe, in Germany as in Italy, the cosmopolitan tradition of Rome maintained itself all through the Middle Ages and far into modern times, preventing the formation of either a German or an Italian national state, while the Latin culture there dominated the minds of men and determined their ways of life. The formation of national states in England, France and Spain during the later Middle Ages—the subject is studied in Chapter 139—is, however, a fact of first rate importance in the history of European life and manners. For the new spirit of nationality, **The Rise of Nationalism** with its attendant passion of patriotism, had a profound influence upon every department of social and economic activity. Vernacular languages superseded the common Latin tongue of western Europe; native literatures began to rival the universal classics; local law developed at the expense of the civil and canon codes; habits, customs, dresses, dwellings became specialised and distinctive; arts and crafts evolved along lines peculiar to the several peoples; commerce grew to be a national preserve jealously guarded, while a new 'mercantilist' doctrine justified to the world its exclusive restrictions. Even the universal religion of Christ, and the Catholic Church of the medieval Papacy, were disintegrated into sections corresponding to the national states, and 'national churches' were formed which in organization, government, ritual and finally doctrine began to diverge both from one another and from the common standard of the Church of the Middle Ages.



FRIARS WHO FOUNDED FAMOUS ORDERS

S. Francis of Assisi (left, by G. Pisano at Assisi, about 1230), who founded in 1210 a religious order, the Grey Friars, appealed to the emotions of mankind. In 1215 S. Dominic (right, by Gozzoli) founded the Dominican Order of Preaching Friars, and sought to convert his hearers by logical argument.
 From Westlake, 'S. Francis of Assisi,' and (right) National Gallery, London

The national state took precedence of all the other associations into which the men of the West found themselves grouped. Love of country superseded devotion to tribe, or clan, or family; to guild, or craft, or mystery; to manor or municipality; and even to religious order, academic corporation, or Universal Church itself. Patriotism became the supreme popular virtue of the new age. The plea, 'I did it for my country's sake,' came to be regarded as a sufficient excuse for all possible deviations from the older codes of morals and religion. The reign of Machiavelli was inaugurated.

From what has been said in previous chapters it will be realized that, particu-

larly in western Europe, the period A.D. 1200-1600 was a great age of transition. Some historians argue that every period is an 'age of transition'; but this is not so. Every period, it is true, witnesses change; but the change is frequently merely the natural growth and development of existing institutions, not a passing over from one system of institutions to another. Thus—to treat only of the Christian era—the first four centuries, with all their mutations, saw nothing more than the natural evolution of the Roman Empire and the Catholic Church. Similarly, the nine centuries of the Middle Ages (A.D. 550-1450) have an unbroken continuity beneath their immeasurable shiftings of scenes and actions. Again, the modern period in which we now live, if we date it from the mid-sixteenth century, displays a unity more profound than any diversity; it is the period of the national state system.

The same fundamental unity and essential continuity cannot, however, be predicated of the two widely sundered centuries A.D. 450-550 and A.D. 1450-1550. The first of

the two saw the tremendous transition from Imperial Rome to Teutonic tribalism, a strange and startling reversion from a mature political organization to a very primitive semi-barbarism. The second of the two, a thousand years later, saw the break-up of medieval Christendom and the emergence of the sovereign national state. It witnessed, also, both the Renaissance and the Reformation; the circumnavigation of the Cape and the discovery of the New World; the overthrow of feudalism; the rise of the third estate; a revolution in the art of war; the rebirth alike of humanism and of science; a strange and startling return from medieval semi-barbarism to the

mature civilization of the ancient Hellenic world.

It will thus be evident that if we compare European life and manners about the year 1200 with European life and manners four hundred years later, we shall be impressed by a spectacle of radical differences and revolutionary alterations. The thirteenth century has been called the greatest of medieval centuries. It saw the full and fine flower of that ecclesiastical civilization which for a millennium the Catholic Church had cultivated in a united and submissive Western Christendom. It was the century of the last great crusades, of the friars, of the universities, of scholasticism, of renewed legislation and revived art; the century of Innocent III, Louis IX, S. Francis, S. Dominic, Aquinas the scholar and Dante the poet; the century which displayed the culmination of the splendour of the medieval papacy in the Lateran Council of 1215, and the culmination of the pretensions of the medieval empire in the dazzling career of Frederick II, 'Stupor Mundi.'

Nevertheless, the thirteenth century, though magnificently medieval, itself prepared the way for the entry of those influences which destroyed the system of the Middle Ages and inaugurated its modern successor. These influences were oriental, and they reached Europe by four main channels: by Spain, Sicily, the Levant and the Mongol empire established by Jenghiz Khan. A few remarks concerning each of these channels must be made.

First as to Spain. The Moors, who had conquered the greater part of the Hispanic peninsula in the eighth century of the Christian era, had been the advance guard of the great Mahomedan empire whose centre was Bagdad. The conquerors of Spain, it is true, soon threw off their allegiance to the Bagdad Khalifate and declared their independence. Nevertheless, they retained and developed the civilization which they had brought with them from the East (see Chap. 129). Its fruits—though jealously guarded by the Mahomedans, and regarded as poisonously dangerous by the more rigid Christians—could not be hidden, and increas-

ingly throughout the thirteenth century (particularly after the great victory of 1212 had removed for ever the fear of Moorish ascendancy) Christian students repaired to Islamic schools to learn the wisdom of the ancients and to gain the secrets of those arts and crafts which made Mahomedan Spain famous throughout the world. It was by way of Spain that the long-lost works of Aristotle reached Western Christendom, to revolutionise scholastic philosophy and theology.

Sicily, also, was a seat of Mahomedan culture. The Saracens had captured the island from the Byzantines in the ninth century, and had held it until, two hundred years later, they were reduced by the Normans under the famous Roger Guiscard (A.D. 1060-90), the regime of whose successors is treated in Chapter 104. The Normans, true to their general policy of accepting and absorbing existing civilizations, allowed the Saracens to remain, and from them learned much of science and art, medicine and civil administration, philosophy and subversive theology. The Norman heritage, and with it a twofold portion of the Norman spirit of moral and intellectual accommodation, passed to the great emperor Frederick II (1215-1250)—his extraordinary personality has been analysed in Chapter 109. In his island kingdom (his birthplace and his spiritual home) he established prematurely the first of modern states.

Frederick II took part—a very curious part which is no business of ours here to investigate, for it is considered in Chapter 109—in two crusades. He recovered Jerusalem by means of treaty, and restored for a brief period the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land (1229-1244). It was by way of the Holy Land, with Egypt to the south of it and Syria to the north, that the third stream of Arab influence reached Europe. The Crusades, during the two hundred years of their continuance (1096-1292), brought year by year the hosts of the semi-barbarians of the West into contact with civilizations, Byzantine and oriental, immeasurably more advanced than their own. Not a few of the crusaders, amazed at the revelation of a

new and enchanting world—new, that is, to them, though venerable in immemorial antiquity—renounced their Christianity, remained, and surrendered themselves to the spell of the East.

Those who returned brought with them not only marvellous stories of oriental luxury and magnificence, but also (mingled with relics of the apostles) many treasures of art and craft, which excited the keenest emulation and desire of the West. Hence one of the most per-

manently important of the results of the Crusades was the vast development of commerce between

Europe and Asia, and the establishment of a markedly higher standard of life among the powerful nobles and the wealthy townsmen of the Christian world. From China, India, Persia and Arabia, both by sea and along the great trade routes determined by countless generations of nomadic merchants, came the spices, the medicines, the gems, the delicate metal work, the fine fabrics of the Orient. They came to such great emporia or collecting places as Alexandria, Antioch, Trebizond or Constantinople. Thence they were fetched and distributed over Europe either by the seamen of such cities as Venice, Genoa or Pisa, or else by land travellers such as the merchants of the Hanseatic League.

It puzzled the backward West to know what to offer to the luxurious East in return for its coveted magnificence. Silver and gold it had little or none. The East, however, intimated that it was ready to receive the raw materials in which the West abounded—wools, wool fells, cloth, leather, wood and woodwork, metals and other minerals, dyes, salt and so on. Hence an extensive commerce was developed which led to the rise in Europe of a wealthy third estate of merchants and financiers, and to the immense growth of towns and cities, which became the homes of political agitation, religious ferment and cultural progress.

Without question, the four centuries 1200–1600 saw an immense improvement in the standard of European life and manners. They witnessed the transition

of a continent from semi-barbarism to nascent civilization; from ignorance to the dawn of scientific knowledge; from superstition to rudimentary rationality; from serfdom to the beginning of freedom; from extreme poverty to comparative wealth; from isolation to communion with both the old world of the Far East and the new world of the Far West; from a condition of chronic plague, pestilence and famine, punctuated by the frequent occurrence of battle, murder and sudden death, to one of some approach to order, discipline, sanitation, peace and prosperity.

It is true, unfortunately, that all classes did not share equally the advantages of the new era. It may even be true that, as in most ages of rapid and radical change, there were some who suffered positive loss by the passing away of the old order in which they had had their place. It is certain, moreover, that the collapse of the structure of medieval society and the construction of the fabric of the modern world out of its ruins was not unattended by some very grave drawbacks, particularly in the spheres of morals and religion. Nevertheless, on the balance, the gains immeasurably outweighed the losses.

The movement of the period was one, on the whole, of great, adventurous and most exciting progress. In order that we may realize how decided

was the advance, it is **Four centuries necessary that we should to be surveyed** make such survey as is

possible, first, of the conditions of life which prevailed at the beginning of the period under discussion in the thirteenth century; secondly, of the improvements effected during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and, finally, of the state of civility attained by the folk of the sixteenth century.

The first question which confronts us when we attempt to examine the standards of life and manners in thirteenth-century Europe is, How large was the population of the Continent at that time? It is a question to which, unhappily, no very precise answer can be given. For not till modern times were any adequate registers of births and deaths kept; and calculations based upon such sources as exist (seigneurial rolls, for instance, or taxation

returns) give results which vary beyond hope of harmonisation. It must suffice here to say that the population of Europe cannot have exceeded one-eighth of its number at the present time. England and Wales, for example, which in the census returns of 1921 were stated to have just under thirty-eight millions of inhabitants, seem to have had in the thirteenth century somewhere about four millions, that is to say, fewer than the present administrative county of London.

That the population throughout Europe was almost stationary at such exiguous figures as these was due partly to the fact that means of subsistence did not exist for many more, and partly to the fact that numbers were kept down by the tremendous toll which death incessantly levied by means of pestilence and war. So numerous were the risks to life in the thirteenth century, and so high the probability that death would catch its victim young, that a man of fifty was as rare then as a man of seventy-five is now. The majority of children born died in infancy, and those who survived the perils of their early days were constantly beset and harassed by epidemics

and other diseases with which the medical conventions of the age made no rational attempt to cope. So long as plagues and agues and leprosy were looked upon as direct and inexplicable judgements of Heaven, with which it was impious to interfere, and against which it was useless to contend except by means of fastings, penances and prayers—so long had men to content themselves with a life shorter by some twenty years, on the average, than the normal span; and so long had they to spend even this truncated existence subject to horrors exceeding any known in civilized countries to-day.

This scanty, short-lived and troubled population of Western Christendom was broadly divided, as the necessities of the time indicated, into three great classes: 'oratores, bellatores, laboratores,' that is to say, churchmen, warriors and manual workers. The churchmen held without dispute the foremost place; for in an age dominated by theology they performed functions regarded as incomparably more important than any other. The earth was looked upon as the centre of the universe, to which centre the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars were



CARE OF THE SICK IN THE PLAGUE-STRUCK MIDDLE AGES

Long life was not common in medieval days of unhygienic conditions and inadequate medical knowledge, when plague was endemic and leprosy widespread. Such hospitals as there were laboured gallantly, providing beds and food and ministering to spiritual wants. Attention, however, was often kindly rather than expert. Left: a scene from a hospital about 1250 depicts the reception of victims in search of cure. Right: a nurse in the same hospital tends her patients.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. lat. 8846; photo, Catala Frères

all appendant and subservient. The span of the earth's existence was believed to have been but a few thousand years, and the catastrophic termination of its tragic career was held to be imminent. The outstanding events in world history were the Fall, the Redemption and the impending Day of Judgement. The brief term of man's sojourn here on earth was merely a period of probation whose purpose was to determine his eternal destiny. Such being the case, life was valuable only because it provided opportunities for achieving salvation; health and wealth were desirable only in so far as they assisted the soul on its heavenward way.

Views such as these respecting God, the world and man implied that religion claimed control of the whole of human activity. Nothing could

The Church's bid for supreme power be safely left to the occupation of the devil.

Hence the clergy—the official interpreters of the divine will, the organized custodians of the sacred mysteries, the keepers of the keys of Heaven and Hell—were foremost not only in the ministrations of the sanctuary, but also in politics, in law, in education, in social service and in economic regulation. Two things only prevented their attaining a complete monopoly of power and the entire administration of all property: the first was that the world did not fully believe in them; the second was that they did not fully believe in themselves. A certain leaven of incredulity in both clergy and laity—a failure on the part of the clergy to rise to the height of their pretensions, and a failure on the part of the laity to realize the depth of their dependence—allowed the World to continue to exist as a separate institution from the Church.

Within the World, as distinct from the Church, the class of the bellatores, or warriors, held the position of precedence. Next in importance to eternal salvation was the defence of the terrestrial treasures of life, liberty and property. To-day it is almost impossible to realize how extremely insecure were life, liberty and property during the dark meridian of the Middle Ages. The blackest period

was the two centuries—roughly 850 to 1050—which followed the collapse of the empire of Charlemagne. That was the period during which Europe was assailed and ravaged both by land and sea by Northmen, Magyars, Saracens and Slavs. All central government broke down; all general resistance was overwhelmed; and everywhere men were left to organize a local defence or to perish. In those circumstances, feudalism sprang up (see Chap. 102).

It was essentially a military system. Its foci were the fortified castle and the armour-clad knight—the castle which alone could provide shelter from the fury of the pagan marauders; the knight who alone could hope to withstand the shock of the invaders in battle. The chivalry of Europe—the great order of the bellatores—during these two centuries of almost incessant warfare saved Christendom from extinction at the hands of the most formidable and remorseless foes that it ever had to face up to the present day. It did its work in countless unrecorded sieges and unchronicled battles. It did it, however, so effectually that by the middle of the eleventh century the extremity of peril had passed away.

The Northmen had either been beaten off or had settled as peaceful and Christianised citizens in such regions as the English Danelaw, the French Normandy or the papal South Italy. The Magyars had been expelled

Christendom saved by Feudalism

from Germany and Lombardy; and in Hungary, where they had succeeded in establishing themselves, they had accepted baptism and the overlordship of Rome. The Slavs had been driven back beyond the Oder; while the Saracens had been placed on the defensive in the Mediterranean, where they had long been dominant and aggressive.

The fact that for two centuries the very existence of Christendom depended not upon monarchs nor upon peoples as a whole, but upon a warrior caste—the feudal nobility, the chivalry of Europe, the class of bellatores—necessarily involved the consequence that effective political authority tended to pass into the same hands. Government became feudalised;



KING AND LABOURERS

Agriculture was the normal occupation of average men in the Middle Ages. Henry III is here shown bestowing a word of encouragement on two of his subjects who appear to be deeply absorbed in felling a tree.

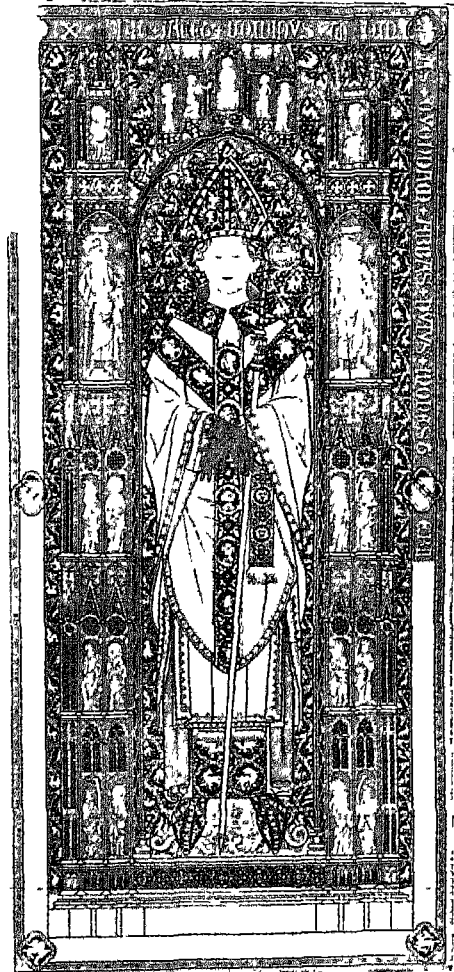
British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D.4

administration and jurisdiction became localised in seignorial courts and councils; regional customs superseded common law. Similarly, society assumed a feudal form, until from suzerain to serf the whole community became graded into an elaborately articulated scale of lords and vassals. In this feudal society kings, although they might remain as figure-heads, had little effective authority. Such monarchs as the last descendants of Charlemagne in France, or Edward the Confessor in England, were rulers in little more than name; the later Carolingians were all but prisoners in Laon; the pious Edward was negligible except in Westminster, and even there he had to reckon with his wife in the palace and with the abbot in the church.

About the middle of the eleventh century, however, that is roughly from the date of the Battle of Hastings, the feudal nobility had completed its main task. But it continued to exist, entrenched in military ascendancy, a menace to tranquillity, an obstacle to centralised government and an insuperable barrier to the peaceful development of industry and commerce, a formidable foe to the progress of civilization. The history of the later Middle Ages in Europe is largely the record of the way in which the kings, aided by the clergy and supported by the rising power and wealth of the towns, overthrew the feudal aristocracy and established the

strong national monarchies which marked the advent of modern times. They were able to do so only when new weapons—the longbow, the crossbow, the pike and, above all, fire-arms—destroyed the military foundation of the supremacy of the bellatores by rendering castles pregnable and panoplied knights vulnerable.

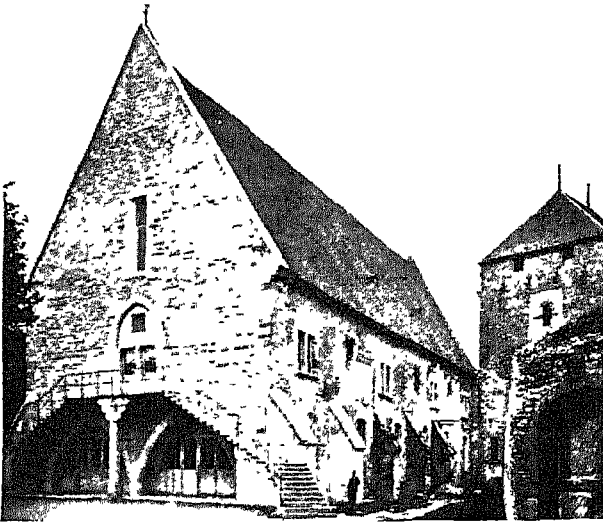
The class which superseded the bellatores at the beginning of the modern era was, in the broadest use of the term, the class of the laboratores, the third estate of the medieval social organization. In the



AN ABBOT AMONG SAINTS

Of Flemish workmanship, this brass of Thomas de la Mare, abbot of St. Albans (1349-1396), is one of the finest of its kind in England. Above the figure is a beautiful canopy and S. Peter and S. Paul stand on his left and right.

From Blore, 'Monumental Remains'



CLUNY ABBEY AS IT IS TO-DAY

In 910 the duke of Aquitaine founded the abbey at Cluny and appointed S Bruno its first abbot. Cluny became the mother monastery of the independent Cluniac Order, and was a recognized centre of learning with a rich library and a magnificent church. It was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562.

Photo, Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire

thirteenth century the *laboratores* were mainly an agricultural and servile peasantry. The immense majority of all the peoples of Europe were engaged in burdensome, incessant and not always successful efforts to wring a subsistence from the soil sufficient to maintain themselves, together with the *bellatores* who fought for them and the *oratores* who prayed for them. The sense of community was strong. No one lived unto himself alone. Each toiled, or bled, or fasted vicariously on behalf of his fellows, as well as on his own behalf. But out of the agricultural and servile peasantry a new sub-class was springing up, that of the artisans and merchants who, congregating in favoured localities, formed towns, established guilds, amassed wealth, asserted freedom, secured charters and developed self-government. Before the end of the thirteenth century the communes of France, the free cities of Germany, the city states of Italy and in England the great municipality of London were political powers of the first magnitude.

We turn from the social classes of the thirteenth century to consider the dwellings in which their representatives lived,

together with their occupations and behaviour therein. Once again we shall have to discriminate: for *oratores*, *bellatores* and *laboratores* (rustic and urban) lived very different kinds of lives amid very different surroundings.

Of the *oratores*, those who were most wholly engrossed in their business of religious exercise were the regular or monastic clergy. The oldest and most numerous of these monastic orders was that of the Benedictines, whose rule dated from the sixth century of the Christian era. The Cluniacs, or reformed Benedictines, were instituted in the tenth century. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the establishment of Carthusians, Cistercians, Augustinians, Premonstratensians, and many other orders. These orders differed from one

another in countless minor matters, and especially in their distinctive costumes; the Benedictines were the 'Black Monks,' the Cistercians the 'White Monks,' and so on. (See also Chap. 84).

Each Benedictine abbey was an independent corporation, electing its own head and, within the elastic limits of the rule, determining its own mode of life and its own degree of asceticism. On the other hand, the whole Cluniac order formed but a single unit, subject to the authority of the abbot and the great mother monastery of Cluny. The three hundred and more houses of the order were but priories, and the ten thousand Cluniac monks were all expected, at some time or other during their career, to reside in the Burgundian abbey. Hence singular uniformity and striking rigidity of discipline marked the Cluniac organization in its prime.

Again, while the Benedictines divided the day of twenty-four hours into three equal portions, assigned respectively to worship, work and rest or recreation, and while during their working hours they

often developed high industrial skill and mature scholarship, the Cistercians, on the other hand, fearing the lures of the world and the snares of the devil, curtailed the hours of work, increased those of worship, and surrendered themselves to discomfort and ignorance. The Carthusians revived the austerities of the hermit life, with its strict withdrawal from the world; while the Augustinians had it as their main business to serve the cathedral, collegiate or parish churches.

Subject, however, to such important differences as these, the great common feature of all monastic institutions was the dominance of worship. The supreme duty of the devoted inmates was sacrifice and intercession not only on their



ABBOT ON VISITATION

The duties of a medieval abbot were manifold, comprising supervision of his monastery, the disciplining of his monks, and much parish work. This traveller is a typical abbot.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D.vii

own behalf, but on behalf of Christendom as a whole, and of the pagan and infidel world which lay beyond the pale of the Faith. Hence the church was the centre of monastic life.

The religious day began at sunrise, when a bell called the brethren to awake and, having washed and combed their hair, to proceed to the church for prime and morning mass. After mass they assembled in the chapter-house where the orders for the day were announced and, on occasions, a sermon preached. Here, too, confessions were made, accusations brought, judgements delivered and punishments in-

flicted. Chapter ended, the brethren dispersed about their several avocations until, at the third hour (somewhere about



MONKS IN CHURCH : WORSHIP THE KEYNOTE OF MONASTIC LIFE

It was a supreme duty of members of the various monastic orders in the Middle Ages to play—for themselves, for Christendom and for the pagan world beyond. A dormitory bell rang at midnight calling the monks to prayer, followed by the service of matins and then of lauds. From sunrise to sunset there followed the monastic day of service after service, interspersed with confessions and flagellations. This fifteenth-century picture portrays the monks at one stage of their devotions.

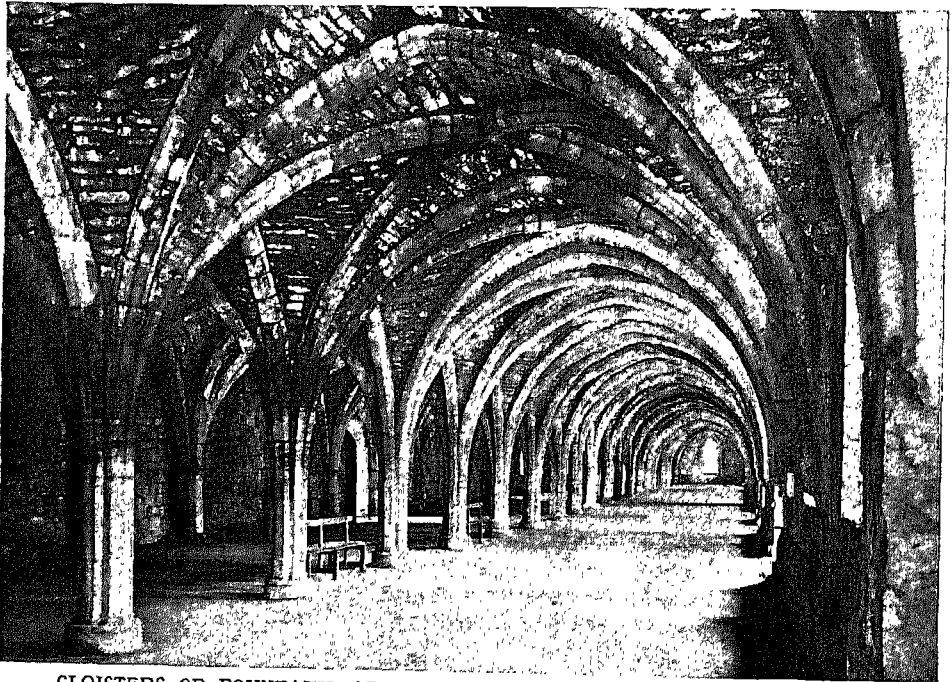
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. français, 9198: photo, Catala Frères

9.0 a.m.) they were recalled to the church for terce, which was followed speedily by high mass and by sext. This long succession of services occupied the major part of the morning, and soon after the conclusion of sext, about midday, the bell would summon the worshipful and hungry fraternity to their first meal. The meal was commonly of two courses, the first soup and the second meat, reinforced by ample supplies of bread, fruit, ale and light wine. On fast days fish and eggs took the place of meat. On feast days extra courses and special delicacies supplemented the normal fare. The meal was followed by a period left free for meditation or repose; but the period was not long, for about 3.0 p.m. the bell gave notice of none, a short service which was succeeded by a spell of work. This was terminated, as the day began to decline, by the summons to evensong, after which came the second and last meal of the day, supper, very similar in character to dinner.

At the close of supper the brethren strolled in the cloister or the gardens for a short time until the bell called them to compline and sent them to bed.

Not even then, however, were their daily devotions over. For at midnight that consecrated bell fetched them up again, and sent them into the dim and awful church for matins and lauds. Thence they returned to bed, to remain undisturbed until the bell warned them of the dawn of another ecclesiastical day.

The monastic buildings, splendid in their simplicity and magnificent in their symmetry, followed in the main (subject to variations necessitated by local conditions) a uniform plan. In the centre lay the cloister—a garth, or open court, surrounded by the covered cloisters wherein, walking, reading, writing, resting, the monks spent much of the day not occupied in religious services. On the north side of the cloister enclosure stood the nave of the great church. The



CLOISTERS OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY : WORKROOM OF THE LAY BRETHREN

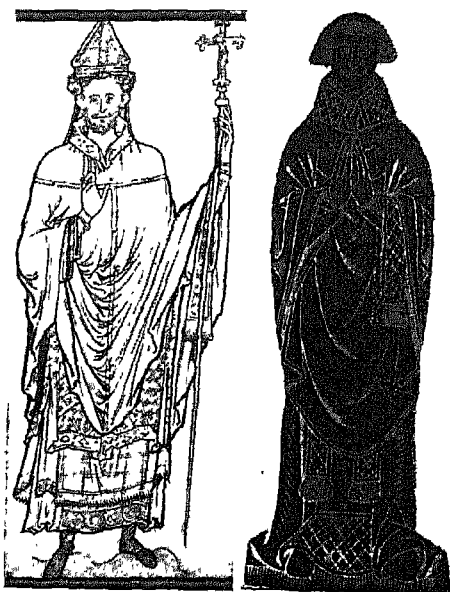
A Cistercian monastic community included a large number of lay brethren, who were of great importance in the execution of the manual labour. This picture represents the ground floor of the 'domus conversorum' of Fountains Abbey, founded in 1132, and famous as the third Cistercian house in England. In this vaulted room the brothers lived by day; their dormitory, containing forty cubicles, was on the floor above. From the northern end of the building there was access to the church.

Photo, J. Valentine

the bishops who ruled the dioceses into which Christendom was divided; priests who served the parish churches; deacons who assisted them and prepared themselves for the priesthood; together with subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists and others, who, though regarded as clerics in minor orders, were not debarred either from marriage or from participation in the ordinary business of the world.

The medieval bishop was not merely a prince of the Church, exercising enormous ghostly powers of absolution, excommunication, confirmation, ordination, discipline and punishment; he was also a great temporal magnate ruling an extensive diocese, administering large revenues, holding high political office, playing a prominent part in affairs of the secular state. Episcopal palaces rivalled in magnificence those of the proudest and wealthiest nobles. The knights and men-at-arms who followed the bishop's banner to the wars were often as numerous and well appointed as were the companies of the lay baronage, and not infrequently a militant bishop, wearing helmet instead of mitre, himself led them into the fray.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it had taken all the might and majesty of a succession of reforming popes to prevent the episcopate from being wholly absorbed



SECULAR ECCLESIASTICS

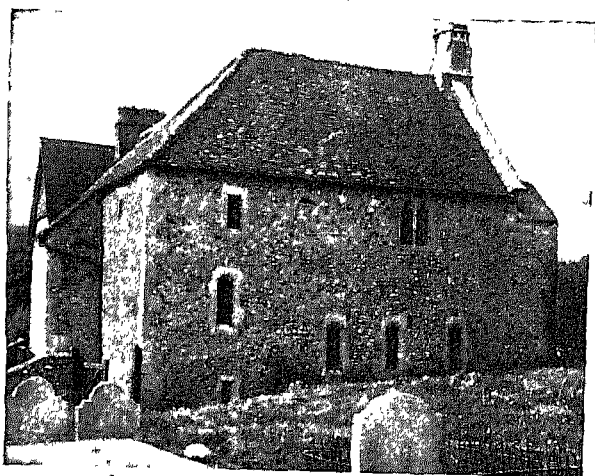
Secular clergy were classified as bishops, priests and deacons. Left, a bishop of the thirteenth century as depicted in a Book of Prayers, and, right, the parish priest (rector) of Dogmersfield as portrayed on his brass in Odiham church.

British Museum, Royal MS. 2 A. xxvi, and Barnard, 'Medieval England'

into the feudal system, and to restrain bishops from marriage and from the degradation of their high spiritual offices into hereditary fiefs. The great in-

vestiture conflict against simony, and on behalf of celibacy, had been won by the Church; but still the bishops remained feudal barons and as such tended to be engrossed with politics rather than with religion. Their persistent and patent secularity lent point to the attacks of Wycliffe in the fourteenth century, and to the still more deadly assaults of Luther and Calvin in the sixteenth.

The parish priests moved on a lowlier plane. They shared the life of the common folk; lived in houses such as the village freeman or the urban artisan dwelt in; took part in the labour of the land; shared in the scanty produce



MEDIEVAL COUNTRY PARSONAGE

Secular priests serving the parish churches were provided with a parsonage house and maintained by tithes, commonly paid in kind, and by certain money payments. At West Dean, in Sussex, the thirteenth-century parsonage is one of the earliest domestic buildings in England remaining substantially intact.

Photo, R. Wynter

of the open fields. Except on holy days and in holy things they differed little from the toiling, suffering, short-lived multitude from whom they sprang and with whom they passed, after their brief probation, into terrestrial oblivion.

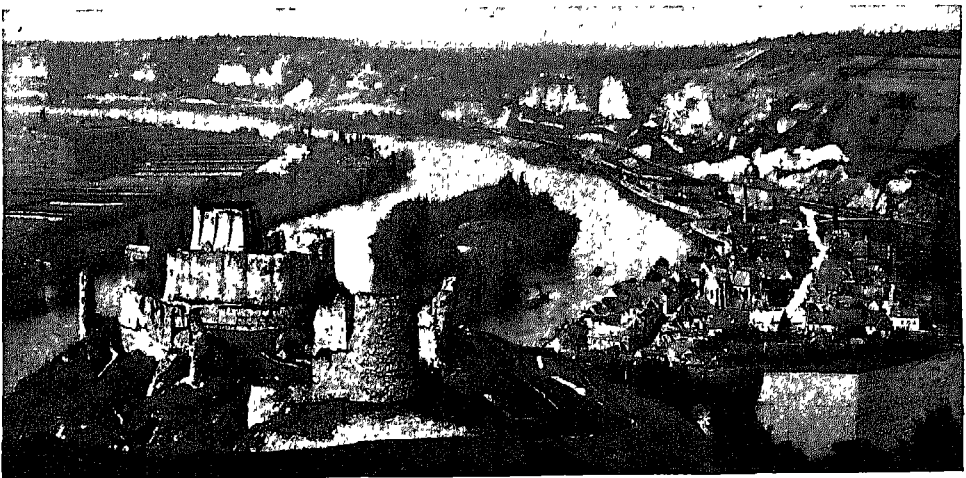
The clergy in minor orders were in a more anomalous position. Technically they were 'clerics,' officials of the majestic and dominating Church, protected by the sanctity of their dedication, and enjoying the countless benefits and immunities which their ecclesiastical character conferred upon them. In fact,

The Clergy in Minor Orders they were rather 'clerks' in the modern sense of the term. Sharing the clerical monopoly of the scanty learning of the day, alone possessing the capacity to write letters, keep records, enter up books and make out accounts, they held the business world largely in their hands, and through them primarily the ecclesiastical power exercised its close and effective jurisdiction over industrial custom and commercial morality.

The home of the fighting noble of the thirteenth century was still the castle, and very different was it in structure and design from the peaceful houses of prayer and labour in which dwelt the monks.

Castle building reached its perfection in the thirteenth century. Château Gaillard on the Seine, built on the eve of the century, Coucy erected in its prime and Beaumaris towards its close are among the most perfect of the works of military architecture.

The early feudal castle had been a very simple and an extremely uncomfortable place. It had consisted merely of a 'motte' and 'bailey,' that is to say, of wooden hut erected on the top of an artificial mound, protected by a stockade at the summit and a deep ditch or moat at the base, and of an appendant courtyard also safeguarded from attack by a stockaded earthwork and a trench (see page 2715). It did not take long to make; we hear of a castle of this type at York which in 1069 was constructed in eight days. The main purpose of such a castle was defence against sudden and brief assault. For a short time it could be held by a small number of men against a multitude armed with the ineffective siege engines of the feudal age. Apart from that, it had little military value. It was a mere place of refuge, useless as a base for active operations. Even if impregnable, it was bound to be starved into surrender unless it was speedily relieved. As a place of residence in time of peace it was as



RUIN OF CHATEAU GAILLARD AT PETIT ANDELYS

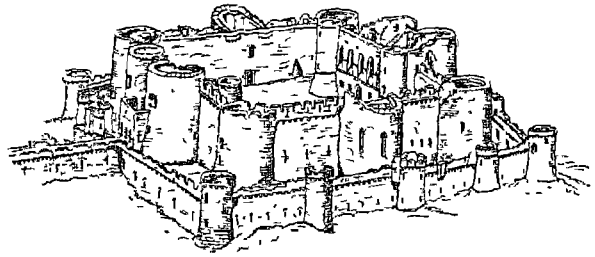
Château Gaillard at Petit Andelys was built by Richard Coeur-de-Lion in 1196 to protect Normandy from invasion from across the Seine, such as it had recently suffered at the hands of Philip Augustus during the English king's absence on the Third Crusade. It embodied the most scientific principles of the art of fortification as then known, and was the finest castle of the Middle Ages. It fell to

Philip Augustus in 1204, chiefly as the result of the skilful use of mines.

Photo, Levy-Neurdein réunis

uncomfortable and inconvenient as the hovel of the peasant.

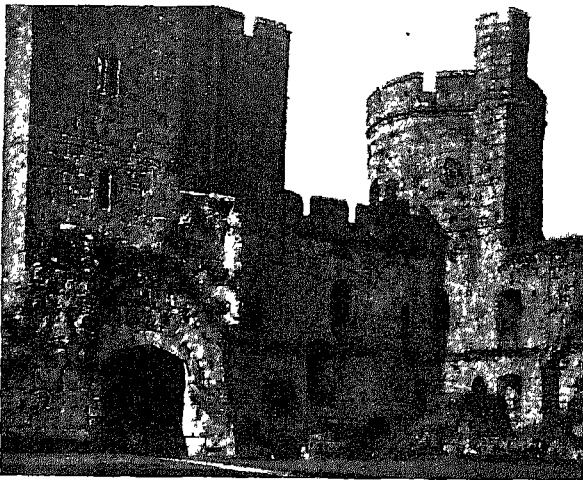
The eleventh and twelfth centuries had seen vast improvements in military architecture all over Europe. Stone had replaced wood as the material of construction; strong natural sites had superseded the artificial mounds on which the wooden castles had been built; increased size had rendered possible some advance towards comfort and decency.



STRATEGIC CASTLE OF BEAUMARIS

The art of castle building made great progress in the thirteenth century. Castles were constructed primarily to serve as bases for offensive operations. This view of Beaumaris Castle shows the flanking towers skilfully arranged so that each could be held separately if one or more were captured.

From Barnard, 'Medieval England,' Clarendon Press



ANGLO-FRENCH MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

The influence of contemporary French methods of fortification is revealed in the architecture of Bodiam Castle, built about 1377, of which the entrance is here shown. The kitchen fireplace (bottom) is of immense size and was large enough to roast a whole ox. The servants' kitchen lies beyond.

Photos, Humphrey Joel

It was not, however, until the thirteenth century, when the worst period of feudal anarchy was past, that the castle reached its perfect form. A concentric system of fortification made it even stronger for defence than before; a series of gates and sally-ports enabled the garrison to adopt a more active form of warfare than hitherto; within its secure precincts halls, kitchens, bedchambers, chapels made it a place of tolerable, if not luxurious, residence in times of peace.

The cessation of constant warfare meant, on the one hand, that the feudal lord and his fighting men were free to spend a much larger portion of their time at home than had been possible in the days of the pagan raids, and, on the other hand, that they were able to cultivate other arts than that of war. In these circumstances the great institution known as chivalry developed—an institution which played a notable part in determining the code of manners, the standard of morals and the course of education of all the subsequent ages down to the present day.

Chivalry in its complete and perfect form consisted of three factors: war, religion

and gallantry—a curious and incongruous mixture. The militancy of chivalry was the heritage of feudalism; religion, of a sort, came with the Crusades; gallantry was implanted in the Orient, fostered by the minstrels, developed into riotous luxuriance by the writers of romance. Before the time of the Crusades the feudal noble or knight had been a ferocious and brutal barbarian hardly superior in manners or in morals to the savage marauders whom it was his business to repel. At the end of the eleventh century, when the great invasions were over and Christendom found itself once more in comparative repose, the Church perceived the feudal soldiery—warlike, undisciplined, unemployed—to be a peril to civilization itself.

With infinite skill, therefore, and with astonishing success, she undertook the conversion of the lords of the castles and their men. She consecrated knight-

hood to the service of the faith; she filled the minds of her new devotees with a consuming fury of hatred for the infidel; she launched the hosts of the belligerent believers on the great enterprise of the recovery of the Holy Land. The Crusades, thus initiated, lasted about two hundred years (A.D. 1096–1292), and for another two their revival was well within the scope of the practicable. They had many consequences with which we are not here called upon to deal, since they are discussed in Chapter 109; but amongst their results were some that had a far reaching influence upon European life and manners. The crusaders who made their long and adventurous journey through strange lands or across unknown seas were brought into contact with a civilization very different from their own, and in most respects much farther advanced and highly developed. They imbibed new ideas; they became cognisant of new arts and crafts, new standards of com-

fort and luxury they were filled with new conceptions of conduct and new ideals of character.

Hence when they returned from the East to their Western homes, they tended to convert their castles to courts, and to substitute for the rough usages of war the etiquette of sport and gallantry. Tournaments provided the necessary outlet for their fighting spirit; hunting and hawking gave them exercise and recreation; within the halls of their castles feasting and minstrelsy, story telling and charades, filled up the vacant hours. In these circumstances gallantry, in the sense of devotion to woman and a fine courtesy in behaviour towards ladies, developed and established itself as the third great element in chivalry, turning the warlike spirit of the knight to the defence of the weak, and rivalling religion as a motive of adventurous action. The castles of the nobility became schools of honour where the sons of the smaller gentry were trained as pages (from their seventh to their fourteenth year) in the manners and usages of chivalry, and as squires (from their fourteenth to their twenty-first year) were initiated into the arts of sport and of war.

Chivalry had its grave limitations, without a doubt. Its kindnesses and courtesies were restricted to a single class; it fostered



FAIR LADIES EQUIP A MEDIEVAL KNIGHT

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, the knight in this picture, is going forth to uphold the family honour in a tournament. His wife hands him helmet and pennon. Another lady carries the Luttrell shield. On surcoat, ailettes, banner and helmet the Luttrell arms are emblazoned.

Luttrell Psalter; from Velusta Monumenta



A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANOR HOUSE

Refinement in life and manners was slowly evolving in England throughout the thirteenth century. Longthorpe Manor House, Northampton, was built about 1235 and shows a family residence of comparative comfort. There were windows at this early date, but some of the largest of these were added later.

From Hudson Turner, 'Domestic Architecture'

pride and ostentation; it tended both to formality and to fanaticism in religion; its gallantry was not inconsistent with gross immorality. But, when all is said, it set a new standard of refinement; vastly improved the code of good manners; and established the system of public-school education which has produced that finished product of Christian civilization, the gentleman. (For further information see Chap. 116.)

The home of the peasant did not proportionately share in the improved standard of living which marked the thirteenth century in the castles of the nobles, the manor houses of the country gentry and the dwellings of the craftsmen and merchants of the rising towns. The cottage of the village cultivator of the soil commonly consisted of a single room formed of four walls constructed of wood and daubed over with mud. A low doorway gave admission; a few unglazed holes, shuttered in bad weather, let in a little light and a lot of draught, and possibly let out some of the foul air and reeking stench that prevailed within. In cold weather a log fire would smoulder in the midst of the hovel, its smoke filling the place and gradually making for escape through an aperture in the turfed or thatched roof. The untiled floor would be covered with straw or bracken, and on this the family—old

and young, male and female, hale and sick—would sleep at night, covered with woollen rugs. Here, in the squalor of this one room, in perfect and unashamed publicity, would be enacted the full drama of birth and life and death.

The furniture of the room would as a rule be limited to a table, a few stools, a chest and a scanty collection of necessary pots and pans. To the majority even of the most destitute of the pauper populations of modern Europe the conditions of such a life would be intolerable, although there are still a few regions, for example, in the Balkans, in Russia, in Italy, in Ireland, and even in the slums of England,

where things are but little better. We have, however, to remember that comfort is a comparative state. The peasants who dwelt in such filth, such indecency and such inconvenience had never known anything better; nor had their ancestors to remote antiquity. Moreover, what is even more important, until the thirteenth century the amenities and respectabilities of the lords in their castles, the bishops in their palaces and the kings in their royal residences were not very markedly superior. The most splendid dwellings of the feudal age had but a single sleeping apartment wherein the family of the lord and guests alike had to seek repose. Servants, retainers, dogs and what not lay among the rushes on the floor of the dining hall. Privacy there was none, nor was there a possibility of what are now regarded as the elementary decencies.

We need not, therefore, waste our sympathies on our uncomfortable and unblushing progenitors. Conceiving nothing better, they were satisfied. Seeing round about them a general uniformity of condition, they were not afflicted with envy, hatred, malice or uncharitableness. The dawn of luxury in the thirteenth century, however, made a difference. From the East came glass for windows, carpets for floors, tapestries for walls. From the

North came coal for fires, which necessitated the shifting of fireplaces from the middle of the hall and the making of chimneys to convey the smoke away. Separate bedrooms, withdrawing-rooms and parlours began to appear in the greater mansions, and more refined standards of manners began to be promulgated. It began to be said that the polite person should not handle fish, flesh or fowl with more than three of his ten fingers at a time; that he should not wipe his mouth or clean his teeth with the tablecloth; that he should not spit across the table, and so on.

The introduction of these exacting codes of social behaviour, together with the growth of luxury amongst the wealthy, and the development of chivalry among the high born, tended to give rise to a sharper division of classes than heretofore known. The genius of Christendom is equality. The Catholic faith teaches a brotherhood of man based upon the fatherhood of God,



A GREY FRIAR

This Franciscan friar was drawn by Matthew Paris. Such was the simplicity of the Order that a brother once said that he did not know what a cloister was.

Collectanea Franciscana

and emphasises the truth that the features which all men have in common are incomparably more numerous and more important than those which divide them one from another. As medieval Catholicism declined into modern unbelief, not only was the Church weakened by heresy and rent by schism, but society itself was split up into sects and warring classes. The close of the thirteenth century saw on the one hand a far-reaching revolt against ecclesiastical authority, and, on the other hand, a profound social unrest which was destined in the fourteenth century to flame up in widespread and sanguinary revolt.

In vain did the new orders of friars, founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century, combat the growing evils of these transitional days. The Dominicans, or preachers, made it their work to combat erroneous doctrine and suppress scepticism. To the aid of their eloquence they were able to summon the



OUTDOOR SPORT FOR LADIES SEVEN CENTURIES AGO

Consequent upon the institution of chivalry there was a notable improvement in the treatment of women by men in the upper and middle classes of society. Falconry was a favourite recreation of the nobles and landed gentry, and in this sport their womenfolk participated freely. This illumination from the so-called Queen Mary's Psalter of the early fourteenth century shows ladies enjoying a day out after wild duck, with a falcon 'trussing' a fine mallard.

British Museum, Royal MS. 2 B.vii.



machinery of the Inquisition and the fanaticism of the crusaders. But it was to no permanent purpose. As fast as they stamped out one heretical sect another sprang up, and the smouldering fires of revolt against ecclesiastical authority were spread rather than extinguished by the novel severities of Mother Church. At the same time the Franciscans, or workers among the poor, strove to mitigate the social sufferings of the age. Their devoted and faithful ministrations no doubt brought consolation and healing to

myriads of the sick and sad; but the ills of the dying Middle Ages were too deep-seated to be cured by solaces and soporifics, however sweetly administered, and the fourteenth century opened with gloomy foreboding.

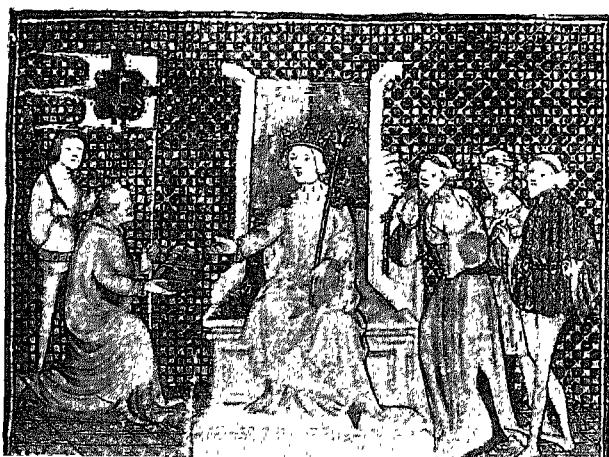
The fourteenth century was inaugurated by two events sufficiently noteworthy even at the time, but events whose full significance was not evident until many generations had passed away. The first was the crushing defeat of the chivalry of France by the Flemish bourgeoisie at



EXTRAVAGANT DRESS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The attraction of beautiful attire was strong in the fourteenth century. Top: an example of the 'dagging' or slashing, so fashionable in the ornamentation of garments. Bottom: a young gallant at his toilet before the fire; note the fireplace with its chimney, which the introduction of coal made necessary.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 1319 (top), and Royal MS. 2 B.vii (bottom)



EXTREMES AT RICHARD II'S COURT

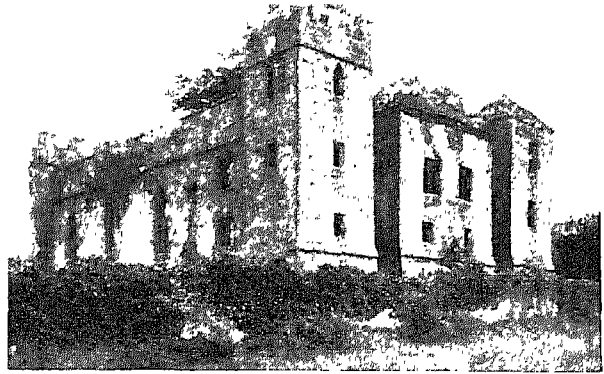
The extravagance of the noble classes in dress reached its height in Richard II's reign. The king is here shown amid his courtiers clad in costly garb. This was an age of extremes when robes were so long that they trailed in the mud or tunics so short that the moralists exclaimed.

British Museum, Royal MS. 20 B.vi

Courtrai in 1302; the second was the overthrow of the papal monarchy of the Middle Ages by the humiliation and death of Pope Boniface VIII in 1303, followed by the beginning of the Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon in 1309. Courtrai (page 308r) was the knell of the feudal nobility. In the very sphere of their pre-eminence they had been defeated by the rising might of the third estate: cavalry had been repulsed by infantry; lance and battle-axe countered and shattered by pike and dagger. Similarly, Anagni and Avignon portended the passing of the power of the first estate of the clergy, and the rise to ascendancy of lawyers, politicians and national kings.

But though the fourteenth century was one of disintegration and revolutionary change, not until its middle point was reached did the forces of destruction and transformation display their full power. The Black Death of 1348-9 was the real and catastrophic end of the Middle Ages in western Europe. From the ravages of that awful pestilence, which carried away nearly one half of the population of all the countries that it visited, the system of medieval Christendom received a shock from which it never recovered (see further in Chap. 122).

Until the time of this visitation, however, in spite of wars (waged mainly by professional and mercenary armies) and heresies (easily held in check by an omnipotent Church), the century appeared to be one of unusual prosperity and plenty, profusion and pageantry. The rich fabrics and choice delicacies of the East, spread throughout Europe by Hanseatic merchants on land and by Venetian navigators from the sea, enabled



HOME OF A FAMOUS CHANCELLOR

Robert Burnell was the able adviser and chancellor to Edward I. He built this manor house at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, and obtained royal licence to crenellate in 1283. Increasing trade with the East so raised the standard of luxury that the nobility felt impelled to beautify their homes.

Photo, W. F. Taylor

a new standard of luxury and refinement to be established by nobles and wealthy townsmen. The gloom and inconvenience which characterised castles, even at their thirteenth-century best, gave way to country houses or urban mansions, which, though still moated or walled for defence, were built primarily for purposes of comfort and enjoyment in times of peace.



COMFORT AND SECURITY OF A CASTELLATED HOME

Stokesay Castle, near Craven Arms in Shropshire, dates from the thirteenth century, and is an almost perfect example of the fortified manor house of that period as distinguished from a castle. It was built as a country mansion, with a very large banqueting hall, and in 1291 its owner received permission to strengthen it by curtain walls and by the addition of a three-storeyed tower with loop-holed parapet, connected with the previously existing buildings by a covered passage.

Photo, B. C. Clayton

Tournaments attained their most splendid magnificence; costumes developed their most fantastic and picture-que extravagances; ceremonial feasts displayed their most enormous prodigalities.

In vain did sumptuary laws attempt to check the growing ostentation; in vain did the Church preach the duty of self-mortification and the virtues of asceticism. The papal court itself at Avignon set an example of luxury which nullified the doctrines of the Franciscan friars, and the monasteries of the stricter rules languished for lack of the devout. The lust of the eye and the pride of life prevailed over the humility of faith and the power of the world to come.

This fascinating but sensuous half-century (1300-50) was marked by an immense development of European com-

merce and by a vast improvement in the machinery of finance. An imperious demand for capital for purposes of trade and industry made itself felt, and the Church had to modify its ancient rules which had denounced and suppressed 'usury.' Italian bankers and money-lenders began to rival and supplant the Jews as collectors and distributors of bullion. Italian cities, such as Florence, Pisa, Genoa and Venice, accumulated fabulous wealth, and used it to hire soldiers, secure political independence, foster architecture and art, establish libraries, encourage literature and philosophy. The German cities of the Hanseatic League—radiating from Hamburg towards the North Sea, and from Lübeck towards the Baltic—emulated their Italian rivals in splendour and in power, and far exceeded them in capacity for orderly government and effective co-operation (see Chap. 119).

The rapid growth of international, or, to speak more exactly, inter-municipal commerce was primarily the consequence of the stimulating contact of East and West caused by the Crusades. The early antagonism of Crescent and Cross had died down; Christian and Mahomedan had learned to respect one another, Jerusalem had opened her gates to merchant adventurers, and commercial travelers had supplanted pilgrims as visitants to the Orient. Expanding commerce stimulated industry. New wealth had to be created in the West as a means to procure the novel and delectable luxuries of the East. Hence the early fourteenth century saw a marked advance in woollen manufacture, particularly in the Low Countries; a great extension of sheep farming; a notable and general effort to abandon the medieval system of the communal cultivation of land for the more efficient



ONE OF ENGLAND'S ANCESTRAL HOMES

Penshurst Place, in Kent, is the historic home of the Sidneys. Its hall, sixty-four feet in length, dates from 1341, and has the original open timber roof, with louvres through which the smoke escaped from the fire burning on the brazier in the centre. Over the doors at the end is the minstrels' gallery.

Photo, H. N. King

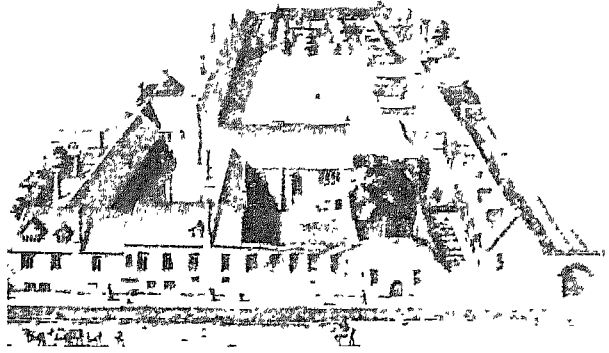
methods of private ownership; and a tendency to emancipate serfs, free them from the burden of their unwilling and worthless forced labour, and employ in place of them independent wage earners.

Material progress and social amelioration went hand in hand with intellectual advance. The universities, those notable products of twelfth and thirteenth century enterprise, flourished exceedingly. Paris and Bologna attracted their thousands of students from every quarter of Christendom; Oxford and Cambridge developed actively that special glory of theirs, the collegiate system; in the fourteenth century the movement spread to the Empire, giving rise to universities in Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne and Erfurt.

Yet even the prosperous first half of the fourteenth century had its dark side. It was a period of abnormal violence and cruelty. Battle, murder and sudden death were events of every-day occurrence. Rarely since Europe became

nominally Christian has human life been held so cheap, and never has the average length of human life been shorter. Few men of the upper classes could expect to live beyond the age of forty, and fewer still to die in their beds. As to the lower classes, what with brawls, wars, pestilence, famines and executions, the majority perished before they reached maturity. In particular the growth of large towns at a time when the merest rudiments of sanitary science were unknown, and when medical skill was synonymous with superstitious quackery, was a fruitful source of devastating disease.

One consequence of the frightful mortality of the period was that men and women married prematurely, and became the parents of a physically feeble progeny which itself fell a still more easy prey to the pests of the age. Edward III of England, for example, was born in 1312; his eldest son, the Black Prince, was



OLD COLLEGIATE BUILDINGS AT OXFORD

Gloucester Hall was founded in 1283 as a hostel for Benedictine monks from Gloucester studying at Oxford, and enlarged in 1298, this drawing (c. 1673) by David Loggan shows the layout of the enlarged buildings. It was incorporated as Worcester College in 1714, and much of the old structure remains

British Museum

born in 1330, and in 1346 (when his father was under thirty-four years of age) was in command of an English division at the battle of Crécy. No wonder that the Black Prince died exhausted at the age of forty-six; and still less wonder that his son, Richard II, a hopeless degenerate, perished childless and deposed before the close of the century.

High, however, as was the normal mortality of the early part of the fourteenth century, it was completely reduced to insignificance by the appalling depredations of the Black Death in the years 1348-49. From this frightful visitation, whose effects are described and weighed in Chapter 122, the shaken and already tottering institutions of the Middle Ages were never able to recover. The guilds and confraternities, the religious houses, the baronies and manors, the chartered towns, the autonomous cities—all were weakened in a manner which clearly portended their dissolution or transformation. Even such institutions as survived—the universities for instance—did so in new forms and with a new spirit and outlook upon life which would hardly have been recognized by their founders and former patrons. Above all, the authority of the two great medieval estates of the clergy and the nobles—the oratores and bellatores—was shattered, and the way prepared for the emergence of the laboratores—the third estate, now rapidly subdividing

itself into agriculturists, artisans, merchants, financiers, lawyers and professional men generally—to wealth, culture and eminence.

Most immediately conspicuous was the change in the position of the rural peasantry. The sudden death of nearly one-half of their number immensely enhanced the value of the labour of such as remained. Those who were free naturally demanded and secured higher wages. The majority who were not free, but were bound by the ties of feudal serfdom, fiercely resented and resisted the insistence of their lords that they should, in return for their ancient holdings, perform predial services as before, without any diminution in respect of their greatly increased worth. Discontent on the one side and severe constraint on the other culminated in a long series of peasants' revolts (see Chap. 121), of which the so-called 'Jacquerie' in France was the first (1358), and the German 'Bauernkrieg' (1525) the last.

In England the main rising took place in 1381, under the leadership of Wat



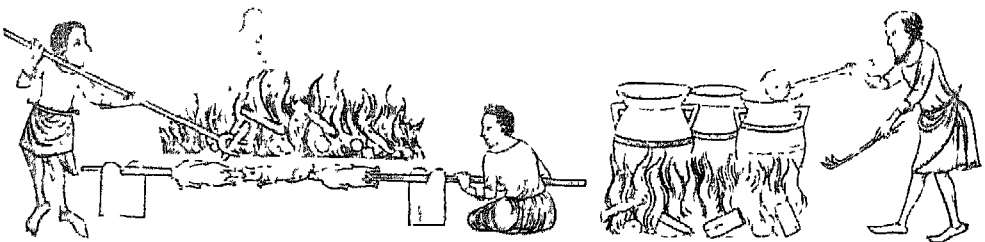
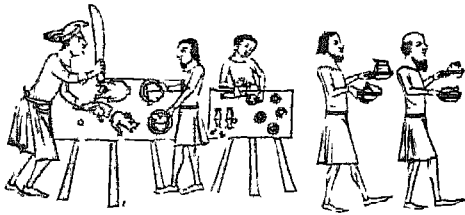
TABLE MANNERS IN POLITE SOCIETY

'Fingers were made before forks,' which, indeed, were ridiculed in England as 'Italian neatnesses' as late as the time of James I. Earlier than that table manners were very crude; but, as this fifteenth-century miniature from the Luttrell Psalter suggests, a certain etiquette was beginning to appear.

From Vetusta Monumenta

Tyler. The demands of the peasants included the abolition of serfdom, the substitution of a fixed money rent for land in lieu of personal service, freedom from the obligation of using the lord's mills, and so on. This revolt, like those on the Continent, was suppressed, and things seemed to fall back into their normal condition. But appearance belied reality. Although villeinage lingered, so that in England it was found even in the seventeenth century, in France as late as the Revolution of the eighteenth century and in Germany well into the nineteenth century, yet everywhere it was doomed, and in most countries it was swiftly reduced to a mere antiquarian survival.

With the change in the status of the labourer came changes in the system of land tenure, a wide conversion of fields from agriculture to sheep farming, and the



PLAIN COOKING FOR HEARTY EATERS IN OLDEN DAYS

These amusing illustrations in the Luttrell Psalter show the culinary operations practised in England in the early fifteenth century. Roasting (left) was done before a clear open fire, the joints being turned in front of it by a turnspit. Boiling (right) was a common because easy method of cooking. As shown in the upper picture, carving had not yet been brought to a fine art; but our ancestors, who thought rather of eating than of dining, were not fastidious in this respect.

From Vetusta Monumenta

rise of a new class of farmer (such as the English yeoman) who powerfully reinforced the urban 'third estate' of merchants, financiers and lawyers.

In the sphere of industry other than agriculture, the most conspicuous feature of the period which followed the Black Death was the decay of the old chartered towns with their exclusive guilds, their

jealously guarded privileges and their restrictive regulations. Industry, like agriculture, called for emancipation, and it escaped from the haunts of its medieval tutelage and established itself in villages and unchartered towns where it could develop in its own way. Domestic industry supplanted guild industry. Labour and capital became fluid. The path was prepared for the great and marvellous display of enterprise and energy which marked the dawn of the modern era.

Before the modern era dawned, however, the bewildering twilight of the fifteenth century had to be traversed. Intellectually and artistically it was one of the most remarkable periods in the history of western Europe. It was the age of the Italian Renaissance, which reached its culmination in Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici (1469-92). The patrons of the new learning, protectors and rewarders of artists, sculptors, architects and writers, were the merchants, bankers and municipal magnates who raised the Italian city states to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power during the century. Not so advanced as the Italian cities were the cities of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain and England. Nevertheless, even in them commerce was accumulating riches; intercourse with the world was generating novel ideas; contact with men of many cultures was introducing new forms of art.

One of the main features of the intellectual activity of the fifteenth century was the formation of libraries, small according to the standards of the present day, but vast compared with what had been customary even in the great monasteries or the royal palaces of earlier times. Easily first in importance were the Italian libraries, for example those of Rome (the Vatican), Florence, Venice, Naples; but well worthy of note were those of such northern universities as Paris and Oxford. At the beginning of the century, of course, the books of the libraries were all in manuscript, and were costly in proportion to the amount of manual labour required for their production. But during the century the development of the art of printing from movable types inaugurated the era of cheap literature and widely disseminated knowledge (see further in Chap. 125).



PASTORAL LIFE IN MERRIE ENGLAND

After the Black Death much land formerly under the plough was converted into pasture, and sheep farming tended to replace corn growing. This miniature (c. 1560) shows two shepherds. They carry spuds for digging roots, and their dogs wear spiked collars for protection against wolves.

Permission of Ernst Leroux, from Leon Dorez, 'Les manuscrits à peinture de Lord Leicester'



AN EARLY OXFORD LIBRARY

Walter de Merton founded the House of Scholars of Merton at Malden, in Surrey, in 1264, and in 1274 it was transferred to Oxford, where it ranks third among the colleges in the reputed order of foundation. The library dates from the fourteenth century, and is one of the oldest in the university.

Photo, W. F. Taylor

But if intellectually and artistically the age was one of rapid and astonishing advance, ecclesiastically and religiously it was one of marked and general decline. The century opened with the scandalous spectacle of two popes—one established in Rome, the other at Avignon—dividing Christendom in hopeless schism, and plunging the Church Catholic into suicidal civil war. It saw next a series of great Church councils in vain attempting to carry through the most obviously necessary reforms. It ended with the vision of the degradation of the papal office by the enormous vices and villainies of Alexander VI, one of the most depraved and evil monsters who have ever disgraced any

position of power and responsibility. Secularised, discredited, condemned by the intellect and the conscience of Europe, the Church drifted aimlessly and helplessly on towards the catastrophe of the Reformation.

Politically, the fifteenth century was one of transition from feudal chaos to monarchical autocracy. The quarrelsome and degenerate aristocracy wore themselves out in private wars, until the rising national kings—such as Louis XI in France, Ferdinand in Spain, Henry VII in England—were able, with the powerful and eager support of the harassed third estate, to suppress them and to lay the foundations of a strong central government. Strong monarchies, however, were only beginning to establish themselves by the end of the century, and most of the period 1400–1500 was marked by wild disorder and almost incessant conflict.

Socially, that same cardinal hundred years saw the swift and decisive advance of the middle class all over Europe. Its strength lay in its growing wealth, derived from expanding industry and

developing commerce. This wealth enabled it to win the favour of kings; to build great walled cities, and within them to erect splendid churches, halls and domestic mansions; and, above all, to provide the means by which the new artillery could be procured, whether on its own behalf (as in Italy and Germany), or on behalf of its royal ally and protector (as in France and England).

Economically, the age was curiously and bewilderingly variegated. If we look at agriculture and the rural population we see a picture of almost unmitigated gloom. The medieval system of communal cultivation had never recovered from the calamity of the Black Death. The villages

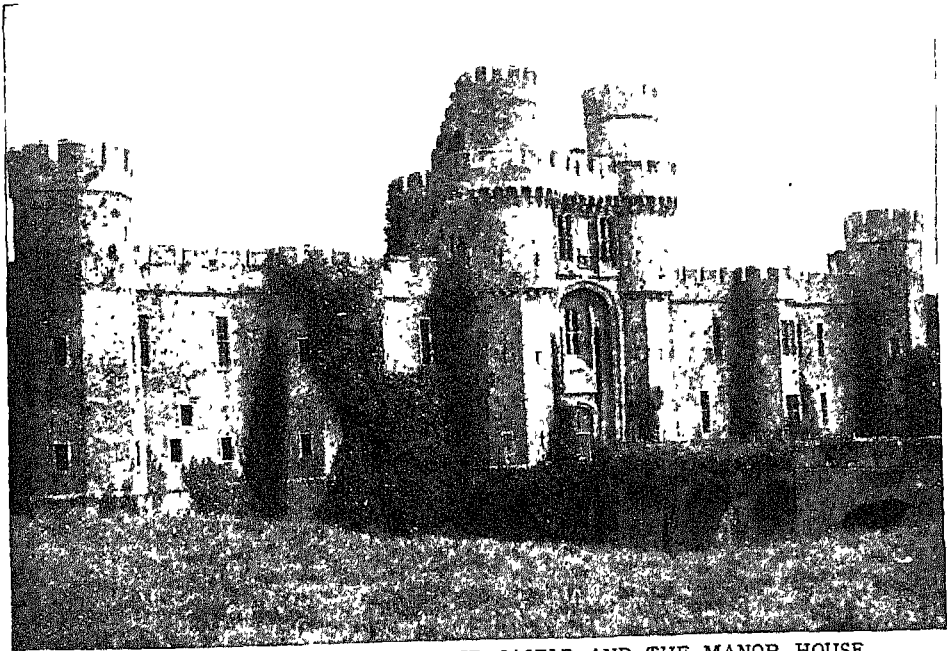
were sparsely peopled, and constant recurrences of the plague prevented any increase in the number of the cultivators of the land. It would appear, moreover, that the soil of Europe was becoming exhausted after many generations of intensive use, during which no effective renewal of fertility had been achieved either by manuring or by a scientific rotation of crops. In England, for example, eight or nine bushels of cereals per acre were considered a good average yield; the cattle weighed about one-third as much as they do at the present day; the fleece of the puny sheep



WALLED TOWN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The growing importance of the middle classes in the fifteenth century was manifested in the rise of walled cities containing many fine buildings. One such town is thus depicted in an illustration to Psalm 69 in a Book of Hours produced before 1446.

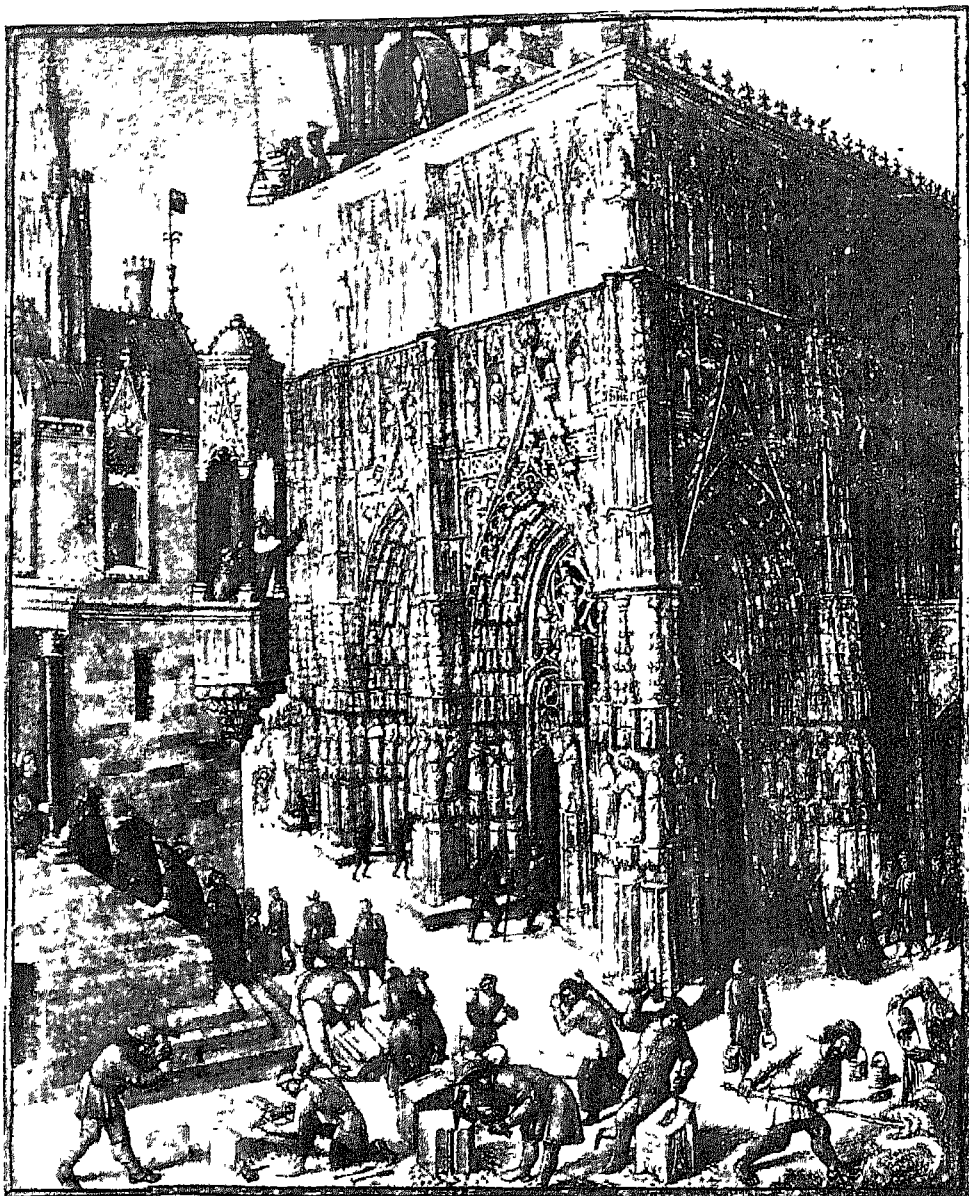
From Warner, Catalogue of MSS in library of C. W. Dyson Perrins



CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN THE CASTLE AND THE MANOR HOUSE

Hurstmonceux Castle, some four miles from Pevensey in Sussex, was built in 1440, and although the interior has been demolished the remains provide a fine example of the fortified manor house of the fifteenth century. It is a red brick building, upwards of 200 feet square, with walls originally flanked with turrets over 80 feet high. The entrance was across the moat through a massive gatehouse, and within the walls were three courts containing a large hall and numerous apartments.

Photo, Herbert Fellon



KING AND PEOPLE CO-OPERATE IN THE BUILDING OF A CHURCH

This picture of the Building of the Temple, executed, with others, between 1455 and 1476 by Jean Fouquet, painter to Louis XI, for a copy of Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, exemplifies the enthusiasm for church building that animated all classes of society in that age. The architectural style of the temple is French Gothic of the second half of the fifteenth century, as also is that of the palace from a loggia in which the king watches his people at their work.

Bibliothèque Nationale; from Durrieu, 'Antiquités Judaïques'

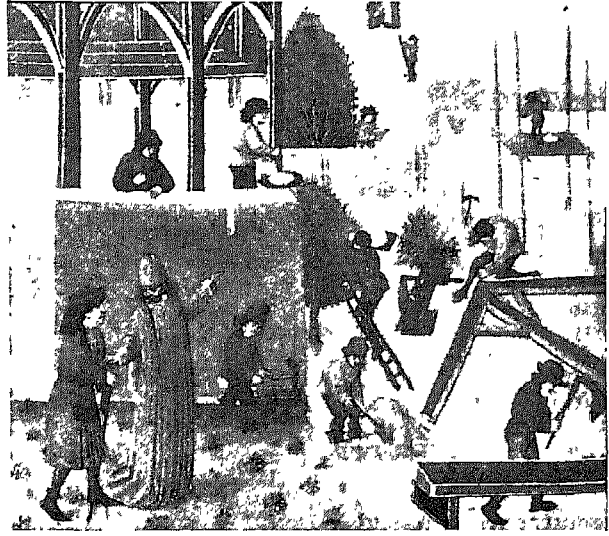
frequently produced no more than one pound of wool.

The life of the agricultural labourer continued to be hard and precarious. His home was still the squalid and pestilential hovel of his forefathers. His food was the scanty and unwholesome diet of the

very poor—the flesh of animals that had died of disease, salted fish, oatmeal, rye bread, washed down with sour ale or rancid mead. Hence his health was bad and his life usually short. In particular, he suffered almost universally from some form or other of horrible skin disease,

due to his more than bestial uncleanness. Soap was too expensive for him to buy, even if he had desired to buy it, or had known of it save as an extravagance of the rich and lordly. A bath it never occurred to him to take, no matter how richly nature spread opportunity before him in running stream or pellucid lake or alluring sea. Sufficient for him to get wet through every third day or so in the course of his incessant labour.

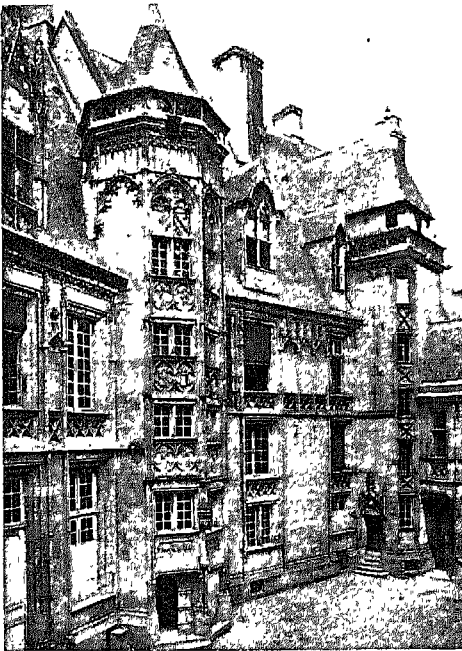
Not infrequently his rough clothes, once put on, were never doffed until, as rags, they were peeled away to make room for their successors. Within their filthy recesses vermin bred unmolested, and foul diseases ran their course unmitigated. The general name applied to these loath-



HOUSE BUILDING IN RURAL FRANCE

Activity equal to that displayed in church building was exercised in domestic architecture, and everywhere new mansions sprang up. A fifteenth-century manuscript, *Le Livre des Profits Champêtres*, thus depicts the building of a substantial range of buildings on a country estate in France.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; photo, Giraudon



HOTEL DE JACQUES COEUR

Jacques Coeur (c 1395-1456), the greatest merchant prince in France in the time of Charles VII, built this Renaissance mansion, now used as the Hôtel de Ville, at Bourges. It is the finest private mansion of the period in France.

some skin affections was 'leprosy.' Usually this 'leprosy' was no more than a cutaneous affection which would have been prevented by cleanliness, or cured by a simple antiseptic treatment; but sometimes it took the more serious form of scurvy due to the excessive amount of salted or putrid meat devoured, and to the absence of wholesome fresh vegetables from the common diet; and occasionally the true and dreadful Oriental leprosy itself was to be found, traceable to infection from travellers to the East.

Over against this continued squalor in the villages was to be set the rising standard of health and comfort in the new industrial towns and the free cities—not, of course, in the old chartered municipalities, which shared in the rural decay. We have noted how Italian cities, such as Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Venice, Milan, Naples reached their summit of wealth and magnificence. Splendid, too, were such German cities as Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort-on-Main, Cologne and Trèves. The growing trade and manufacture of the Netherlands enabled Antwerp and Amsterdam, Bruges and Ghent, and many others, to cultivate the art of

retained and luxurious living. The maritime activities of the men of Spain and Portugal, which before the close of the century led to the discovery of the Cape route to India, and the revelation of the New World of America, made the fortunes of Oporto and Lisbon, Seville and Cadiz.

Although it does not fall to the writer of this chapter on European life and manners to tell the story of the great geographical explorations and discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—subjects that are treated in Chapters 137 and 138—yet it is permissible, and, indeed, imperative, for him to point out that these would have been impossible had it not been for important improve-



ALBRECHT DUERER'S HOUSE AT NUREMBERG

Increasing value of town sites in the fifteenth century led to houses of the well-to-do middle class rising to many storeys. The lower floors were commonly of stone, the upper of half timber, sometimes projecting on corbels. Albrecht Durer's house at Nuremberg is one of many good examples in Germany.

Photo, Donald McLeish



COTTAGE LIFE IN THE YEAR 1500

Conditions of life were horribly squalid for the medieval peasant everywhere. Cottages were thatched hovels of wattle and daub, seldom weatherproof, with unglazed windows, floor of trodden earth and meagrest furniture.

From Bouclier, 'L'exposition des primitifs français,' permission of Librairie centrale des Beaux Arts

ments in shipping and in the instruments of navigation which had been made during the closing period of the Middle Ages. The open and undecked vessels of the Viking period, mainly propelled by oars, had been transformed by Venetian and other shipbuilders into large and commodious galleons, dependent primarily on their sails for motion, capable of conveying many men and much merchandise, and fitted to stand the buffeting of oceanic storms. Similarly, the primitive and instinctive navigation of the earlier Middle Ages had given place to a scientific navigation based on compass, quadrant and chronometer. It was in these new vessels, equipped with the new instruments, armed with the new artillery, and provided with charts embodying the new geographical knowledge, that the voyages of discovery were made, new trade routes opened up, the New World exploited and the new sources of wealth tapped.

There can be no doubt that the opening up of Africa and America in the fifteenth century increased and aggravated the already excessive lawlessness and violence of the period. Beyond the line, as later 'East of Suez,' there were no Ten Commandments, and men could and did raise, not merely a thirst, but the very devil

himself. It has been gravely asked by a thoughtful German historian whether the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492 was not, on the whole, the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the human race. And although only a pessimist would refuse to believe that ultimately good may come of it, yet it cannot be denied that the immediate consequences were disastrous both for discoverers and discovered.

The native populations of America, with their curious and interesting civilization, were doomed to a painful extinction.

European conquerors overwhelmed them; European marauders despoiled them; European diseases exterminated them. On the other hand, their European exploiters, possessed of power without responsibility, and employing their supremacy without any restraint of conscience, developed a diabolical depravity which debased the whole moral standard of Western Christendom. A wicked and adulterous generation was made doubly evil by the reaction of the morals of the mariners. In every port of the West the 'shipmen' became notorious for their licence and their unruliness. They were ready for any crime of violence, and so great were their numbers and strength that no local authority, and few central authorities, dared venture the attempt to hold them in check or call them to account.

We are fortunate, now that we have come to the borders of the modern age, in having copious records on which to base our conception of the social conditions of the fifteenth century. The registers of municipal courts, the narratives of many contemporary observers and, above all, collections of private letters which have survived the changes and chances of the four succeeding centuries, give us vivid pictures of this lawless yet most exciting and most vital age.

The sixteenth century is definitely modern. It is not easy, however, to say at precisely what date the Middle Ages ended and the new era began. The history of life and manners, indeed, knows few precise dates. One age merges imperceptibly into another; a new epoch is heralded by portents which display themselves in the very heyday of its predecessor; an epoch which has passed away leaves many relics and survivors which manifest an amazing vitality far into the days of its successor. We say that the Middle Ages passed away sometime during the century A.D. 1450-1550. That was the century which saw the fall of Constantinople and the extinction of the Eastern Empire at the hands of the Ottoman Turks; the unification of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella; the French invasion of Italy; the opening up of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama; the discovery of America by Columbus; the theories of Copernicus; the Italian Renaissance, and the German Reformation.

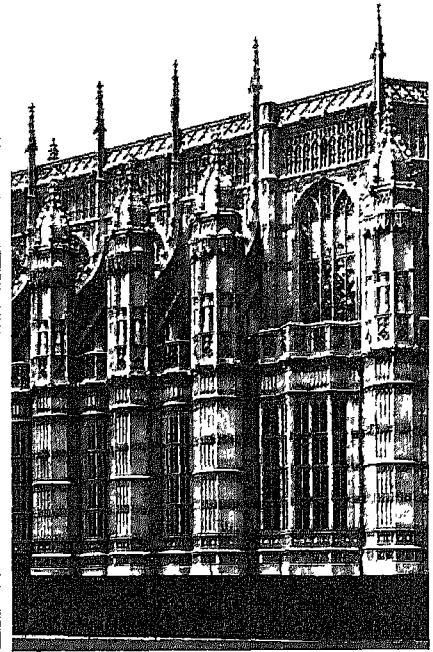
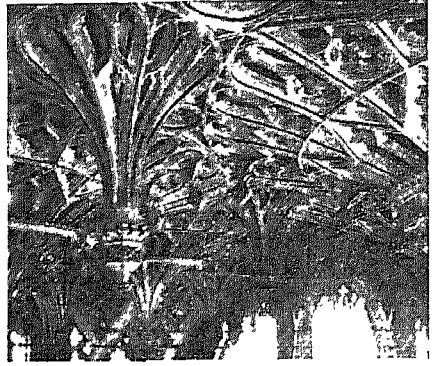
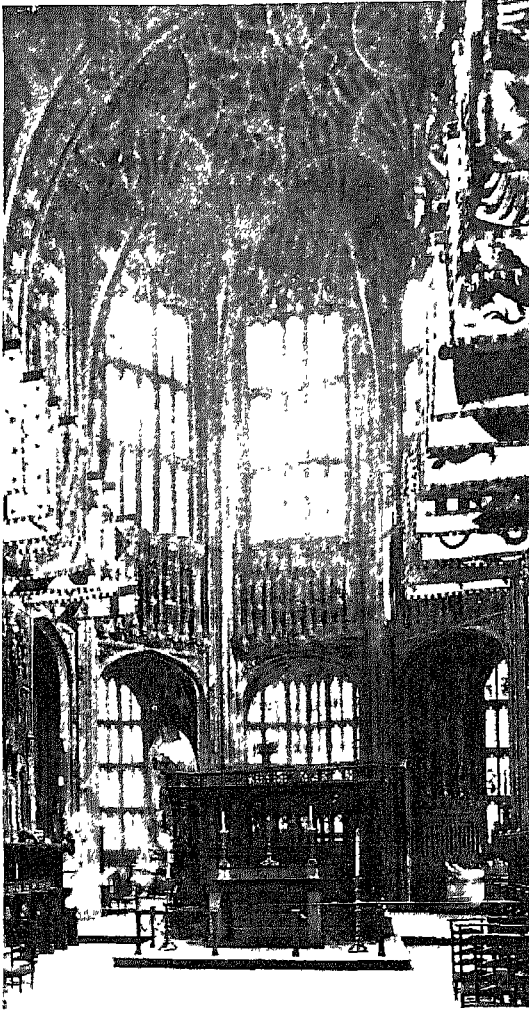
Few periods in history so short have seen changes so many and so revolutionary. Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that the Middle Ages never wholly vanished so long as Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns ruled in central Europe. Nay more, there are strong grounds for contending that the Middle Ages will linger among us until



DRESS OF THE BURGUNDIAN ARISTOCRACY

The prosperity of any period is reflected in the sumptuousness of materials used in costume and, often, in extravagance of fashions. A series of brass statuettes in the Rijks Museum at Antwerp, made by Flemish artists of the fifteenth century, includes these reproductions of Burgundian costumes.

Casts in the Victoria and Albert Museum



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE AT ITS BEST

Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey was begun in 1503, replacing the old Lady Chapel and Chapel of S. Erasmus. It is in the Perpendicular style, not entirely in keeping with the homogeneity of the rest of the Abbey, but is a supreme example of ecclesiastical architecture of its period, with an exquisite fan-tracery roof. The chapel is 104 feet in length with five small chapels at the east end in the apse, and the traceried windows are exceptionally beautiful.

Photos, left and top right, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; bottom right, Humphrey Joel

the Papacy shall have ceased to hold its seat in Rome, and the Catholic Church to dominate the minds and consciences of a large portion of Christendom.

The sixteenth century, however, was marked by the complete collapse and disappearance of the medieval Empire and Papacy—that great ideal 'Respublica Christiana' which claimed to exercise a divinely constituted authority over all kings, princes and governors. In place of it was established the modern system of sovereign national states ruled by arbitrary

and despotic monarchs, supreme in all causes, whether temporal or ecclesiastical. Some of these monarchs, such as Henry VIII of England, severed all connexion with the Papacy and completely nationalised the church of their dominions. Others, such as Philip II of Spain, retained the Catholic connexion, yet all the same claimed and exercised a dominant control over ecclesiastical affairs within their realms. The striking growth of monarchical power and pretension involved the suppression of the feudal nobility; the prohibition of

private wars; the disbanding of the turbulent condottieri, the establishment of law and order; the maintenance of conditions in which trade and industry, science and art, literature and learning could flourish without fear of molestation.

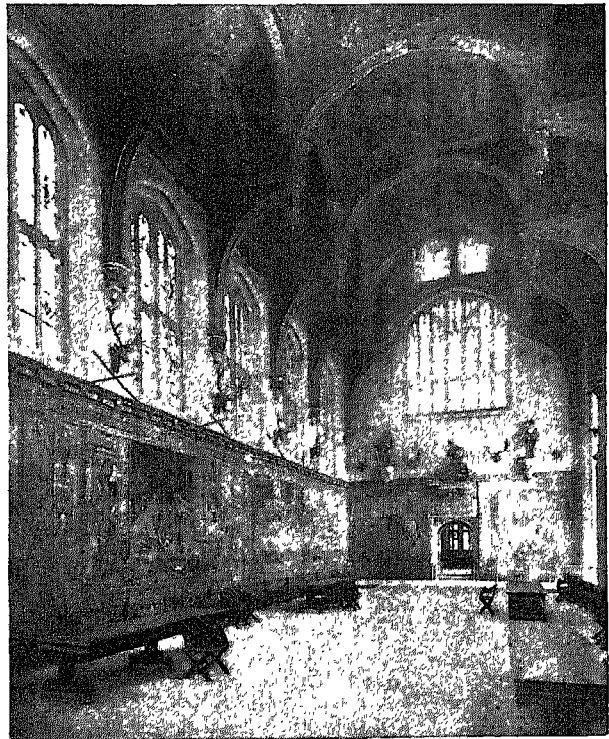
True, the new national kings themselves (Francis I of France, for example, and the emperor Charles V) engaged in wars which were conflicts on a larger scale than those of the feudal era. But these dynastic struggles were, for the most part, waged by professional armies, and they did not greatly disturb the peaceful development of the civilian populations of the new monarchies. Not till the outbreak of the horrible religious conflicts at the close of the century were the peoples of Europe gravely involved in the worst abominations of war, and even then only France and the Netherlands were really seriously embroiled. In the main the century was one in which a new and strong central authority enabled European life and manners to develop in a novel atmosphere of security.

Evidence of this fact is most strikingly given by the architecture of the period. Not only did the sixteenth century see the creation of a marvellous array of beautiful and elaborate ecclesiastical buildings, of which King Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey is one of the most notable English examples; it saw also the erection of many schools, colleges and public halls, and, further, the establishment of a vast multitude of splendid country residences, of which Hampton Court (1514-40) may be taken as the supreme instance in England. The contrast between the medieval castle and the sixteenth century manor house is striking.

The one, built for defence, is massive, repellent, gloomy, comfortless. The other, eloquently proclaiming its con-

fidence in a government able to keep the king's peace inviolate, is light, airy, half-timbered, cheerful with enormous and numerous windows, surrounded not by a ghastly moat but by lovely gardens laid out with lavish care and filled with various and exquisite flowers. Within the house the making of separate compartments for parlours, drawing-rooms, kitchens and bedrooms gave a privacy and an opportunity for a refinement of manners such as had been impossible in the Middle Ages. A notable novelty in the houses of the wealthy in this century was the huge four-poster bedstead, with its elaborately carved pillars and cornices. Night-dresses also, for the first time, began to be worn in bed, though very rarely. Feather beds and blankets had been fourteenth-century innovations.

Medieval meals, for those who could afford them, were prodigious and pro-



GREAT HALL AT HAMPTON COURT

Hampton Court was begun in 1514 by Cardinal Wolsey as a private residence for himself, but was prudently presented by him to Henry VIII, who had cast covetous eyes upon the splendid mansion. It became Henry's favourite home, and it was he who added the chapel and this magnificent Great Hall.

Photo, H. N. King

tracted functions. The ancestors of the modern Europeans must have had enormous appetites, and a still vaster capacity for drink. We have records of the provisions made for certain coronation feasts, and for feasts on other ceremonial occasions, and the catalogue of supplies laid in reads like the commissariat for a large army. For example, for a single banquet in 1406 were required 1,000 sheep, 300 calves, 300 pigs, 200 kids, 100 oxen, together with over 10,000 birds of one sort or another. Besides the meat and game, moreover, were 4,000 baked tarts and 2,000 custards; but no vegetables. The sixteenth century was rendered notable for the introduction, largely from the New World, of new articles of diet which not only added variety to the monotony of meat, but also immensely improved the health of the community. This century saw, if not in every case the first appearance, at any rate the introduction into common use, of the cabbage, carrot, lettuce, rhubarb and, above all, the potato. Again, such fruits as apricots and strawberries and currants made

their way as attractive novelties into the common dietary.

As to drink, any one in the Middle Ages who had habitually quaffed water would have been regarded as one of those 'wild asses' of whom the Psalmist pitifully sang. Ale, or mead (prepared from fermented honey), or light wine were the drinks in common use, and of these immense quantities were required. One

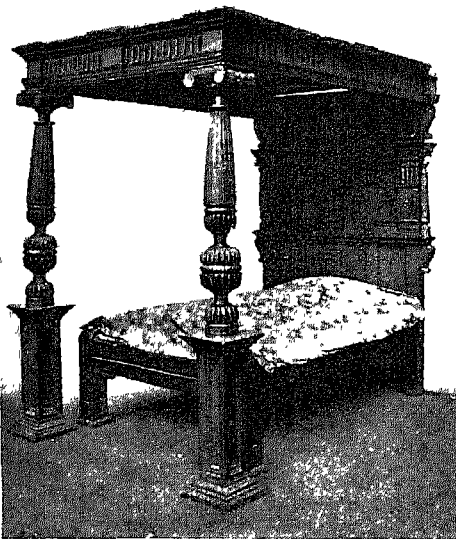
gallon a day was considered the minimum allowance, suitable for such restricted imbibers as nuns, or monks, or young children. The use of hops as a preservative and flavourer of ale had become common in the fifteenth century, and thus 'beer' had begun to supplant the sweet medieval drink.

The Englishman's
national drink

Much more important, however, than the substitution of beer for ale was the advent of non-intoxicating drinks of a wholly new nature. Somewhere about the year 1550 the Spaniards introduced chocolate from Mexico. Half a century or so later Jesuit missionaries brought tea from China, and a little later coffee began to be regularly imported from Turkey. It is difficult to overestimate the social effects of the popularisation of these new drinks. The ascendancy of the ale houses was challenged; the practice of sobriety spread; the attractions of the home were enhanced; the habit of meeting and establishing clubs in coffee houses and tea shops spread, until in the seventeenth century it acquired political importance.

The urgent need of daylight saving, owing to the inadequacy and the great expense of such artificial light as could be procured from candles and lamps, caused meals to be fixed for hours which at the present day appear absurd. There were only two recognized meals in the day: dinner and supper. In the Middle Ages the hour for dinner was commonly 10 a.m., while supper was taken at 5 p.m. In the sixteenth century, in fashionable circles, the tendency was to postpone dinner until 12 noon, and supper until 6 p.m.

However many courses there were, each person kept the same plate, knife and spoon throughout the meal. Forks had made their appearance, first at Venice, in the fourteenth century, but they were not



TUDOR PERIOD FOUR-POSTER BED

Four-poster bedsteads were introduced in the sixteenth century. The posts supported boarded, corniced canopies or lighter frames with curtains and valances. This specimen, dated 1593, is of carved walnut, with wooden canopy, and posts at the foot detached from the frame.

Victoria and Albert Museum



LORDLY HOSPITALITY AND CEREMONY IN A GREAT HOUSE

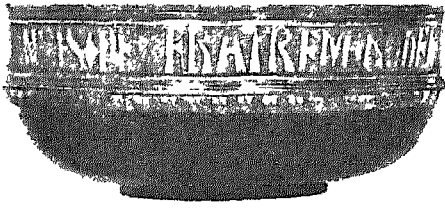
Great ceremony attended banquets by the rich nobility towards the end of the fifteenth century. In this French manuscript, dated about 1460, the noble host is shown under a canopy in his hall with a wicker fire screen at his back. The walls are hung with tapestry representing a battle scene, his steward with wand of office stands at his right hand, and on the other side of the table is his carver carving before him, with a towel flung over his shoulders.

From 'Les très riches heures du Duc de Berry,' Musée Condé, Chantilly; photo, Graudon

welcomed generally, and fingers continued to be the common means of conveying food to the mouth until the close of the Middle Ages. Napkins were unknown; nor were handkerchiefs carried until the middle of the sixteenth century. Hence diners wiped their fingers on bread which, having been used, was thrown under the tables to the dogs. Books of etiquette still

warned diners against cleaning their teeth with the tablecloth and against spitting across the table. Such things were not tolerated in the most polite society.

If meals began early, work commenced still earlier. The labourer rose with the sun and continued his toil until darkness set in and forced him to desist. In the summer when the days were long he com-



ROCHESTER MAIZER OF 1532

Various kinds of wooden cups were in use in the Middle Ages, the best class being the 'maizers.' These were shallow, handleless, bowls of bird's-eye maple, with a silver band round the rim, almost always with an inscription

British Museum

monly took a couple of hours in the heat of the afternoon for repose. A fourteen-hour day, all the same, was regarded as normal. Nor was it more than the circumstances required. Man was not helped much by machines. In the fields, digging, furrowing, planting, reaping had all to be done by hand. In the workshop, most of the processes were still manual. Only by constant toil could the scanty population secure a sufficient livelihood. There was

no lack of work, and any person who was found idling away his time was branded as anti-social and was liable to a scale of punishment which culminated in death.

Similarly, at school and college strenuous toil, almost unrelieved by recreation, was the order of the day. The following, for example, was the Eton programme in 1530: 'They come to school at six of the clock in the morning; they say Deus misereatur with a collect; at nine they say De profundis and go to breakfast; within a quarter of a hour they come again and tarry till eleven and then to dinner; at five to supper, before an anthem and De profundis,' and so to bed. There were three holidays during the year; at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and each lasted exactly twelve days. At the University things were little different. Youths went young to college, often at fourteen years of age, and they found themselves under the discipline of rod and rule, as at school. Thus we are told:

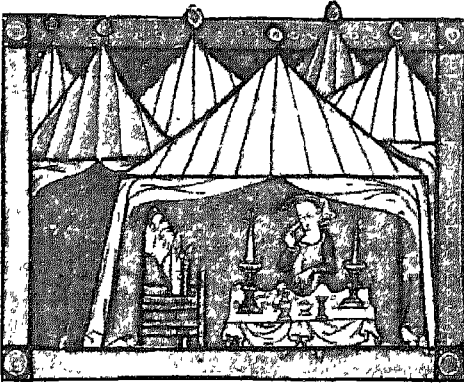
There be divers at Cambridge which rise daily about four or five of the clock in the



HOP GROWING AND BEER BREWING IN TUDOR TIMES

Ale, made of malt and water, was England's national drink. Beer brewed with hops was introduced from Flanders about 1400 and gradually supplanted the native ale. For some time the hops were imported, but towards the end of the fifteenth century their cultivation was taken up in England. In 1574 was published the first treatise on hop culture in England, from which these pictures of gardeners tying hops (top right) and taking them from the poles (bottom) are derived.

From Schopper, 'Panoplia,' 1568 (left); and R. Scot, 'Perfite Plafforme of a Hop Garden' (right)



SUPPER BY CANDLE-LIGHT

Tallow or beeswax candles were the principal illuminants in the fourteenth century, and, like the oil lamps of the period, gave but feeble light. Hence supper was commonly taken by daylight, rarely, as here shown, by candle-light.

British Museum, Additional MS. 10,293

morning, and from five till six of the clock use common prayer with an exhortation of God's word in a common chapel; and from six until ten of the clock use ever either private study or common lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner (where one pennyworth of beef serves for four). . . . After this slender diet they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening, when they sup not much better than their dinner. Immediately after which they go either to reasoning in problems or to some other study until it be nine or ten of the clock; and then, being without fires, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour to get a heat on their feet when they go to bed.

The life of women was as strenuous as that of men. Such girls as were educated were put through the same grinding mill as their brothers. The majority who were trained to the duties of the rural life found their hands full throughout a day whose limits were only those of the light. The farmer's wife, for instance, had to spin; to prepare the corn for the grinder; to tend the poultry, pigs and cows; to brew and to bake; to

look after the garden where grew the herbs needed for cooking; to cook meals and clear up after them; to make hay and even drive the plough; to go to market, both to buy in necessary stores and to sell the produce of the farm; to nurse the sick, bind up the injured, and do everything else that man either could not do, or did not want to do. The wife of the peasant had a life less varied and attractive, but not less engrossed with never-ending toil than her husband.

It must not be supposed, however, that existence in these transitional times was all work and no play. Sundays, and saints' days in particular, provided many intervals in which not only was worship offered up, but also sport of an energetic kind was indulged in. Till the beginning of the



MARRIAGE FEAST WITH MASQUE AND MUSIC

Sir Henry Unton (c 1557-1596), a grandson of Protector Somerset, twice served Elizabeth as ambassador to Henry IV of France. Various scenes of his life are included in a large picture containing his portrait—among them this scene of his wedding feast, with a masque and string orchestra

sixteenth century the tournament continued to supply the knighthood of Europe with its supreme and most splendid diversion. The magnificent pageantry of the celebrated Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 marks the climax of medieval chivalry. Tournaments, however, could not long survive the advent of artillery; they were doomed as soon as lances and armour ceased to have any relation to the stern and serious business of war. Hunting and hawking remained the principal sports of the nobility and gentry.

For those in more lowly walks of life bull baiting and cock fighting provided recreative, if not edifying, spectacles. All sorts and conditions of men and women, moreover, with childlike zest prolonged far into middle life, danced and tumbled, played blind man's buff (in which the buffing was by no means gentle), leap-frog, battledore and shuttlecock, and many other lively games. A special and remarkable development during the sixteenth

century, especially for dwellers in the rising towns and cities, was the pageant, whose rich colours and gorgeous appointments exercised an irresistible fascination for the apprentices and journeymen of the age. Rapidly, under the stimulus of immense popularity, did the pageants transmute themselves into the proper drama. Before the end of the sixteenth century the modern theatre was in being.

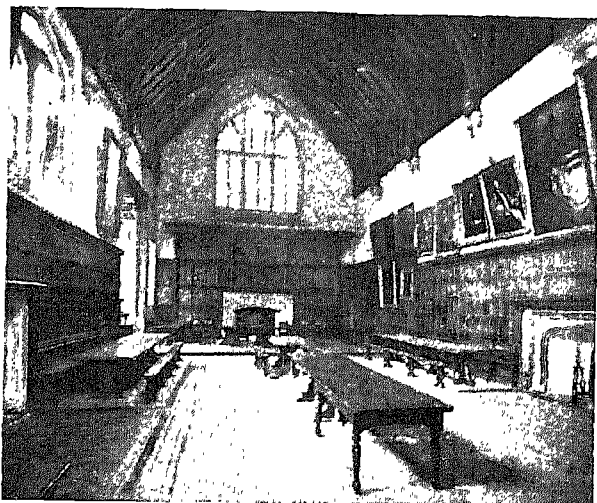
Nor, while such public diversions provided amusement for the commonalty, was there any lack of indoor games. Chess and 'tables' (backgammon) had been played from time immemorial, usually to the accompaniment of high gambling, fierce wrangling and frequent blows. Draughts, under the name of 'dames,' a very ancient game, was remodelled and popularised in France towards the end of the Middle Ages, and thence disseminated throughout Europe. Cards began to supplant chess as prime favourite in the fourteenth century.



SCENES FROM VILLAGE LIFE FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Although conditions of life have greatly improved for the peasantry in every country, their employments remain essentially the same through long periods of time. These pictures in an early sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours show, left, a peasant chopping wood for his wife and a mother nursing a child indoors; and, right, a woman at her washtub and a boy taking round the bread, much as they do to-day. Only the pig killing is conducted with less publicity nowadays.

British Museum, Additional MS. 24,098



ETON COLLEGE DINING HALL

Eton College—now styled the King's College of Our Lady beside Windsor—was founded by Henry VI in 1440, and the buildings were begun in the following year and completed in 1553. The great hall is one of the original buildings of the founder's time, but was restored in 1858.

Photo, H. N. King

Perhaps, too, among diversions, although ancient moralists regarded it as an abomination and a snare, should be included the novel practice of smoking. Tobacco was introduced into Europe from America. One of the companions of Columbus reported upon it from Hayti as early as 1496. A quarter of a century later it was brought to Spain by the Spanish viceroy of San Domingo. At first it was used medicinally. Thus an English herbal of 1573 says :

In these days the taking in of the smoke of the Indian plant called tobacco by an instrument formed like a little ladle—whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach—is greatly taken up and used in England against rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts, and not without effect.

To the Englishman Sir Walter Raleigh is attributed the popularisation of the discovery that tobacco could be employed for other than therapeutic ends.

Smoking, however, was for long an expensive habit. Tobacco at the end of the sixteenth century cost what would be equivalent to twenty-five shillings an ounce in present-day English money. Hence smoking was the mark of a wealthy man ; pipes were very small, and it was the

custom to hand a pipe round from one person to another so that a single charge could serve a considerable company. Efforts, not wholly unsuccessful, were made to cultivate the tobacco plant in Europe, beginning in Spain, and extending to Italy, Germany, France, England and even Ireland. It was not, however, until the American colonies were established that tobacco growing on a large scale was achieved, and that the reduced price of the weed made smoking possible for the commonalty. When tobacco had become reasonably cheap, the circulation of a public pipe now and again during the evening came to be one of the most potent attractions of inns and ale houses.

The mention of inns and ale houses reminds us that there was a great deal of passing to and fro during the centuries under review. Readers of Jusserand's



TEACHING BY CHASTISEMENT

Boys were flogged mercilessly in all mediæval schools. Besides being birched, as shown in this sixteenth-century picture, they were beaten on the hands with 'palms'—flat wooden disks attached to the end of a rod.

From 'Catalogue de l'Exposition des MSS.,' Bibliothèques de Lyon



A PATTERN OF DOMESTICITY

Woman's place in the sixteenth century was her home, and her time was fully occupied with spinning, sewing, housework and care of her children. The model housewife of about 1520 is thus embodied in stone in Chartres Cathedral.

Photo, Etienne Houvet

fascinating book on English Wayfaring Life will recollect what a wonderful picture gallery he has given us of a moving host of herbalists, minstrels, jugglers, tumblers, messengers, merchants, pedlars, tramps, outlaws, pilgrims, pardoners, preachers, friars and others, in the fourteenth century. With the closing of the Middle Ages some of these picturesque travellers ceased to frequent the roads. Minstrels and mummers found a world both too serious and too busy to pay much attention to their performances. Pardoners suffered from a decline in the demand for their commodities, no matter how hot from Rome they were supplied. Even pilgrims, inspired by the passion to be anywhere rather than the place in which they happened to be, found wild adventure on the unknown seas more attractive than the old land routes to the sanctuaries of the saints. Outlaws were in most parts of Europe extinguished, and were but

imperfectly represented by the occasional highwaymen. On the other hand, merchants travelling on business, diplomats hurrying hither and thither on affairs of state, young men of fashion making the grand tour for pleasure and edification, greatly increased in number. The poor still journeyed on foot, and the main roads of the Continent swarmed with miscellaneous bands of the uprooted and unattached, who demanded charity with a determination to get it, or work with a fixed resolve to do as little of it as possible; or, if occasion offered, presented the alternative, 'your money or your life,' with an insatiable passion for the one and a supreme disregard of the other.

For the eminent or well to do, horseback continued to be the principal means of locomotion, and horsemen usually travelled in considerable companies, attended by large bodies of servants, all armed to the teeth, because of the numerous perils of the way. Coaches—said to have been invented by a fifteenth-century Hungarian named Kotze—were, it is true, coming into vogue. **Methods of travelling**

But the roads were still too bad to render wheeled traffic easy or comfortable. The secret of road making had perished with the Romans, and, even after a thousand years or more, the great highways built to connect the capital of the Caesars with its dependent provinces were the best means of communication that Europe afforded. Cross-country roads differed from the ploughed fields through which they passed only by being more soft, more treacherous, more impassable than they. Few coaches would venture to set out with less than six horses to drag them through the mud, and few, even with six horses, would expect to cover more than a dozen to twenty miles in the day.

In such conditions of slow but constant movement, inns and hostelries were prime necessities, more particularly when the decline or fall of the monastic system had impoverished or destroyed the great guest houses of the Middle Ages. The accommodation as a rule provided would not have appealed to our modern sense

of luxury. The guests, irrespective of number or rank, had commonly to share a single barn-like bed-chamber, unwarmed and ill-lighted. Generally, too, it was infested by fleas and other vermin, to say nothing of mice and rats. In many of the smaller hostelries travellers were expected to supply their own food, so that the landlord or the alewife was responsible only for the beds and the drinks, together with fodder for the horses. A vivid picture of wayfaring life in the fifteenth century is presented in Charles Reade's famous novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, and, though it is avowedly fiction, it is yet based upon so wide a research and so deep and penetrating a knowledge that, as an authentic representation of the time, it is to be preferred to almost all formal histories.

Students of Charles Reade's great medieval romance will remember that as the hero, the father of Erasmus, made his way from the Low Countries across Europe, not only did he meet with many alarming adventures, but, even when he was not in danger of instant death, he constantly mingled, especially in the inns and hostelries of his journey, with men and women whose manners and whose morals were amazingly free and easy. However formal and precise had become the etiquette of chivalry, in the common walks of life a startling absence of ceremony was manifested. People did not wait for introductions before they talked to one another; they did not talk long to one another before they felt free to quarrel; and quarrels led quickly to blows with fists and interchanges with swords or daggers. Hence, brawls were incessant and the sacrifice of human life a thing of every-day occurrence.

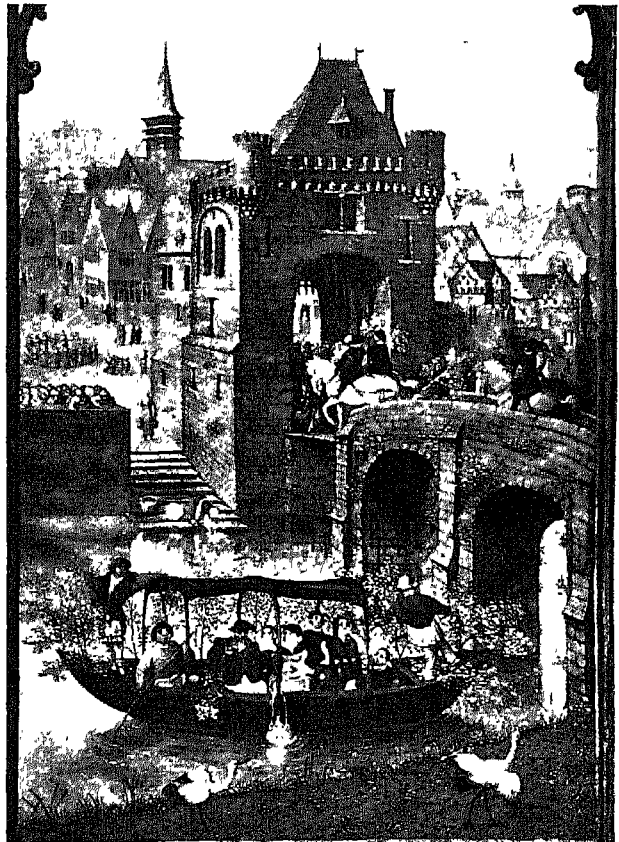
It is difficult for a sensitive and humanitarian age to realize on the one hand the

callousness and impunity with which men slew their neighbours, and on the other hand the supreme indifference with which, when their own time came, they went open-eyed to death. For instance, William Harrison, writing of English criminals at the close of the sixteenth century, says:

Our condemned persons do go cheerfully to their deaths; for our nation is free, stout, haughty, prodigal of life and blood.

Sir Thomas Smith, in his *Commonwealth of England*, had expressed much the same judgement respecting the men of an earlier generation.

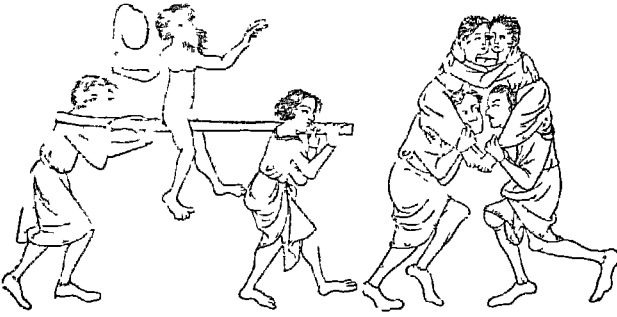
The same lack of sensitiveness as displayed itself in the great matters of



WHEN ALL THE WORLD WENT MAYING

Mayday was a national holiday in medieval England, celebrated with maypoles, Morris dancing, stage plays and bonfires. This early sixteenth-century Book of Hours shows a party going for a river picnic, trailing their wine flasks in the stream for coolness' sake, and a dance in the market square.

Victoria and Albert Museum



POPULAR AMUSEMENTS IN LOWLY LIFE

Horse-play of a rather childish kind entered into the amusements of the lower classes, leapfrog and tumbling being very popular. In the Luttrell Psalter are these pictures of 'mounted' wrestlers (right) and (left) a bearded jester balancing himself on a pole carried by two companions

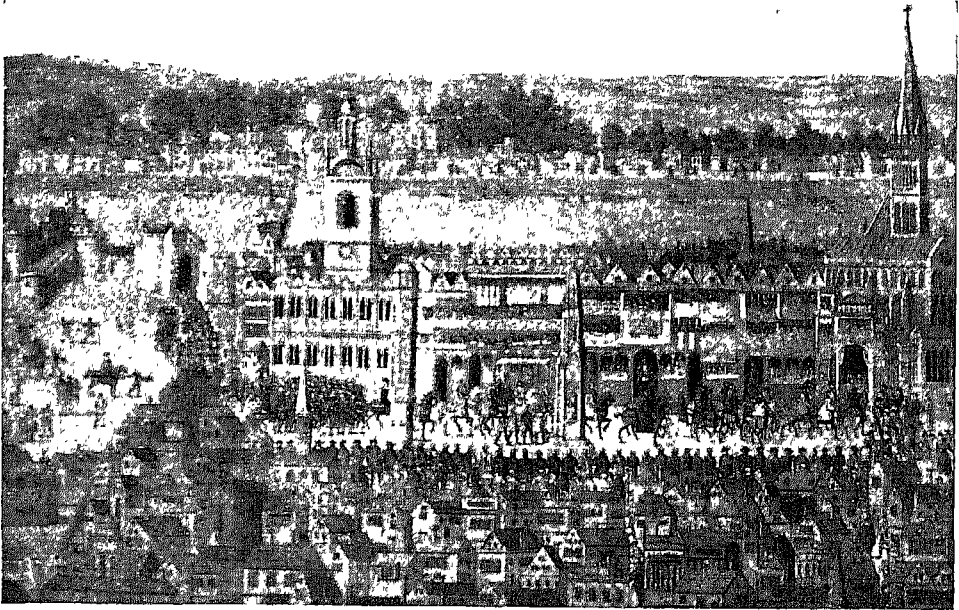
From Vetusta Monumenta

life and death was manifested in the normal intercourse of the world. No reader of the dramas of the sixteenth century in any language, and no student of the mysteries and miracle plays which preceded the drama proper, will be under any illusions respecting the brutal coarseness of the period. Scenes were

depicted on the stage which could not now be shown even in a Mexican picture-palace. Dialogues were written and recited which to-day would make even Parisian actresses blush beneath their rouge. So in the inns and hostelrys, where no privacy of any sort was possible, even among sober, respectable and pious pilgrims, occurrences were constantly and inevitably taking place which to-day would be regarded as grossly immodest.

Moreover, this grossness and coarseness of behaviour was not restricted to conduct on the road, in inns, or even in private houses. It was manifested in rich impropriety in the Church itself. S. Bernardino, in the early part of the fifteenth century, remarked in intense indignation :

There are many ignorant folk who, when the priest is celebrating, come drunken from the taverns or wait outside the church,



CORONATION PROCESSION OF KING EDWARD VI

All over Europe the most was made of any opportunity for public spectacles, the most impressive naturally being on occasions such as the coronation, marriage and funerals of royalty. Above is a picture of Edward VI proceeding from the Tower to Westminster, February 19, 1547, preparatory to his coronation. This is one of a series of historical pictures painted about 1550 by Theodore Bernardi for Sir Anthony Browne of Cowdray House, Sussex, and destroyed by fire in 1792

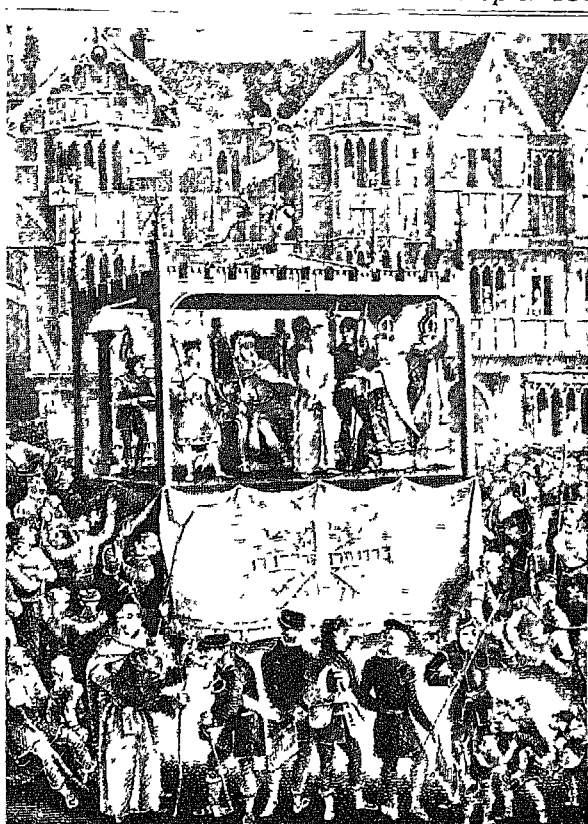
Engraving from the original published in 'Vetusta Monumenta,' 1789

talking of their oxen and worldly matters, and even of obscenities, nor do they enter the church until the elevation, at which they gaze in utter irreverence, with their heads partly or wholly covered, and their stiff knees scarcely bowed, and thus—after running noisily to see the Body of Christ and remaining half inside and half outside the Church—suddenly, after the barest glimpse of Him, they run off again as hastily as if they had seen not Christ but the Devil.

The disgraceful irreverence thus denounced by S. Bernardino was no doubt made more easy and natural by the fact that the church building was used for many purposes besides those of worship—purposes which we should call secular. In its nave parochial meetings were held; in its tower grain was stored, during invasion, civil wars or local brawls its strong walls were employed as ramparts against the enemy.

The priest, too—usually an impecunious vicar—was generally drawn from the same social class as his rural congregation; he made no pretence to superior education, higher rank, or even greater piety. A complete knowledge of his mode of every-day life did not as a rule incline his flock to any particular veneration either for himself or for his holy office. The further fact that he had to depend for his scanty living mainly on tithes paid by his parishioners in kind, and paid with extreme reluctance out of their own exiguous hoard, tended to make him not only despised but positively unpopular. The evidence is overwhelming that on the eve of the Reformation the Church as a whole had lost its earlier hold on the mind and conscience and good will of the Christian community.

In these circumstances the Church waged a losing battle against the forces of heresy and schism which prevailed during this transitional century. The seed of



PAGEANT ON THE PASSION OF CHRIST

Beginnings of the popular drama are to be found in medieval pageants. Above is a reconstruction of a pageant concerning the Passion presented by the Smiths Company of Coventry in 1469. The wagon was drawn by hand from station to station and had two storeys, the lower serving as dressing-room.

From Sharp, *'Dissertation on the Pageants Anciently Performed at Coventry'*

rationalism sown by Wycliffe and his Lollard preachers in England was never wholly eradicated even by the severe persecution instituted under Henry IV. From England it spread to Bohemia and displayed an amazing vitality under the fostering hands of John Huss, Jerome of Prague and their disciples. In vain did the Church organize missions; in vain did prelates and monarchs launch crusades. For the first time in her long career Catholicism found herself faced by foes which she was unable to overcome.

One cause of this inability was undoubtedly the fact that Catholicism had been weakened as never before by internal dissensions; another cause was the fact that rationalism in religion was immensely



A GAME OF CHESS

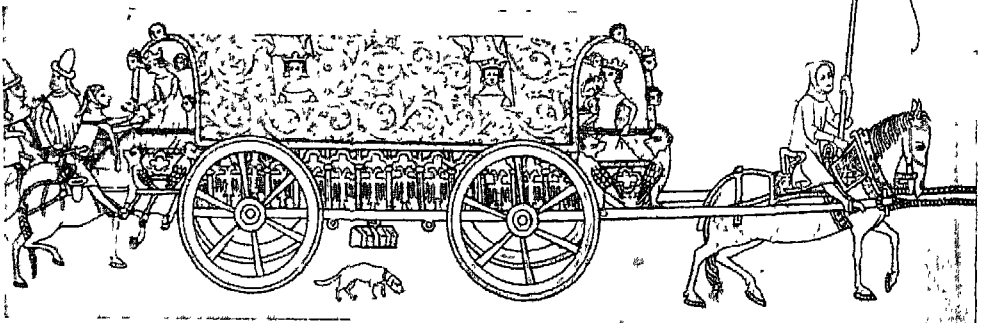
Chess was introduced into Europe in the eleventh century and was the favourite indoor recreation until supplanted in the fourteenth century by cards. As shown in this manuscript of about 1500, chess was played by both men and women

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 143; photo, Catala Frères

aided and reinforced by the assured triumphs of the human reason in the spheres of criticism and science. Lorenzo Valla's demonstration (1439) of the falsity of the so-called Donation of Constantine (see page 3018), by appeal to which the Church

had supported her claim to temporal sovereignty, inflicted a damaging blow to ecclesiastical prestige. The new view of the heavens revealed by Copernicus—who proved conclusively (1543) that the sun and not the earth is the centre of the planetary system—threw out of focus the whole scheme of medieval thought which had implied a geocentric universe. It was to no purpose that the Church placed the works of Copernicus on the Index and forbade the faithful to read them. The process of erosive scepticism could not be stayed, and its ravages were all the more deadly because the pure air of free discussion was strictly excluded from the fabric of the faith.

The Church professed to see in the rank growth of heresy, the violence of schism, the prevalence of immorality and the spread of unbelief conclusive evidence of the unloosing of the devil and ominous indications of the impending end of the world. Until the fourteenth century, from the dawn of medieval times, the devil had been treated as a rather ridiculous figure. He was, in fact, the prototype of the clown of the modern pantomime. He was regarded as being full of all malice, tricky, unscrupulous, naughty; but impotent, slightly stupid, and easily frustrated by a prayer, by the sign of the cross, by a drop of holy water, or by the presence of a sacred relic. The fourteenth century, particularly after the scourge of



CLUMSY CONVEYANCES ON THE KING'S HIGHWAYS—

After the departure of the Romans in the fifth century road making and road maintenance were utterly neglected in England until as late as the end of the eighteenth century. In medieval times the roads were incredibly bad, little better than tracks and usually too soft for wheeled traffic.

From the Luttrell Psalter ('Valusia Monumenta')—

the Black Death had run its destructive course, began to take the devil more seriously—with appalling results.

Demonology tended to vie with theology as a subject of study and meditation. Sermons more and more came to dwell and dilate upon the horrors of hell and the perils of possession by evil spirits. Monstrous and terrifying pictures of the tortures of the damned were painted upon the walls of churches (see page 3010). Above all, belief in witchcraft spread, and a frightful persecution of suspected witches set in—a persecution which is one of the darkest blots on the history of Christian civilization during the three centuries 1400-1700 (see Chapter 128).

Tens of thousands of persons suffered agonising tortures and an execrated death, darkened by the assurance of everlasting damnation, for an offence of which not only were they innocent, but of which it is impossible that any one should ever be guilty. The records of the sixteenth century are ghastly in their revelation of the triumph of sanguinary



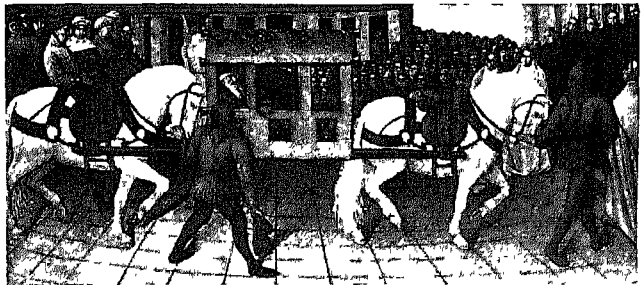
LEISURELY GOING

Riding on horseback was still the chief means of locomotion for the well-to-do class at the beginning of the 16th century, women often riding pillion behind their lords

British Museum, Harleyan MS. 1892

superstition. For example, in a single year four hundred persons were burned for sorcery at Toulouse; in another year, five hundred at Geneva; in another, six hundred at Bamberg; in another, nine hundred at Wurzburg. The city of Trèves alone is said to have seen in the course of the century no fewer than seven thousand executions for witchcraft and sorcery.

The gross credulity and helpless irrationality which displayed itself so terribly in the persecution of alleged witches and sorcerers had other and (to modern readers) more diverting manifestations in the treatment of ailments and diseases. No knowledge of anatomy distracted the medieval medical man in his dealings with his patients. No attempt to discover the cause of an illness interfered with the application of entirely



—LABORIOUS TRAVEL BEFORE THE DAYS OF MACADAM

Such coaches as were used were heavy wagons requiring as many as five and six horses to drag them through the mire, and even then could only travel perhaps a dozen miles in a day. Thus horse litters, such as that in Fouquet's fifteenth-century miniature (top), were a preferable form of vehicle.

—and (top) Durrieu, 'Les Antiquités Judaïques'



A PULL UP FOR WAYFARERS

Roadside ale houses indicated their readiness to supply wayfarers with liquid refreshment by a pole, called an ale-stake, fastened over the door, often with an ivy bush suspended from it. The smaller inns were ordinarily kept by women and were verminous hovels, the haunt of disreputable characters.

British Museum, Royal MS. 10 E. iv

irrelevant remedies. Supernatural agencies were everywhere assumed to be in operation; disease was due to sin, or was a divine chastisement, or a diabolical temptation, or anything except the effect of a natural cause. Hence faith, and incantations, and astrological devices were the prime factors in effecting cures. The following, for example, is a specific for use in cases of consumption:

Take thrift-grass, betony, penny-grass, fane, fennel, Christmas wort and borage, and make them into a potion with clear ale. Sing seven Masses over the plants daily, add holy water, and drink the draught out of the church bell, while the priest sings 'Domini sancti Pater omnipotens.'

Bleeding was the remedy resorted to in most cases of doubt. But here, again, the efficacy of the remedy was supposed to depend mainly on the particular period of the month when it was applied. It was, for instance, wholly precluded 'when the light of the moon and the tide of the ocean are increasing.' No wonder that with such medicine and such surgery, unrelieved by either antiseptics or anaesthetics, the birth-rate in Europe scarcely exceeded the death-rate; that population was nearly stationary; and that the life of the average individual was 'nasty, brutish, and short.'

The ills that flesh is naturally heir to were greatly increased and aggravated by those which man inflicted upon his fellows. We have already seen how religious persecution and witch hunting augmented

the sum total of human misery at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. We have now to note how savage and vindictive were the penalties inflicted for violations of the civil law. Apparently in that rude and brutal age no punishments that were not ferocious in their severity could be counted on as deterrent. Moreover, so inefficient was the police organization—unpaid, unwilling, amateur—that comparatively few criminals were ever caught; hence when any one was actually secured it was felt necessary to make an impressive example of the captive.

The penalty of death was inflicted not only, as generally at the present time, for treason and for murder, but also commonly for such offences as burglary, larceny, arson and sacrilege. Hanging



CATCH AS CATCH CAN

This copper plate in the Munich collection amusingly illustrates the temper and manner in which the German peasantry of the fifteenth century settled such little differences as might arise in the course of a game of skittles.

From Coulton, 'The Medieval Village,' Cambridge Press

was the normal method of execution ; it took place openly, wherever tree or artificial erection provided the necessary attachment for the rope ; the local butcher was the usual agent of justice ; the corpse of the dead malefactor was left suspended as a warning to the living until the crows had rendered it unrecognizable. Sometimes, instead of hanging, traditional custom decreed other modes of extinguishing life, such as decapitation, drowning or precipitation from a cliff. In the Scilly Isles the practice was to place the condemned criminal on a certain rock which at low tide was uncovered but at high tide deeply submerged, and there to leave him until the slow, remorseless incoming of the ocean terminated his agony.



TITHE PAYMENT IN KIND

Tithes were mainly paid in kind, as illustrated in this picture of 1479, showing a peasant leading a lamb and another carrying a goose to the tithe owners. To prevent only the poorest animals being offered as tithes, various methods were adopted, such as 'last through the gate' in the case of livestock.

From Bartels, 'Der Bauer,' E. Diederichs Verlag

Almost worse than the public executions were the horrible mutilations that were inflicted for various offences. Men were deprived of hands, or feet, or ears ; their noses were slit ; they were branded with hot irons ; they were blinded in one or both eyes. Since warriors in the course of honourable campaigns, as well as malefactors, were liable to these painful and incapacitating mutilations, it was customary for a truncated military man on terminating his period of service to procure a certificate from his commander to the effect that he had lost his ear, or eye or arm, not as a criminal, but as a combatant.

Compared with executions and mutilations, the punishments inflicted by means of stocks, or pillory, or whipping-cart, or ducking-stool were mild and almost humorous. In all of them publicity was of the essence of the penalty, and the public usually entered into the spirit of the ceremony, by pelting and persecuting and abusing the victims of rude justice.

Imprisonment was much less common a mode of punishment than it is at the present time. It was resorted to primarily merely to safeguard a malefactor pending his trial and execution. The prisons, however, of the Middle Ages and early modern times were horrible beyond description. Totally unlighted and



THE DEVIL IN CORSETS

Twelfth-century contempt for the devil is exhibited in this drawing by an Anglo-Norman artist of the devil attired in the preposterously tight-laced gown and otherwise absurd costume affected by great ladies of that period.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero C.ii



FAITH AND THE PHARMACOPOEIA

Charms and incantations were important elements in medieval therapeutics. A twelfth-century medical treatise contains this picture of a physician adjuring all the herbs of the earth to aid mankind and minister to their health.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 1585

unwarmed; damp and vermin-infested; devoid of all sanitation and quite bare of furniture, they were veritable ante-chambers of the grave. Those who, owing to delay in the process of law or other cause, were left to languish in confinement so horrible were speedily reduced to a hopeless condition of physical and mental wreckage.

The severity of the law had its counterpart in the severity of education. There seems to have been singularly little joy in either the schools or the universities of the sixteenth century. All work and no play; incessant inquisitorial supervision and no freedom; frequent punishment and no reward, appear to have made Jack a very dull boy, a very disagreeable sneak and a very malicious bully. The prime qualification for a school-master was not knowledge of anything whatsoever, but ability to wield the instruments of castigation. For instance, when at Cambridge University a student applied for his degree as a Master in

Grammar he was required to provide himself with a birch rod and a palmer (an implement for hitting the hand—see page 3447), and to give a public demonstration of his skill upon a boy hired for the purpose.

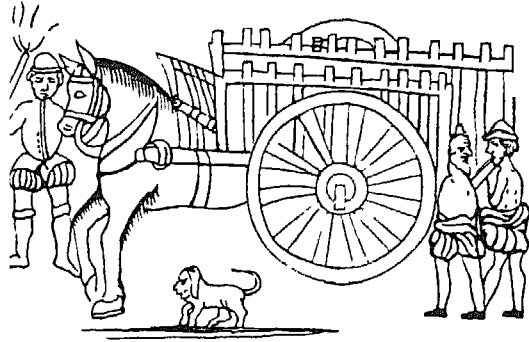
In fine, the world of the sixteenth century was a hard world, a cruel world, a world marked by a singular absence of affection and by a conspicuous lack of joy. It was a world oppressed by superstition, darkened by demonology, haunted by imminent death and terrified by anticipated damnation. Nevertheless, it was a world on which the light of the Renaissance had dawned; a world in which the Reformation was opening a way which ultimately would lead to rationality and toleration; a world to which exploration and discovery were presenting incalculable possibilities of emancipation and adventure.

We have now surveyed the panorama of European life and manners during the four centuries A.D. 1200–1600. We have observed that although in these remote days changes occurred much more slowly than they do **Progress in** in this present age of rapid **four centuries** and revolutionary transformation, yet nevertheless during the

period under review a remarkable transition was gradually effected. The castle was transmuted into the country mansion; the knight of chivalry became the gallant of the court; the tournament was superseded as the main form of aristocratic sport by the hunt; the art of war was completely remodelled by the developments of archery and firearms; and finally the comforts and amenities of domestic life were immensely increased by the introduction of luxuries from the East and of strange novelties from the newly discovered lands in the West.

A summary of a few of the more important innovations of the period, most of which have already been mentioned, may help us to realize the way in which the hard and restricted life of the thirteenth century slowly enlarged itself into the comparatively soft and luxurious existence of modern days. The thirteenth century saw the spread of the use of glass for windows and of coal for fires. The

fourteenth century witnessed the advent of novelties so varied as spectacles, watches, pins, blankets, feather beds, carpets, forks and playing cards. The fifteenth century was the age of the printing press, of paper made from rags, of wax candles, of hops in beer and of butter with bread. The sixteenth century, as we have remarked, saw the incalculable improvement in European diet which was caused by the extensive cultivation of vegetables—cabbages, carrots, lettuces, rhubarb, apricots, artichokes, currants, lemons, strawberries, cauliflowers and, above all, potatoes. It is difficult to estimate, and almost impossible to over-estimate, the benefit to the general health which resulted from the substitution of a mixed diet of meat and vegetables for the monotonous



WHIPPING AT THE CART'S TAIL

Abolition of the monasteries in England led to a great increase in vagrancy, and in 1530 the Whipping Act was passed, ordering vagabonds to be taken to a market town, tied naked to a cart's tail, and whipped throughout the town. Whipping posts were substituted for the cart in the reign of Elizabeth.

From Harman, 'Caveat'

diet of meat, varied only by bad meat, which had filled the medieval glutton with apoplexy and leprosy.

On the whole, then, the picture presented to our gaze as we survey these four

centuries is one of steady amelioration. We see the slow growth of peace and security; the continuous increase of comfort and luxury; the gradual spread of knowledge and the dawn of an age of enlightenment and toleration. Nevertheless, we have to confess that even when we close our speculation with the year 1600 we have to say farewell to a society still painfully imperfect; a society still rude, superstitious, quarrelsome, persecuting; a society still incapable of combating disease, still helpless in the presence of the misapprehended forces of nature. Thus we terminate our study with a sense of thankfulness, feeling that, however far from the ideal is the world of the twentieth century, it is immeasurably better in every way than the world of the sixteenth century, and still, more decidedly superior to the world of the thirteenth century.



A PUBLIC HANGING IN 1460

Hanging was the usual mode of execution in England, done publicly and causing death by strangulation, not, as now, by fracture of the cervical vertebrae. The death penalty was inflicted for many crimes besides murder. This picture illustrates a legend of the Virgin intervening to save a victim's life.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. français 9,198; photo, Calata Frères

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXIV

- 1555 Treaty of Augsburg lays down a *modus vivendi* for the anti-missic relations within the Empire.
 1556 Carlos V abdicates. Philip II succeeds him in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. Ferdinand I left Austria shortly emperor.
 India: Humayun d.; acc. Akbar. Decisive victory of Akbar at Panipat.
 1557 Philip at war with France; England under his wife Mary Tudor is drawn into the war.
 Ferdinand Acc. Sebastian.
 1558 Francis of Guise captures Calais; loss of England's only hold in Europe.
 Mary Stuart m. Clapham Francis.
 Mary Tudor d.; acc. Elizabeth.
 India: Akbar takes Rajput stronghold of Chitor.
 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambresis.
 Acc. Pope Pius IV.
 Henry II d.; acc. Francis II.
 English religious settlement under Act of Uniformity.
 1580 Francis II d.; acc. Charles IX. Queen mother Catherine de' Medici regent; the Guises are out of favour.
 Scotland: Mary of Lorraine d. Treaty of Leith ends the old French alliance and establishes the Reformation.
 Sweden: Gustavus Vasa d.; acc. Eric XIV.
 India: Akbar dismisses Bairam.
 Japan: War of Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.
 1581 Japan: Alliance of Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.
 Scotland: return of Mary queen of Scots from France.
 1582 Third session of Council of Trent, in which no Protestants take part.
 Massacre of Vassy opens French wars of religion.
 1583 Council of Trent lays down permanent definitions of (Roman) Catholic doctrine.
 Murder of Francis of Guise. First War of Religion ended by peace of Amboise.
 India: Akbar conquers Gujarat.
 1584 Ferdinand I d.; Maximilian II emperor.
 Birth of Galileo and Shakespeare.
 1585 Conference in Spain between Catherine de' Medici and Alva creates Protestant alarm.
 1586 Suleiman the Magnificent d.; acc. Selim II.
 Acc. Pope Pius V.
 1587 Second French War of Religion.
 Alva sent to the Netherlands; reign of terror.
 Scotland: murder of Darnley.
 1588 Peace of Longjumeau, followed by outbreak of Third War of Religion.
 Revolt of Netherlands headed by Lewis of Nassau.
 Execution of Egmont and Hoorne.
 Mary q. of Scots takes flight to England, where she is held prisoner for eighteen years.
 Eric of Sweden deposed by his brother John III.
 1589 Huguenots defeated at Jarnac and Montcontour.
 1590 Pacification of St. Germain. Increasing influence of Coligny.
 Pius V issues bull deposing Elizabeth.
 1591 Turks capture Cyprus from Venice, but are heavily defeated by Don John 'of Austria' in great sea-fight of Lepanto.
 Ridolfi plot to set Mary on English throne.
 1592 Capture of Brille by Netherlands 'Sea Beggars' begins the great War of Independence.
 Acc. Pope Gregory XIII.
 Henry of Navarre m. Marguerite of Valois; Huguenots assembled in Paris are slaughtered in massacre of St. Bartholomew.
 Camoens publishes the *Lusiads*.
 1593 Japan: Nobunaga ends Ashikaga Shogunate.
 Requesens takes Alva's place in Netherlands and seeks to reconcile Catholic provinces.
 French pacification by July Edict.
 1593-82 Japan: Nobunaga with Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu suppresses feudal independence.
 1594 Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered.'
 Siege of Leyden.
 Charles IX d.; acc. Henry III. Ascendancy of the Politiques.
 Selim II d.; Murad III acc.
 1596 Requesens d. The 'Spanish Fury' reconciles the provinces in the pacification of Ghent.
 Don John takes Requesens' place.
 Acc. Rudolf II emperor.
 Stephen Bathori k. of Transylvania.
 India: Akbar conquers Bengal.
 1577 Don John issues Perpetual Edict which again dissolves unity of the provinces.
 France: Seven years' pacification by Edict of Bergerac.
 Drake starts on voyage of circumnavigation.
 1578 Don John d.; Alexander of Parma takes his place.
 Sebastian of Portugal d. in Morocco.
 1579 Protestant Netherlands unite in Union of Utrecht, ultimately forming Dutch Republic, and seek French (failing English) support. The south remains in Philip's allegiance.
 1580 Philip claims (through his mother) Portuguese crown, ignoring title of house of Braganza.
 Great Jesuit campaign in England.
 1581 Francis of Anjou, heir presumptive of French throne, goes to United Provinces.
 1582 Gregory XIII introduces Gregorian Calendar.
 India: Akbar sets up a new religion.
 Japan: Nobunaga d.; ascendancy of Hideyoshi.
 Treason and flight of Francis of Anjou.
 1583 Francis d. leaving Henry of Navarre heir presumptive under Salic Law.
 1584 Guises form Catholic League to prevent a Huguenot succession.
 Assassination of William the Silent. The Union appoints his son Maurice of Nassau captain-general.
 Ivan the Terrible d.; acc. Feodor (Fedor, Theodore), last tsar of the house of Rurik.
 1585 Acc. Pope Sixtus V.
 Spain and England declare war. Leicester goes to Netherlands; Drake sails to Cartagena.
 French 'War of the three Henrys' (Henry III, Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre).
 Raleigh's first Virginia colony.
 1586 Babington's plot; trial and condemnation of Mary q. of Scots.
 1587 Mary beheaded. Drake destroys Spanish shipping in Cadiz harbour.
 Sigismund, crown prince of Sweden, k. of Poland.
 Japan: Hideyoshi's supremacy established; expulsion of Jesuits.
 1588 Henry III assassinates Guise and joins Henry of Navarre. League headed by Guise's brother Mayenne.
 Spanish Armada sails (July), and is broken up in battle of Gravelines; its remnants are shattered by storms.
 1589 Henry III assassinated. The League allies with Philip to exclude Henry IV.
 1590 Henry IV wins battle of Ivry; his progress checked by Parma's invasion from Netherlands, where Maurice of Nassau makes progress in his absence.
 Japan: Hideyoshi plans conquest of China.
 1591 Archduke Charles of Styria succeeded by his son Ferdinand, a zealous Catholic.
 India: Akbar annexes Orissa.
 1592 Sweden: John III d.; acc. Sigismund (k. of Poland) whose papalist designs are opposed by his uncle Charles.
 Parma d. Continuous progress of Maurice.
 Clement IX pope.
 Japan: Hideyoshi's first invasion of Korea.
 1593 Henry IV declares his conversion to Catholicism.
 Break up of the League.
 1594 Henry declares war on Philip.
 1595 Pope Clement recognizes Henry as k. of France.
 India: Akbar annexes Kandahar.
 English raid on Cadiz.
 1596 India: Akbar annexes Berar.
 Japan: Hideyoshi expels Catholic missionaries.
 1597 Japan: Hideyoshi d. after capturing Seoul. His policy of expansion is dropped.
 1598 Sweden: Sigismund retires to Poland, leaving Charles governor.
 Russia: Tsar Feodor d.; Boris Godunov tsar.
 Henry IV makes peace of Vervins with Philip; issues Edict of Nantes, securing Huguenot liberties. Sully in charge of finances.
 Philip II d.; acc. Philip III.

Chronicle XXIV

THE AGE OF PHILIP II: 1555–1598

THE abdication of Charles V, begun in 1555 and completed in 1556, marks the close of the first stage of the Reformation, both in its political and in its religious aspect. The states of Europe had definitely taken the colour which they were to retain from that day, and the last hope of reconciling Protestant and Romanist had disappeared. Religion had not, up to that time, provided a motive for international contests, though it had caused civil war in Germany, which was on the point of finding its counterpart in France.

At the moment, in England, a Romanist reaction on the part of the government was in full swing; but it had no chance of surviving the impending accession of the reigning Queen Mary's sister Elizabeth, who, whatever her theological views might be, was debarred from Romanism politically by the fact that no Romanist from the pope down could admit the legitimacy of her birth. In Scotland a Romanist regency was still fighting a Protestant nobility backed by Protestant popular sentiment, which were sure of victory if once support from England were forthcoming. The Scandinavian countries were definitely Protestant, Spain and Italy definitely Romanist. In Germany Protestant and Romanist principalities were intermingled, Romanists preponderating in the south, Protestants in the north. In France the Huguenots were in a minority, but were headed by some of the most powerful nobles, while the royal family was for the most part fanatically orthodox, as was the capital, the strength of the Huguenots lying in the south.

Hapsburg Inheritance divided

THE abdication of Charles gave Spain, the Sicilies, the Netherlands and the New World to his son Philip II, but transferred the imperial succession to the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs. Ferdinand, Charles's brother, who now became emperor, aimed at maintaining in the Empire

the compromise between the religions which he had been mainly instrumental in effecting at Passau and Augsburg. Philip, on the other hand, looked on himself as the instrument chosen for the stamping out of heresy not only in his own dominions but elsewhere also; a theory which for the time made close association impossible between the two branches of the Hapsburgs. All through his reign he was the dominant figure in western Europe, because his power and ambitions were a constant menace both to France and to England.

Looseness of the Spanish Empire

PHILIP's weakness lay primarily in the fact that neither territorially nor politically was his gigantic dominion consolidated. None of its four divisions could communicate with another except by sea, without the leave and good will of intervening potentates. By sea, the Mediterranean between Spain and Italy or Sicily was comparatively secure, but the Netherlands could be reached only by way of the narrow seas between England and France, so that open hostility with either of those countries made the passage extremely precarious; while the ocean route to the New World was open to the predatory attacks of lawless adventurers of all nations, as well as of the naval squadrons of enemy states.

Politically, the work of Charles V had made it comparatively easy for his son to establish his autocracy in Spain and the Sicilies, but in the Netherlands the king of Spain was a foreigner ruling arbitrarily through alien ministers supported by alien troops in complete disregard of traditional liberties which none of his Burgundian predecessors had ventured to ignore. The result was that the Netherlands were goaded into revolt early in Philip's reign, and the attempt to suppress them kept his best troops and his ablest officers ceaselessly occupied till the end of it, when the independence of the Dutch republic was in sight.

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At the moment of Philip's accession England was no more than a minor power, whose queen was actually the wife of the new king of Spain—the result of the misgovernment which had followed the death of Henry VIII. The country was in need of recuperation and reorganization before it could again take its place as a first-class power. The heiress designate of the crown had not, according to the Roman view, been born in wedlock, and from that point of view the legitimate heiress was the young queen of Scots, whose mother, Mary of Guise, was regent in Scotland while she herself was in France and on the point of marrying the French dauphin.



A CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM

Philip II (1527-98) became king of Spain on the abdication of his father, the emperor Charles V, in 1556, two years after his marriage to Mary I, queen of England. This portrait was painted by Titian in 1552.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson



TREZZO'S MEDAL OF MARY TUDOR

Jacopo da Trezzo, Milanese goldsmith, made this medal about 1554. On the obverse is a fine portrait of the queen. The reverse depicts her as Peace burning the implements of war and restoring sight to the blind.

British Museum

Should the succession be disputed, France stood to gain by the success of Mary queen of Scots, which for that very reason would not at all suit Philip, who took for granted that Elizabeth would feel herself to be his dependant; whereas what Elizabeth saw, when she did succeed in 1558, was that Philip could not afford to endanger her tenure of the English throne. Hence she was able to proceed on her own devious way with a more or less polite disregard of Philip's efforts to frighten her into going his, until England was strong enough to make further politeness

The Age of Philip II



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Throughout her dramatic and passionate life Mary queen of Scots (1542-87) was the storm centre of political and religious intrigue. This portrait was painted by François Clouet, in 1559, the year after her marriage to Francis II.

Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon

superfluous, and Mary was prisoner in England instead of queen in Scotland.

In France, on the other hand, the antagonism between Huguenots and Catholics was growing continuously more acute. The most powerful among the nobles were the brothers of the house of Guise, a junior branch of the old house of Anjou, of which the senior branch were now dukes of Lorraine; and they were zealous Catholics. The official leader of the Huguenots was Antony of Bourbon, the husband of the queen of Navarre and father of the future Henry IV. When the reigning king Henry II died in 1559 he left four sons, of whom the eldest, Francis, was sixteen. After them, Antony of Bourbon was next heir.

Francis and his newly married wife, Mary of Scotland, became king and queen of France and Scotland; but on his death next year Mary returned to Scotland, and the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, secured the regency and was practically

the ruler of France almost throughout the successive reigns of her second and third sons, none of whom had offspring. She, in fact, favoured the Catholics but feared the Guises; her primary aim was to prevent either Catholics or Huguenots from winning such a domination as would threaten her own ascendancy; so for forty years France was without a settled policy, and was repeatedly plunged in civil war with religious politics as motive.

THE second session of the Council of Trent was broken up by the successes of Maurice of Saxony in 1552, nearly ten years passed before it met again under Pius IV (1559-65). Meanwhile, the Papacy had begun to set its own house in order. Paul IV (1555-59) was a zealous reformer of morals and discipline, and set his successors a much needed example by abolishing the nepotism which his predecessors had practised habitually for a hundred years past. The man who had organized the Roman Inquisition after



MARY OF GUISE

Mary of Guise (1515-60) married James V as her second husband in 1538, and as regent of Scotland during the minority of her daughter, Mary queen of Scots, showed great political astuteness. Sir Antonio Moro did this portrait.

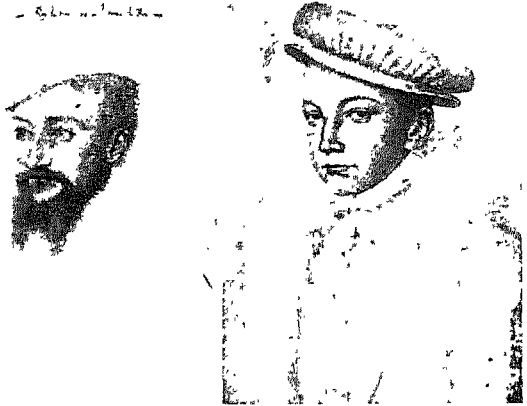
Collection of Leopold Hirsch

Chronicle XXIV. 1555-1598

the Spanish model was rigid in the suppression of heresy, with which he would have no compromise, but was no less an enemy of laxity, and the popes who followed him took the same line under the stress of a public opinion which was much more favourable to fanaticism than to carelessness.

Thus when the Council was once more summoned for its third and last session in 1562, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans were unrepresented; and the decrees promulgated on its dissolution in 1563 were, in the main, the authoritative exposition of the dogmas of what Rome recognized as the Catholic faith and of the papal claims to authority. The latter, however, were not all admitted by the monarchs and governments that remained within the dogmatic pale. The Gallican church in particular declined to subscribe to them, as contravening the independence it had always claimed; and Philip personally always regarded the pope as a colleague rather than a superior.

Paradoxically enough, Philip was hardly seated on the Spanish throne when he found himself forced into war with Paul IV, who wanted to turn the Hapsburgs out of Italy, and appealed to France for aid. Philip drew Queen Mary's govern-



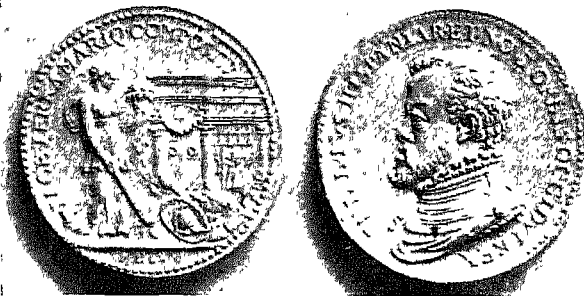
BOURBONS, CATHOLIC AND HUGUENOT

Francis II (right) was born in 1544 and in 1559 became king of France, but died in 1560 without issue. After his brothers, of whom two became king as Charles IX and Henry III, the heir presumptive was Antony of Bourbon (left), the father, by the queen of Navarre, of Henry IV.

Drawings by Francois Clouet, Bibliothèque Nationale, photos, Graulon

ment in England into the strife, though the administration there had gone so entirely to pieces that plunging into war was the wildest folly. The result was that the duke of Guise captured Calais, and England lost the foothold in France which she had held for two centuries (January, 1558). Otherwise the military successes were preponderantly Spanish; but religious scruples made Philip and Alva, his general in Italy, more anxious to recover the pope's favour than to take full advantage of his defeat. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, that ended the war in 1559, reconciled Spain with the Papacy, and, Calais apart, practically restored the pre-war conditions.

Elizabeth was already seated on the English throne. The deaths of Henry II of France in the same year and of his Guise-ridden son Francis II in 1560 gave the crown to the boy Charles IX and the regency to Catherine de' Medici. Elizabeth's intervention in Scotland and the death of the regent Mary of Guise or Lorraine in 1560 gave the control in that country to the reforming party, who were intensely hostile to French influences hitherto prevalent;



CATEAU-CAMBRESIS PEACE TREATY MEDAL

This silver medal, by Giampaolo Poggini, commemorates the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, signed April 2, 1559, which terminated the Franco-Spanish war. Obverse: bust of Philip II, reverse: Peace burning arms before the closed temple of Janus and the legend 'Peace established on land and sea, 1559.'

British Museum

The Age of Philip II

and in 1561 the widowed Mary Stuart, not yet nineteen, embarked on that stormy career in Scotland which ended with her flight to England in 1568.

The English queen sought religious peace at home by requiring outward conformity to formulae which permitted such wide diversity of doctrine and ceremonial as satisfied the great majority of her subjects. In France no such solution of the religious antagonisms was possible; there the one way to pacification was not comprehensiveness but toleration; no compromise could bring Catholics and Huguenots into one fold, and the two parties were organized up to such a point that the suppression of one by the other could only be effected by decisive victory in the field. Political unity required that they should agree to differ and to live and let live, so far as religion was concerned, and this was the aim of the small group of politicians with whom the queen-mother associated herself, since her dread of the Guises prevented her from definitely attaching herself to the party of which they were the acknowledged leaders.

France torn by Religious Strife

UNDER these influences an edict issued early in 1562 relaxed the penalties which Guise influence had imposed on the Huguenots and in some degree sanctioned the Huguenot worship; to the extreme indignation of the Guises and the Catholics generally. A league was formed, which Antony was bribed into joining by specious promises. There was a collision at Vassy between some of Francis of Guise's troops and a congregation of unarmed Huguenots, in which some scores of the latter were killed and many more were wounded, and the duke on his arrival in Paris after the 'Massacre of Vassy' was greeted as a hero by the fanatical city. The Huguenots, headed by Antony's brother Condé and Admiral Coligny (whose title did not mean that he was in fact a sailor), took up arms. Antony, commanding government troops, was killed; a pitched battle was fought at Dreux, in which the commanders on both sides, Condé and the constable Montmorency, were taken prisoners, and both sides claimed the victory. Guise was

assassinated by a Huguenot fanatic, and the Peace of Amboise (1563) was arranged by which further though still very restricted concessions were made to the Huguenots.

The Guises had been able to pose as the royal government, having Catherine and the young king in their hands, and the world at large credited her with favouring persecution. That belief, and the mistrust of her, were intensified when in 1565 she visited her daughter (whom Philip had married when Mary Tudor died and Elizabeth declined his hand) in Spain, and interviewed Alva, whose ideas on the subject were notorious and were about to be savagely expressed in the Netherlands. But in fact she still dreaded the League, though the new duke of Guise, Henry, was a boy hardly older than Antony's son, the young Henry of Navarre, whose mother was bringing him up as a Calvinist; Catherine's wish was to hold the balance between the two parties.



CHARLES IX, KING OF FRANCE

Charles IX (1550-74) succeeded Francis II in 1560. His acquiescence in the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 is the darkest blot upon his reign, throughout which he was a puppet in the hands of Catherine de' Medici.

The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques

Chronicle XXIV. 1555-1598

She refused then to sanction persecution, but the mistrust grew as Alva developed his policy in the Netherlands. Huguenots suspected that she was merely biding her time to strike when Alva and his troops should be within call. In 1567 they planned a coup de main to seize the king's person and compel further concessions and securities. The plot miscarried; Catherine was violently alienated, but the old constable Montmorency was killed at an indecisive engagement at St. Denis, and a truce was patched up which confirmed the Amboise treaty (March 1568). But the moderates gave place to Guise partisans in the council,

the pope, Pius V, absolved Catherine from her promises, a decree was issued forbidding Huguenot worship on pain of death, and before the year was out the third of the wars of religion was in full operation.

Condé was defeated and killed at Jarnac in March. Coligny's skill was crippled by lack of funds, and he too was defeated in October, 1569; but Catherine again drew back. Henry of Guise and his uncles were in high favour with Philip of Spain, who was obviously hoping through them to obtain control of the French government; the independence not only of Catherine but of France herself was threatened. In the



ADMIRAL COLIGNY

Gaspard de Coligny (1519-72) became the active leader of the Protestant party in France about 1557 and, after Condé's death in 1569, sole commander of the Huguenot army

Francois Clouet, photo, Giraudon



MASSACRE OF VASSY THAT BEGAN THE WARS OF RELIGION

On March 1, 1562, the duke and the cardinal of Guise, passing through Vassy in Champagne, came upon a number of Huguenots assembled for service in a barn. In a preliminary altercation the duke was struck by a stone, whereupon his troops fell upon the unarmed congregation and killed twenty-three and wounded more than a hundred. In this contemporary picture of the incident the duke is shown upright with drawn sword, the cardinal leaning over a wall on the extreme left.

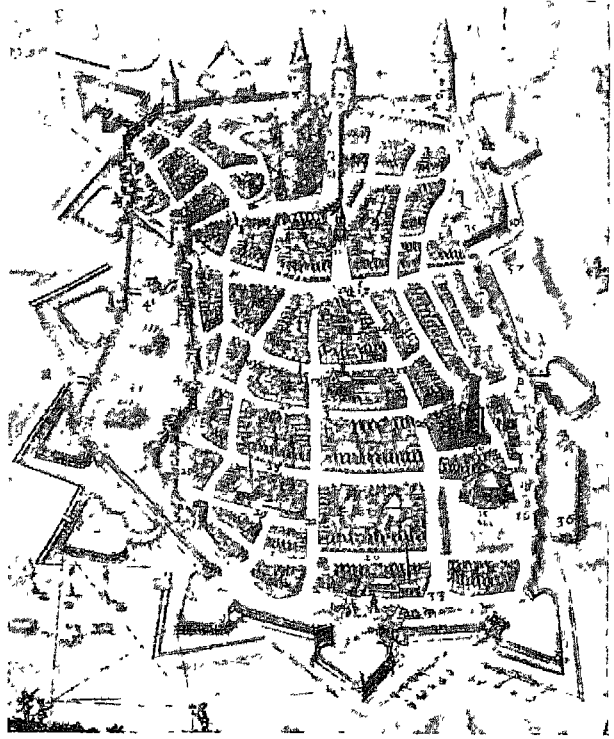
Toriorel and Perrisson Collection; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'

The Age of Philip II

summer of 1570 the war was brought to an end by the treaty of St. Germain, which confirmed once more the previous rights of the Huguenots, and placed in their hands four towns. The possession of the port of La Rochelle gave them a stronghold that was of the utmost value to them for sixty years to come.

It appeared that the outcome of a war which had gone decidedly against the Huguenots was to be the victory of their cause. The nobles returned to court and to favour. Henry of Navarre, not yet twenty, was betrothed to the king's youngest sister Margaret. Coligny acquired a strong personal influence over King Charles, whom he inspired with his own patriotic hostility to foreign influences and especially to Philip, and encouraged in his desire to take the reins of government from his mother's hands into his own. The marriage of Henry and Margaret was to be celebrated in Paris in August, 1572, and the triumphant Huguenots flocked to the capital for the occasion in vast numbers.

BUT the reaction had filled Henry of Guise and Henry of Anjou, the king's next brother, with rage and Catherine with panic when she saw her own hitherto supreme influence with the king giving way to Coligny's. The marriage had already taken place (August 18) when the three agreed that Coligny must be removed. The attempt to assassinate him failed (August 22) and Paris was flung into wild excitement. Then the three came to their desperate resolve, and coerced Charles into giving his miserable consent. The horror was skilfully planned, and on the morning of S. Bartholomew's day (August 24) the gutters of Paris were running with the blood of the Huguenots who had been massacred before dawn. Other towns made haste to follow the example set by



LA ROCHELLE, THE HUGUENOTS' STRONGHOLD

This fifteenth-century plan shows the fortifications which enabled La Rochelle to withstand more than one determined siege. The two towers, built in 1375 and 1384, defending the harbour and the lantern tower of 1445 at the south-west angle (top right) are preserved in Vauban's existing fortifications.

British Museum

the capital, computations of the slaughter ranging from ten to fifty thousand or even more. Among the victims was Coligny; Henry of Navarre and his young cousin of Condé escaped the murder but were required to renounce their faith, and were held in practical captivity for some years.

MEANWHILE the Netherlands were passing through the preliminary stages leading up to their revolt and the long and ultimately successful struggle of the northern provinces for religious freedom and political independence. The Netherlands, though technically the 'Burgundian Circle' of the Empire, were not under the jurisdiction of the emperor or the diets. They consisted of a number of provinces with diverse institutions and traditions, which marriages and diplomacy had accumulated in the hands of the dukes of



CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

This portrait, painted late in life, reveals the strong character of Catherine de' Medici (1519-89), who as queen consort and queen mother dominated France for half a century.

The Louvre ; photo, Archives photographiques

Burgundy, and so had formed part of the inheritance of Charles V. Charles himself, born and for the most part bred in the

Netherlands, had gone as far as he could venture in the direction of centralising the government and repressing heresy ; but his ministers were Netherlanders, and both Lutheranism and Calvinism had held their ground in spite of his efforts, mainly in the northern provinces and in Brabant.

Philip, on the other hand, was a Spaniard who cared nothing for his northern subjects, had no sort of sympathy with or understanding of them, and was in their eyes an alien. When his French war was ended by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis he left the country never to return to it in person ; and instead of entrusting the governorship to one of the native nobles, he appointed his half-sister, Margaret duchess of Parma, with a council of three ; whose authority overrode that of the council of state, hitherto the chief governing body consisting mainly of the nobles, whereas the new body commanded no confidence. Protestantism was to be severely repressed, and the ecclesiastical organization of the province was to be reconstructed on lines which were resented as much by Catholics as by Protestants.



FANATICISM'S HIDEOUS CRIME : THE MASSACRE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW

This picture of the massacre of Huguenots that began on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, was painted by François Dubois who, born at Amiens in 1529, was an eye-witness of its horrors, but made his escape to Geneva, where he died in 1584. Although executed from memory the oil painting was probably based upon hurried sketches made at the time, and thus is historical evidence for such details as the duke of Guise's complacent contemplation of Coligny's corpse, just flung from a window.

Courtesy of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne

The Age of Philip II



MARGARET DUCHESS OF PARMA

Philip II's appointment of Margaret duchess of Parma as regent of the Netherlands in 1559 was a wise one, for she was familiar with the people and conditions; but her authority was over-ridden and she retired in 1567.

Painting by A. S. Coello, Royal Museum, Brussels

The leaders of the native nobility were Count Egmont, who was a distinguished soldier and a loyal Catholic, and William prince of Orange and Nassau, who was not yet a declared Protestant and had been in high favour with Charles V. The moving spirit of the government was Granvella, archbishop of Mechlin. In 1563, Egmont, Orange and Admiral Hoorne petitioned Philip for the removal of Granvella. He was removed, but Philip continued to act on his advice. In 1565 Egmont, with Margaret's approval, was sent to Spain to urge the series of reforms needed if the loyalty of the Netherlands was to be saved. Philip wanted not loyalty but subjection; and after some months of delay he flatly rejected the reforms and ordered the decrees against the Protestants to be rigorously enforced, in the Edict of Segovia.

So far matters had been left to the nobles. Their failure drove the minor nobles and others to form a new and more defiant league against the government, headed by William's brother Lewis of Nassau. Another petition of protest

was forwarded to Philip, who replied by promising some minor concessions which he had no intention of carrying out. The dissatisfied confederates presented a new petition to the regent, who received it coldly, and the confederates—from whom the greater nobles still held aloof—prepared to offer armed resistance. But at this moment there was a sudden outbreak, entirely popular in character, of Protestant fanaticism, which injured their cause, the political leaders being bound to stand by the law.

The outbreak was sharply repressed; but Philip had now made up his slow-moving mind to crush all opposition mercilessly. William, seeing no hope of successful resistance, retired to Nassau, beyond Philip's jurisdiction; Egmont remained, not to fight but to struggle desperately for conciliation; but Philip dispatched Alva to the Netherlands, first as captain-general and then as governor in place of the more conciliatory Margaret. And Alva's conception of government was a military reign of terror (1567). Egmont and Hoorne, who had done their best to



THE COUNT OF EGMONT

Lamoral, count of Egmont (1522–68), ranks as one of the martyrs of Flemish freedom. As governor of Flanders he was at once conciliatory and firm, but patriotism, conflicting with loyalty to Philip II of Spain, brought him to the scaffold.

Engraving in Cabinet des Estampes, Brussels



SCOURGE OF THE NETHERLANDS

Haughtiest pride and relentless cruelty were the dominant qualities of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva (1508-83). They are manifest in this portrait of him painted by Sir Antonio Moro. In practice they found their most terrible expression in his presidency of the informal and infamous Council of Blood.

Royal Museum, Brussels; photo, Mansell

act as moderators, were arrested as leaders of sedition. An arbitrary Spanish tribunal was set up, with Flemish assessors who had no voice in its decisions, which sent men to death actually by hundreds. The Protestant Flemings fled the country by thousands, to be received with open arms in England and elsewhere. Lewis of Nassau collected a very miscellaneous force, with which he defeated Alva's troops at Heiligerlee (1568), and Alva retaliated by executing Egmont and Hoorne, both of whom were Catholics, and defeating Lewis at Jemmingen.

Then Alva proceeded to flay the unhappy Netherlanders by imposing taxation which was not merely grinding but utterly destructive of the industry on

which the hitherto prosperous country was entirely dependent. Flaying was the one political operation that Alva was qualified to carry out, and even he began to understand that merely to ruin the wealthiest portion of his master's dominions was not desirable, and to urge his own recall. But before a successor could take his place, desperation had reached the limit. Many fugitives had taken to the sea and to piracy; and in April, 1572, a band of the 'Sea Beggars' as they were called seized the port of Brille.

THE capture of Brille began the war which ended only with the independence of Holland; within a few weeks, ports and cities were everywhere, but especially in the north, declaring for William. Coligny was at the height of his influence with the French king, and was urging him to war with Philip; French help might almost be counted upon; Elizabeth in England was angling for a French alliance, and had only for form's sake ceased to har-

bour the Sea Beggars in her ports. Lewis seized Mons, and when Spanish troops laid siege to it, a French force advanced to its relief. William, whom several northern provinces had nominated as their 'stadtholder' or civil head, advanced over the Rhine. And then the whole situation was suddenly and violently changed by the massacre of S. Bartholomew, which wiped France off the board.

THE relations of England with Spain, France and the Netherlands are perhaps easier for us to unravel than they were for contemporaries, for the reason that it was Elizabeth's primary aim to keep everyone, including her own ministers, thoroughly befogged as to her own intentions and policy. In the country, hostility

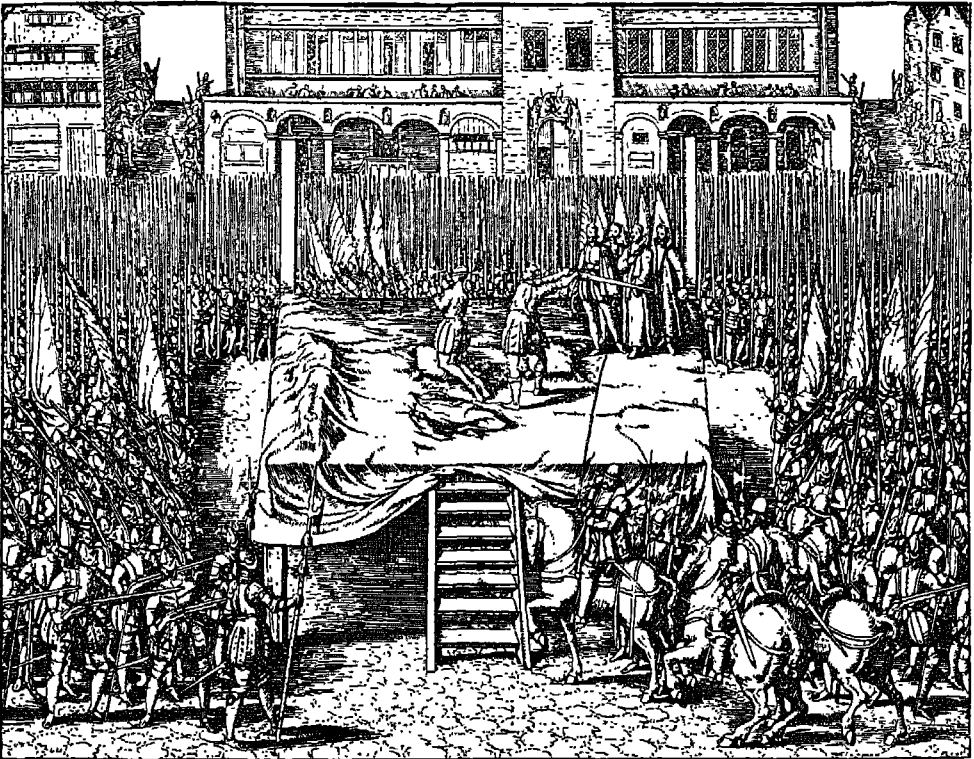
The Age of Philip II

to Spain and a fervent desire to help Protestants who were fighting for their religion abroad had been growing for fourteen years; while the queen herself was determined on no account to be dragged into war or to give open countenance to subjects in rebellion against their rulers.

She knew that however Philip might threaten, he would not go to war with her if he were not in effect forced to do so; both she and Philip carried provocative action and provocative argument to the utmost limit, but officially the peace continued to be preserved, while year after year it was only by exhausting all the arts of prevarication that Elizabeth succeeded in keeping England and, above all, the English mariners from flying at the throats of the Spaniards. By keeping

France in constant expectation of a matrimonial alliance which she never had any intention of consummating, she also kept Philip in constant fear of such a coalition. In short, what she wanted was to gain time and more time for the development of the national strength and resources, while reducing both Spain and France to inaction from their uncertainty as to what her next move would be.

It so happened, however, that the Paris massacre and the revolt of the Netherlands took place at the moment when the imprisonment of the queen of Scots in England and a singularly impolitic bull issued by Pius V combined to warrant or impose on the English government a much more rigorous Protestant and anti-Romanist attitude than heretofore. The bull instructed all good Catholics that it



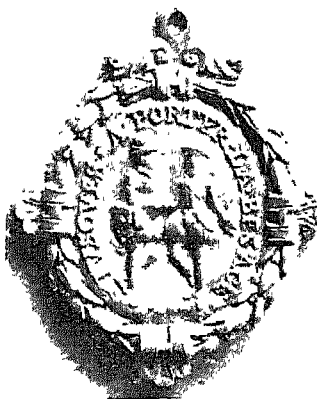
MARTYRDOM OF COUNTS EGMONT AND HOORNE FOR DUTCH FREEDOM

William of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Hoorne led the patriotic party that resisted Philip II's intention to convert the Netherlands into a Spanish dependency and to introduce the Inquisition there. Soon after Alba's arrival in 1567 to enforce both the despotism and the persecution Egmont and Hoorne were seized and after a farcical trial condemned to death for high treason by the Council of Blood. Next day, June 5, 1568, they were beheaded in front of Brussels Town Hall.

Engraving by Hogenberg, in the collection of Th. Hippert; from Hymans, 'Bruxelles à travers les ages'

was their duty to aid in the removal of the heretic queen, but that they were justified in maintaining the appearance of unqualified loyalty to her. It followed that to be a Romanist was to be suspect of treason, and to preach Roman doctrines almost amounted to overt treason. That treason would inevitably centre in the person of the captive queen, whose accession in England Philip would no longer regard with the old-time reluctance, since her French connexion was with the Guises and therefore with the group definitely friendly to the Spanish king. There had already been one plot in which the complicity of the Spanish ambassador was past question. Elizabeth's ministers and her parliaments were emphatically Protestant, much more so than the queen herself, and popular opinion viewed Romanism with increasing dislike and suspicion.

The Paris massacre for the time made any sort of co-operation between



BADGE OF THE GUEUX

'Gueux'—beggars—was the nickname adopted in 1566 by the patriotic party in the Netherlands. It is indicated in the reverse (above) of the badge they all wore by two gentlemen carrying wallets.

British Museum

France and Protestants anywhere an impossibility; and although it was hailed with enthusiasm by Pope Gregory XIII, the inaugurator of the reformed or Gregorian Calendar, and by Philip himself, it did not pave the way for alliance, and in fact it disquieted many of the Catholics. The Huguenots were made only the more stubborn in their refusal to be crushed, and Catholics headed the new party of the 'Politiques' who called for toleration. The suppressive edicts issued immediately after the massacre had to be recalled and a substantial degree of liberty restored

by a new edict in 1573.

Next spring Charles IX died and was succeeded by his brother Henry III, one of the instigators of the massacre, a fanatic who easily fell under the influence of the fanatical group; but his younger brother Francis of Alençon, who became duke of Anjou after Henry became king, and is referred to sometimes by one title and sometimes by the other, associated himself, as did Henry of Navarre and the young Condé, with the Politiques. Though the fighting was renewed, the war was ended, after a fresh treaty and a fresh outbreak, by the treaty of Bergerac in 1577, which again placed several towns and fortresses in the hands of the Huguenots, and conceded liberty of private worship to the nobles. It seemed for a time that the religious pacification might be permanent.

William of Orange had regarded foreign aid as essential to a successful struggle, and the chance of foreign aid, at least in any very substantial form, had disappeared. But he was now a declared Protestant and determined to fight to the last gasp. Alva, not yet superseded, conducted the war till the close of 1573. On both sides it was carried on with ferocity. Zutphen fell, and the inhabitants were put to the



PROTEST AGAINST OPPRESSION

This satirical medal, struck in 1566, depicts the Belgic lion being squeezed by the duke of Alva, Cardinal Granvella and Margaret of Parma, and bears the legend, 'Why do ye press so hard? What if the lion's noble ire should wake?'

British Museum

The Age of Philip II

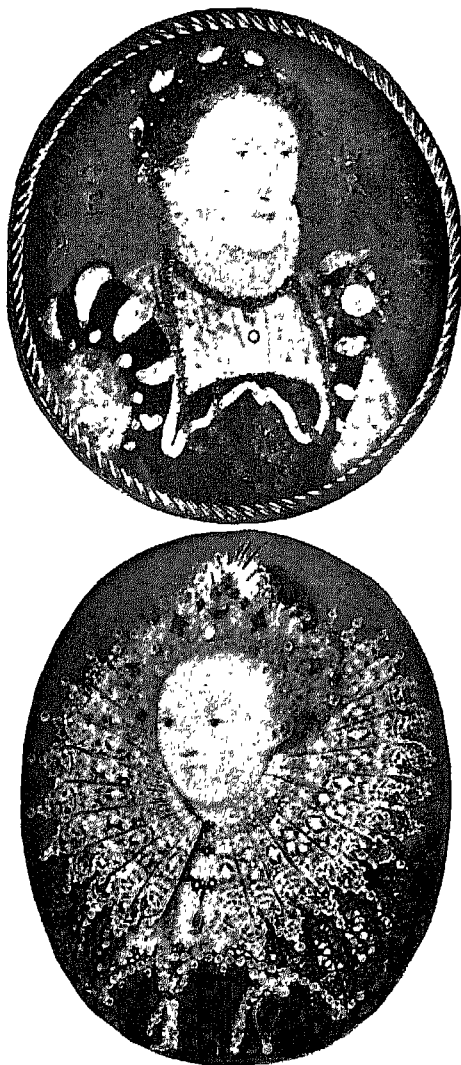
sword. Haarlem, with a garrison of four thousand men, held out heroically for seven months against a besieging force of thirty thousand ; and though in the end it fell, too, its valiant resistance remained a permanent inspiration to the patriots ; when Alkmaar was besieged, it held out till the approach of a relieving force.

THE new governor Requesens discarded to the best of his power Alva's policy of terror, which had failed of its purpose and made the names of Alva and Spaniard a lasting horror to the Netherlands. But Philip would not let him follow his own disposition. Requesens himself thought that the religious opposition in the north would be removed by the offer of free pardon to all who returned to the Catholic fold ; but the time when any large number of Protestants might have been thus brought over had passed. The patriots suffered a heavy loss in the death of Lewis of Nassau in 1574, but it was followed by a striking triumph. Leyden was undergoing a prolonged siege, and its surrender was impending, when it resorted to the last desperate expedient and opened the dykes, letting in the sea over the land from fifteen miles away. The besieging Spaniards fled before the flood, Leyden was saved, and the event was commemorated by the founding of the celebrated University of Leyden.

An attempt had already been made to conciliate the south, but the demands put forward by the patriots went beyond what Requesens was empowered to grant. Negotiations were opened with William and the north, but the terms gave no security that the promises would not be shelved as soon as the north disarmed, and still offered only the alternatives of recantation or exile to Protestants. The negotiations broke down, having only hardened the defiance of the northern Protestantism into intolerance of Romanism—against the will of William, though the provincial estates enlarged the personal powers with which he was entrusted. Moreover, whereas loyalty to the crown had hitherto been professed, Holland and Zeeland now began to look for some foreign prince who would accept the sovereignty—an

offer which was politely declined both by the English queen and the French duke of Anjou who was credited with Huguenot sympathies.

The campaigning was renewed with the breakdown of the negotiations in 1575. The patriots met with considerable successes. But Requesens died suddenly, and, pending the appointment of his



PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Of these two miniatures by Nicholas Hilliard the upper was painted in 1572, when the queen was thirty-nine. Elizabeth insisted on his painting the later, lower, one in the 'open light,' deeming that shadows were unflattering.

National Portrait Gallery, London, and (above) courtesy of Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd.

Chronicle XXIV. 1555-1598

successor, the conduct of affairs was in the hands of a council. The Spanish troops, already mutinous because their pay was heavily in arrear, broke out of hand, looted right and left, and sacked Antwerp for the three luteous days which became known as the 'Spanish Fury.' William seized his opportunity to win over the south where the religious question weighed rather in favour of the government, and all the provinces joined in the treaty called the Pacification of Ghent, whose demand was for religious toleration, the withdrawal of Spanish troops, and (in effect though not actually in form) the governorship of William under Philip's sovereignty (1576).



A WELL-MEANING OFFICIAL

Don Luis Requesens was appointed governor of the Netherlands in 1573. He did his best to counteract the harm done by Alva, but the task was impossible and he died worn out, March 25, 1576. The engraving is contemporary.

From Hymans Bruxelles à travers les ages

At this stage a new governor arrived, the king's younger illegitimate half-brother Don John 'of Austria,' a young man who had achieved a brilliant reputation by the great naval victory won by the Spaniards over the Turks at Lepanto five years before. He was popular and ambitious, and Philip was desperately jealous and suspicious of him, as indeed he was of every great officer he employed. Don John found so solid a front presented to him in the Netherlands that concession was the only course possible, and the concessions were promised in the Perpetual Edict of February, 1577. But promises without guarantees did not satisfy William and the northern provinces to whom religious liberty was vital.

It is probable that Don John himself had designs of setting himself on the throne of England by marrying either Elizabeth or her imprisoned rival. Though he fostered dissensions between the northern and southern leaders, he could gain the confidence of neither, and Philip's natural jealousy was being intensified by the intrigues of interested rivals in Spain. Philip openly showed his distrust of his brother, while the parties in the Netherlands united to call in a new champion by



HENRY III OF FRANCE

The dissimulation and cruelty that characterised Henry III (1551-89) show in this contemporary portrait. His treacherous murder of his formidable rival, Henry of Guise—see page 3478—led to his own assassination in the following year.

The Louvre, photo, Giraudon

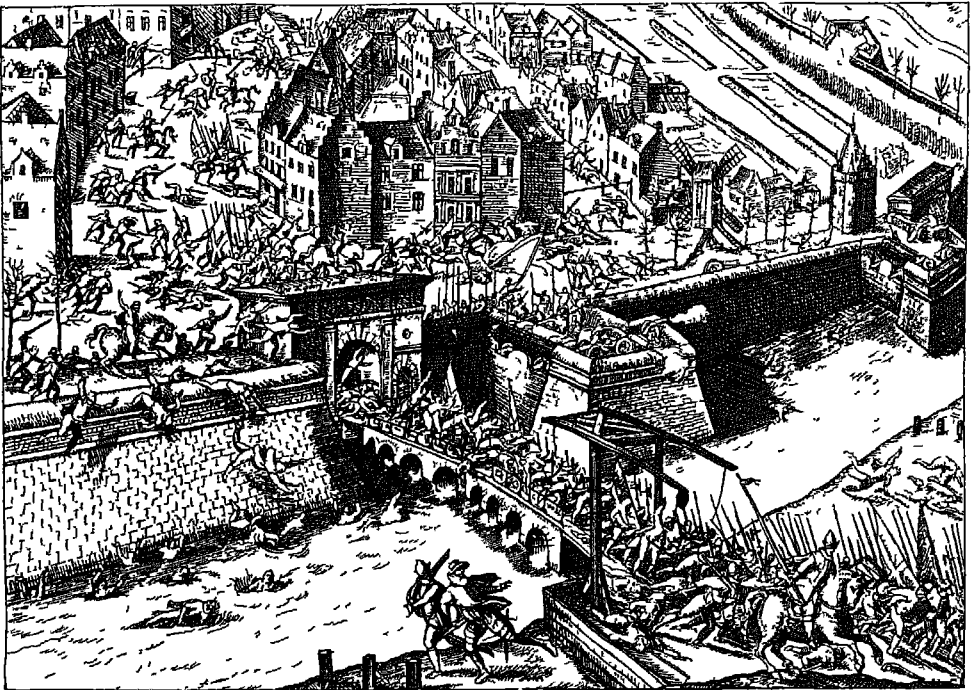
The Age of Philip II

offering the governorship to the Austrian archduke Matthias, who, in fact, proved a very poor reed to lean upon. Don John defeated him at Gemblours in 1578, but died before the year was out.

His successor was Alexander of Parma, the son of the former regent Margaret, a soldier of the highest ability and a skilled diplomatist, who had not yet excited his uncle Philip's jealousy and at once set himself, with great success, to conciliate the south and foster the growing rupture with the north, while it seemed likely that Francis of Anjou would take the place vacated by Matthias. France had found temporary pacification in the Bergerac compromise, and a dominating position in the Netherlands was extremely desirable for her though extremely embarrassing for Elizabeth. Parma's diplomacy, however, brought about the separation of the south from the north where a new Union of Utrecht drew the Protestant

provinces into a combination more solid than that of Ghent (1579), while the Catholic south attached itself to Parma. Two more years passed, however, before the Union definitely repudiated the sovereignty of the king of Spain.

The thing was Philip's own doing. Under the mistaken impression that he could frighten William personally into submission, he set a price on his head. William responded by publishing a bitter indictment of Philip and entering on closer relations with Anjou, not because he trusted that degenerate prince or his brother's and mother's government in France, but rather in the hope of forcing the hand of the queen of England, whose subjects would have hailed her active intervention with joy. While Parma moved forward, not with violence but with a quiet, grinding persistence, a bargain was struck with Anjou which would have made him little more than a figure-head



EYE WITNESS'S IMPRESSION OF 'THE SPANISH FURY'

In June 1576 mutiny broke out among the Spanish and Walloon troops in the Netherlands to whom long arrears of pay were due. The mutineers established themselves at Alost in Brabant, but in November they marched on Antwerp and for three days—November 3 to 5—sacked the town, massacring 6,000 citizens, burning down 800 houses and doing damage estimated at over £2 000,000. This hideous atrocity, known as the Spanish Fury, is thus illustrated in a contemporary engraving

Engraving by Frans Hogenberg, from Michael Aitzinger, 'De Leone Belgico'



DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

Don John of Austria (1545-78) was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands in 1576. Though politically out-manoeuvred by William of Orange, he defeated the patriot army, but the jealousy of Philip II robbed his work of fruition.

Prado Museum, Madrid

Unfortunately, when he arrived he was not content to occupy that position, plunged in intrigues, attempted in 1583 a coup d'état by means of his French troops, failed ignominiously, and vanished to die ignominiously in the following year.

In 1584 also William 'the Silent' was assassinated—a method of dealing with political obstacles which Philip habitually practised more or less indirectly—but his work was done. Nothing now would shake the stubborn resolve of the northern Union never to yield to Spanish domination, cost what it might. The Dutch fought on, and before long found in William's young son Maurice a leader who added military genius to his father's indomitability.

THE disgrace of Anjou ended the French connexion. His death produced a new political situation; for it left Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, heir presumptive to the French throne, which, according to the Catholic doctrine, no heretic could legitimately occupy. Next to him was his uncle Charles, a cardinal. The house of Guise descended, though not in unbroken

male line, from the first Valois kings and hoped, with Philip's alliance, to secure the ultimate succession for itself. In 1585 the Guises formed the Catholic League to exclude Henry of Navarre and all heretics from the succession.

Much as Henry III detested Henry of Navarre, he detested Henry of Guise hardly less. But he submitted to the dictation of the League (which had incidentally offered Navarre and Béarn, not even under French sovereignty, to Philip as a bribe). The three Henrys took the field with three independently acting armies; a miscellaneous foreign force under the German Count Dohna entered France to support the Huguenots. The king himself went to meet the Germans, whom he persuaded to retire, while his main army was being defeated by Navarre at Coutras; Guise arrived in time to attack the withdrawing Germans and return to Paris as a victor where the king had been afraid to fight, and Henry had to flee in haste from his own capital. Finding himself a mere puppet in Guise's hands, he tried to relieve himself from his immediate difficulties by having the duke assassinated (December, 1588). A fortnight later Catherine de' Medici died.

Mayenne, the murdered duke's brother, now headed the League, in open war against Henry III, who, deserted by the Catholics, came to terms with Navarre. Together they were marching on Paris, when a fanatical monk avenged Henry of Guise by stabbing Henry III. Save for the disqualification of heresy and the fact that more than half his subjects refused to recognize him, Navarre was indisputably Henry IV, king of France, engaged in a desperate struggle for his crown with a League which chose to recognize his elderly uncle Charles, the cardinal of Bourbon, as the legitimate king, though he was actually in his nephew's hands (August, 1589).

Had William the Silent fallen at an earlier stage of the contest, the blow might well have been fatal to the cause of which he had made himself the champion. Even as matters stood, it was some time before the United Provinces found efficient leadership. They actually tried the offer

The Age of Philip II

of their sovereignty to Henry III before the war of the three Henrys had fully developed; and when Henry after hesitation declined, they turned to England.

Elizabeth had always steered her perilous course with a determination never to commit herself so deeply to any one or any thing that she could not find an excuse for evasion, and to postpone to the last possible moment the conflict with Philip which was bound to come sooner or later. She did not mean that Philip should conquer the Netherlands; she did not mean that France should be their liberator and reap the fruits of their liberation; and she did not mean to spend a

penny more than was absolutely necessary, or before it was so. Philip, on the other hand, was no less convinced that time was on his side. When he had crushed the Netherlands, it would be Elizabeth's turn, and when the time came he had no doubt of the result; but meanwhile each desired to inflict as much damage as possible on the other, and both allowed their subjects the utmost latitude in unofficial breaches of the peace, of which the English mariners in particular took full advantage.

Elizabeth then declined for herself the sovereignty offered by the United Provinces, but she promised help, on terms. Drake sailed to Vigo a few hours before the



DESTRUCTION OF THE TURKISH FLEET AT THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO

Alarmed by the Turks' conquest of Cyprus in 1571 Spain and Venice entered into alliance to combat the Ottoman menace to the Mediterranean and gave the command of the combined fleet to Don John of Austria. With 208 galleys, six galleasses and many smaller vessels he encountered the much larger Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 1, 1571, and completely annihilated it, the Turkish losses being 190 galleys captured, 30,000 men killed and 10,000 prisoners. The allies lost 7,500 killed.

Painting (part) by Vicentino, Ducal Palace, Venice; photo, Anderson

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ALEXANDER, DUKE OF PARMA

Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1545-92) succeeded Don John of Austria as governor-general of the Netherlands in 1578. Although success attended his arms and his diplomacy he received small encouragement from Philip
Engraving by J. Wierix, 1591

fully expected arrival of counter-orders from the queen, and thence to Cartagena in the West Indies, from which he returned with vast booty; and Leicester was sent to the Low Countries with an army which was kept as inactive as possible. Parma mastered the central provinces and captured Antwerp after a memorable siege, but got little profit thereby because the Union kept its hold of Flushing, which, commanding the entry of the Scheldt, paralysed Antwerp, whose commerce passed very largely to Amsterdam. Elizabeth undoubtedly entered on secret negotiations with Parma which she never intended to have any material result; her conduct and Leicester's excited intense distrust and suspicion; and the expedition was in part withdrawn in 1587.

But Philip had already resolved on the step which was to prove his ruin. Instead of waiting till he had crushed the Netherlands he would put an end to Elizabeth at once, and for that purpose a great fleet of convoys was in active preparation at Cadiz at the close of 1586. The last plot on behalf of the captive Queen Mary, and

Spanish complicity therein, had just been exposed, and England was clamouring for her execution. With the assent of Elizabeth—which she tried to repudiate when it was too late—Mary was beheaded in February, 1587, and in April Drake sailed into Cadiz and destroyed all the shipping in the harbour.

The great Armada was postponed for a year by this 'singeing of the king of Spain's beard.' It sailed in 1588, and was annihilated by superior seamanship and superior gunnery, and finally by the winds, the waves and the rocks. Spain might and did build fleets to retrieve the disaster, but her effective power on the seas was gone for ever, and the English and Dutch entered upon the inheritance. That story, however, is told in Chapter 137. The immediate effect was the closure of the sea-route between Spain and the Netherlands, and the serious hampering of Parma's activities, at a time when Philip had become almost as mistrustful of him as he had previously been of Don John.

Parma's loyalty was in fact above



WILLIAM THE SILENT

From 1572 until his assassination, William, Prince of Orange (1533-84), was leader of the revolt in the Netherlands against the tyranny of Alva. This portrait of him in late life was painted by J. Van Mierevelt.

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam; photo, Mansell

The Age of Philip II

reproach, and he was the best of living generals and a hardly less expert diplomatist; but though he remained in supreme command till his death in 1592, he was almost paralysed by Philip's interference with his plans and by the suspicions which always kept him short of supplies. And when Parma was gone, the Union armies were under the command of a military genius, young Maurice of Nassau, William's second son, who had already had time to prove that he was a match even for Parma.

The withdrawal of Leicester had not involved the complete retirement of the English, and the Dutch had helped in the destruction of the Armada by their blockade of the ports that were in Parma's hands; but there was more of jealousy



HENRY DUKE OF GUISE

The militant champion of Catholicism in France, Henry, third duke of Guise (1550-88), captured the people by his charm of manner and his spectacular valour. This portrait by François Clouet shows him in the prime of manhood.

Palais Bourbon; from Jäger 'Weltgeschichte'



MEMORIAL OF A POLITICAL CRIME

This medal commemorates the murder of William the Silent, July 10, 1584. It shows on the obverse Balthazar Gerard, instigated by Philip II, firing at William, and on the reverse the Spanish wolf flying at the Dutch shepherd. The legend promises vengeance for the atrocious crime and preaches mistrust of Spain.

British Museum

than of active co-operation between the two, and much disunion between the Provinces themselves. Parma advanced continuously, while his politic lenience had the best effect. But the war between Henry IV and the League distracted Philip towards France.

In March, 1590, Henry, at the risk of total annihilation, fought and won the battle of Ivry. The victorious Huguenots marched on Paris, when Parma received peremptory orders to effect a diversion from the Netherlands. Paris was on the point of being actually starved out when Parma's approach compelled Henry to raise the siege. Parma having accomplished his purpose withdrew; but his absence from the Netherlands gave Maurice the chance of proving his own skill and the merits of the forces he had been reorganizing. He recaptured one after another of the towns held by the Spaniards, and when Parma returned and again took the field against him in person, the young general out-maneuvred his elder, who had to retire (1591).

Meanwhile, Henry, though he had been baulked at Paris, was making steady progress. Again by the king's order Parma had to leave the Net--

Rouen from Henry. ^A in the immediate ob but this time he was unfit to cope with almost complete

Spaniards from the last towns they still held in the north. Before the year was out, Parma was dead.

So long as Henry was a professed heretic, the Catholics in France would not acknowledge him; but his uncle the cardinal was dead. There was no one else left in the male line of succession. The Huguenots could hardly hope to conquer the Catholics, and the Catholics could not expect to conquer the Huguenots without aid from Spain. If at this juncture Philip had intervened in support of the Guise succession Henry's chances would probably have been small. But Philip proposed his own daughter (whom he married to his nephew the Austrian archduke Ernest), her mother having been a sister of Henry III. A Spanish queen and



ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE

Alarmed at the immense popularity of the duke of Guise and his aspirations to secure the crown, Henry III arranged for his assassination, and on December 25, 1588, the duke was stabbed at a meeting of the royal council, in presence of the king, who actually spurned the corpse with his own foot.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Hachette

a German king, who would be the creatures of the king of Spain, were more than any but the most fanatical Catholics could accept.

Henry himself was a political Huguenot with no particular religious convictions, but a very clear secular conviction that in toleration of both the creeds lay the only hope of restoring France. Also, the crown of France was 'worth a mass.' If he could not give toleration as a Huguenot, he would give it as a Catholic, and as the champion of France against foreign intervention. In 1593 he announced his conversion to the Catholic faith.

Though the extreme section of the League, led by Mayenne, still held out, while the archduke Ernest betook himself as governor to the Netherlands, where his arrival proved of no advantage to Philip, the moderate Catholics came over, some at once, others more slowly, the young duke of Guise being among them. The Leaguers obviously depended on continued unofficial support from Philip. In 1595 Henry, who had now been crowned, declared war on Spain. The League, in alliance with Philip, was exposed as an anti-national conspiracy. There was still hard fighting to be done, however, and in this Henry was less successful than in the diplomacy which gained over Pope



A GREAT QUEEN'S FAVOURITE

Although an inefficient statesman and indifferent soldier, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (1532-88), was long the most powerful man in England as the favourite of Elizabeth. This portrait, by an unknown artist, shows him in his prime.

National Portrait Gallery, London

The Age of Philip II

Clement VIII and one after another of the remaining League leaders—to their very great profit, and the lively annoyance of the Huguenots.

In 1597 the League had practically ceased to exist, and all but the last strongholds were captured. Philip agreed to a truce. Early in 1598 the last resistance was extinguished. In April Henry issued the Edict of Nantes which was the charter of the Huguenots, and in May the war between France and Spain was ended by the treaty of Vervins; in which, however, neither England nor the United Provinces which were still fighting for independence was included. Henry was free to set about the reorganization of France, with the Edict of Nantes as his starting-point.

Spanish Sea Power lost to England

PHILIP'S preoccupation with France had enabled Maurice, with the less difficulty, to establish practically the independence of the United Provinces which Philip still declined to acknowledge; but the continuation of the war in that quarter belongs to our next Chronicle. The Dutch and the English were both in nominal alliance with Henry, but the former were almost entirely engaged in the Netherlands, and the English in the maritime war which Elizabeth's government directed, not to the destruction of the Spanish power (which Elizabeth meant to cripple but still to preserve as a counterpoise to that of France), but mainly to the raiding of Spanish sea-borne commerce; greatly to the profit of English mariners who preyed upon Spanish treasure galleons and fleets, and had no desire for the ending of a war so conducted.

The Dutch were soon to share with England the ocean supremacy held by Portugal and Spain for a century and definitely lost by them when Philip's Armada suffered its annihilating defeat. Portugal, too small a country to maintain her magnificent effort, had disappeared as a separate power when the death of her childless king Sebastian on a chimerical crusade in Morocco, and of his aged uncle two years later, enabled Philip to claim the succession for himself (through his mother) and secure the crown in spite of the better

title of his cousins and subjects of the house of Braganza.

Four months after the peace of Vervins Philip II died, still unconscious that instead of making Spain the dictator of Europe he had made her domination for ever impossible, and instead of extirpating heresy had created in the Netherlands the most obstinately Protestant state in Europe, intensified the Protestantism of



A TRAGIC QUEEN

This portrait of Mary Queen of Scots—now at Hardwicke Hall—was painted in 1578, when the queen was in captivity in Sheffield Castle. It was the tenth year of her captivity, and she was still only thirty-six.

Photo, Annan

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England, and established on the French throne the champion of toleration and the uncompromising foe of the Hapsburgs.

The Empire took no part for or against Philip or the forces of Protestantism, though Ferdinand, and after him his son Maximilian II, offered occasional remonstrances. Both Ferdinand and Maximilian (1564-76) were committed to the principle of toleration as adopted at the pacification of Passau (the right of each prince to control religion in his own territories), and Maximilian personally was suspected of Lutheran leanings. He succeeded his father in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, and also as emperor, while Styria went to his brother Charles. No further division was made on his death, when his eldest son Rudolf II succeeded him.

The Hapsburgs in this third generation became more definitely anti-Protestant; Rudolf made unsuccessful attempts to turn the tide, and his young cousin Ferdinand of Styria, under Jesuit influ-

ences, was zealous in the suppression of heresy in his own dominions. Lutheranism, however, and still more the Calvinism which had found no recognition in the pacification, spread in the north, where, in many sees in which vacancies occurred, and Protestantism was dominant, lay administrators were appointed who claimed the right to discharge the political functions of the bishop in a Protestant sense; while between Lutherans and Calvinists there was no love lost, the former being at best half-hearted in backing up Calvinist claims; and the Catholics denounced the legality of the claims of both.

Events in Hungary, Poland and Russia

IN Hungary, of which a great part had become a Turkish province, while the Hapsburgs were compelled to pay tribute for the portion in which they exercised sovereignty, Transylvania asserted its independence in 1571 under Stephen

Bathori, who, five years later, was elected king of Poland, the old line of Jagellon being exhausted. On Stephen's death in 1586 that crown was given to Sigismund, the crown prince of Sweden, grandson of Gustavus Vasa, who had died in 1560. The king now reigning in Sweden was his second son John III, who had become an ardent Catholic, and was endeavouring unsuccessfully to restore that religion. Sigismund, an equally ardent Catholic, himself became king in 1592, but after a visit to Sweden returned to Poland, leaving the charge of the kingdom to his Protestant uncle Charles.

For Poland was now in collision with the rising power of Russia. Ivan IV the Terrible, grandson of Ivan III the creator of the Muscovite monarchy, succeeded his father Vasili at a very early age in 1533. He first assumed the title of tsar. He estab-



A THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE—1588

This print—part of a contemporary broadsheet—shows Queen Elizabeth returning thanks in St. Paul's Cathedral, November 24, 1588, for the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the previous August. On the back of the print is a detailed statement of the number of ships, guns and personnel of the enemy fleets

British Museum

The Age of Philip II

lished a merciless despotism by methods which won him his name; he extended the power of Moscow as far as the Caspian. But Russia was so completely cut off from the western world that English sailors who found their adventurous way there in Queen Mary's reign by the White Sea and were well received by the tsar spoke of the 'discovery of Muscovy'; it became the established craving of the tsars from Ivan's time to force their way to the Baltic and to intercourse with the west by sea; and Poland blocked the way. Ivan died in 1584, but the era of Russian rivalry with Poland had begun. (See further in Chap. 149.)

The Ottoman power, growing ever stronger and more menacing to Europe in spite of the tremendous naval defeat at Lepanto in 1571, was nevertheless not expanding in Asia. As early as the days of Bajazet II the unenterprising, the Shiah Ismail el-Safi, founder of the Safid or 'Sofy' dynasty, had established an unorthodox principality in Persia where the Shiah doctrine always prevailed. He had pushed into Irak, but had been heavily defeated and driven back by Selim II in 1515, as a preliminary to the conquest of Syria and Egypt. Suleiman's European ambitions gave him no time for the conquest of Persia and the Safid power was left to grow gradually, till under Shah Abbas (1586-1629) the 'Persian Sofy' and his fabulous wealth began to dazzle western imaginations in rivalry with the Great Mogul himself.

FOR those were the days of the greatest of all the Moguls. Akbar's father Humayun had returned from his wanderings and recaptured Delhi as the heir of Babar (see page 3309), only to meet his death from an accidental fall while his thirteen-year old son was away in the



DEATH MASK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603, and in accordance with precedent a death mask was made from her face in wax. From this the lead reproduction shown above was made by the cure perdue process and used, it is believed, as the model for the recumbent marble effigy on her tomb in Westminster Abbey.

Courtesy of Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.

Punjab with Bairam dealing with one of the three other claimants to the Empire of Hindustan. Bairam proclaimed Akbar; another claimant marched on Delhi from Gwalior, and took it, and had to be crushed in another battle at Panipat (1556). Bairam established Akbar's authority from Peshawar to Allahabad before his own death in 1561, and in 1562 Akbar's real personal reign began.

He was a deliberately aggressive and successful conqueror who attacked and annexed every independent principality he could reach. Gondwana, Malwa and Rajputana were brought under his direct rule or his sovereignty by 1569; in 1573 he gained access to the sea by the conquest of Gujarat. Bengal was annexed in 1576. After his capture of Kabul in 1581, his supremacy and his personal ascendancy north of the Nerbada were never

Chronicle XXIV. 1535-1598



PHILIP II AS SEPTUAGENARIAN

This portrait depicts Philip II of Spain at the age of 71. It was painted by Sir Antonio Moro shortly before the king's death, September 13, 1598, and is preserved in the library of the Escorial, where his death occurred.

Photo, Mansell

challenged without immediate disaster to the challenger; but he did not succeed in extending effective conquest into the Deccan, and his last years were troubled by the ill-doings of his sons.

Akbar's conquests would have made him a man of mark if he had had no other title to fame. His organization and administration of the vast empire he subjugated would have secured his place among the greatest of Oriental rulers, though his father's rival Sher Shah was the real originator of some of his most effective measures, while others owed as much or more to the ministers of his choice than to himself. His liberality in matters of religion was in strong contrast with the uncompromising intolerance prevalent in Europe, and was perhaps born of his own extreme unorthodoxy which, by Mahomedans, is scarcely accounted to him for righteousness. He was eager in his encouragement of learning, admitted foreigners freely, and suffered them in his

presence to hold high debate with each other and with the pundits of his own people. But of all his many claims to greatness the highest is the fact that he was the first to break with the old tradition of Moslem domination, to treat the Hindu and Moslem populations as though all the peoples of his empire were one—to dream, it might almost be said, of creating an Indian nationality; Rajput princes and Brahman advisers being among the most trusted of his generals and counsellors.

In China the Ming dynasty was nearing its end, but the onslaught under which it perished did not come till the next century. At the moment, however, where this Chronicle closes, the power which seemed to threaten it was not that of the Manchus who afterwards overthrew it, but that of Japan. For the long feudal anarchy under the Ashikaga shoguns was brought to an end, a masterful central government was set up, and it appeared that, under a man of genius, the island power was embarking on a career of expansion.



FIRST TSAR OF RUSSIA

Ivan IV (1530-84), known for his tyranny and cruelty as 'The Terrible,' had himself crowned as tsar of All Russia in 1547—being the first to assume that title. This is an authentic portrait.

Contemporary woodcut at Vienna

The Age of Philip II

When Bairam was establishing Akbar on the throne of Delhi, Nobunaga, the baron of Owari, was at war with his neighbour Tokugawa Iyeyasu; and the skill of his defence so impressed the latter that the two became allies instead of rivals, gradually dominated their neighbours, and in 1573 overturned the feeble Shogunate. That office had for centuries been the recognized monopoly of the Minamoto clan. It fell into abeyance for a few years. Nobunaga, ruling under another title, continued to reduce obstinate nobles to submission, largely through the services of his ever-loyal henchman Hideyoshi, who had risen to be a particularly distinguished general. Nobunaga in 1582 died by his own hand when a treacherous attack was made upon him; but Hideyoshi was prompt to smite the traitor, became the practical head of his dead master's faction, and ruled Japan gloriously from 1584 till his death in 1598—an amazing feat in itself for a man of very humble birth in a land of feudal aristocrats.

Theoretically there was no revolution; Hideyoshi was the minister of the mikado, as the shoguns had been before him and were to be after him. But he compelled the nobles to submit to the central authority, though it was not till 1590 that



GREATEST MOGUL EMPEROR

Akbar the Great (1542-1605) was the real builder of the splendid and prosperous Mogul Empire. This pencil sketch was drawn—almost certainly from life—by one of the painters attached to the court of the Grand Moguls.

From Laurence Binyon, 'Court Painters of the Grand Moguls'

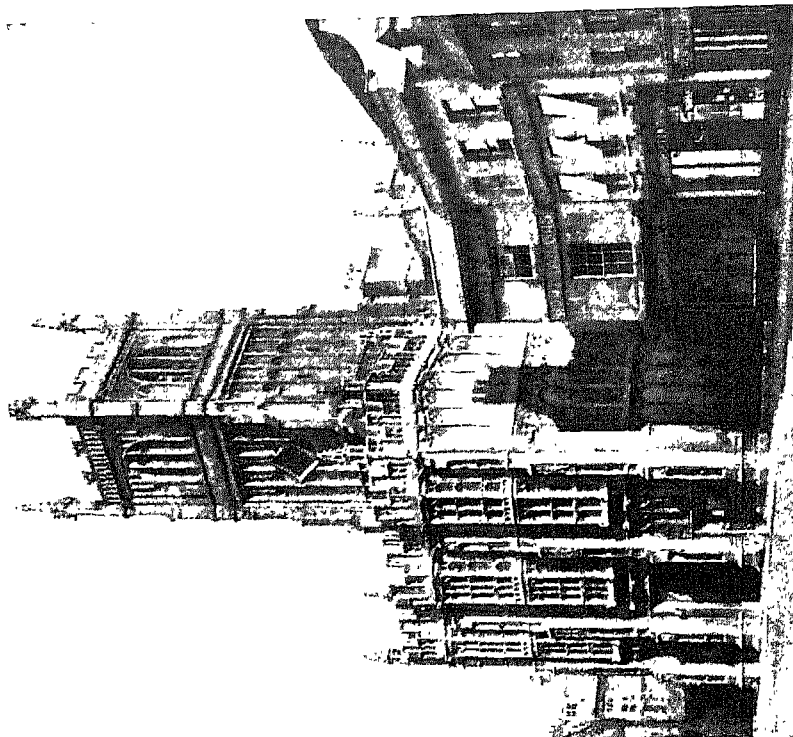
his sway was undisputed throughout Hondo (Honshu) and Kioshiu, with Iyeyasu as practically his viceroy in the north.

Unfortunately for Christianity, which the Jesuits had been spreading, he grasped the idea that the missionaries were only the heralds of attempted political domination, expelled them from the country, and closed its gates to them. The last years of his life were spent in conquering Korea from the Chinese, with the Chinese empire itself as his next objective; and with every prospect of success, till in 1598 death cut him off at the age of sixty-two. The Japanese government abandoned the attempt which without Hideyoshi's genius to direct it was impossible, and withdrew from Korea. But he left behind him a restored Japan,



SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

Notwithstanding his peasant origin Hideyoshi (1538-98) rose by his great military capacity to supreme power in Japan. To his wise statesmanship and good government as regent from 1584 to 1598, after the death of his colleague Nobunaga, the country's restoration to prosperity was due.



BEAUTIFUL SURVIVALS RECALLING THE WEALTH OF ENGLISH WOOL AND CLOTH MERCHANTS IN TUDOR DAYS

England's wool trade made great strides under the Tudors, but it began to pass out of the hands of the Staplers, who exported raw wool, into those of the Merchant Adventurers, who exported finished cloth. The hall of the Merchant Adventurers Guild in York (chartered 1357) is a fine timbered building of the fifteenth century. The guilds of Gloucester, one of the most important wool markets in England, used to meet in the upper rooms of the south porch of the parish church (right), built in 1500—a date when actually the prosperity of these old centres was passing to the 'new towns.'

Courtesy of Mand Sellers, Ltd.D. (left) and photo, W. F. Taylor

SOCIAL LIFE IN TUDOR ENGLAND

Vital Changes in the Structure and Outlook of Society
between the reigns of Henry VII and Elizabeth

By A. D. INNES

Assistant Editor of the Universal History of the World ; Author of England
under the Tudors, etc.

THE Tudor period is the most exactly marked compartment in the history of England ; it began with the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485 and ended with the accession of James Stuart in 1603. It comprised five reigns, each with definite characteristics ; politically, it was the period when able rulers raised the power of the crown to its highest, and when England's seamen won her place as the leading maritime nation ; it was the period of the Reformation, and, towards its close, of an unprecedented intellectual expansion ; and it witnessed something like an economic revolution. These are the features which collectively give it a glamour such as belongs to no other. To most of us 'the Tudors' means Drake and Shakespeare and Good Queen Bess, with possibly a dash of Bluff King Hal ; and most Englishmen, if asked when they would have chosen to live, would select the Tudor period without hesitation.

Should we have been pleased with our choice ? It would be hard at least to find a time when adventurous youth had bigger chances of doing big things, if it chose to take big risks and hard knocks, than the days of which we read in Hakluyt's *Voyages* and Purchas his *Pilgrims*, and when Will Shakespeare hobnobbed with Ben Jonson at the Mermaid—but it may be that we should not all have been quite so adventurously disposed as we like to imagine. And, after all, those great days belong to the last quarter of our period ; there is a seamy side to the story of the mariners and the dramatists, and Tudor society even in the great days did not consist wholly of sea-dogs, poets and gorgeously arrayed courtiers.

When Henry Tudor was hailed King of England on Bosworth Field where the last Plantagenet lay slain, the Wars of the Roses ended and the doom of the old baronial system was sealed. For thirty years past, Yorkist and Lancastrian lords had been fighting for the crown up and down the country. Edward IV had established himself as undisputed king for the last ten years of his life ; but he had not established his dynasty. Henry VII, to establish his own dynasty, had to complete by other methods the work which the wars had almost accomplished, of reducing the power of the great barons that baronial insurrections should for the future be doomed to failure. In the main, he effected his purpose by depriving them of the armed retainers whom they had been wont to bring into the field, impoverishing them by fines which filled the royal treasury, and reserving the manufacture and use of cannon as a royal monopoly. Forfeited estates were distributed among new families. If Percys and Nevilles, Stanleys and Veres survived, none of the leading men of the sixteenth century were of the great old families ; the Howards and Greys were only just ennobled ; the Seymours, Boleyns, Dudleys, Cecils were ennobled by the Tudors. Queen Anne Boleyn's grandfather was a London merchant. The most powerful ministers employed by Tudor monarchs were the sons of an Ipswich grazier and of a Putney blacksmith. The first Tudor king himself was the grandson of a Welsh knight. The old hereditary values, so to speak, had gone to pieces.

If the effect of the wars was such a breaking up of the old military aristocracy



HENRY VIII'S MASTERFUL MINISTER

A painting after Holbein shows us Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540), son of a Putney blacksmith, and therein typical of the ministers employed by the Tudors, who rose to be earl of Essex and chancellor under Henry VIII.

National Portrait Gallery, London

that, by a strict application of business methods, Henry VII was able to eliminate it, the actual warfare had interfered much less with the general national progress than might have been expected. The population at large had gone about its business without taking any very lively interest in the fight for the crown, or suffering greatly at the hands of the combatants except on the main marching routes. Commerce had advanced; and the shrewd Henry VII made it his business to foster commerce. It paid him much better to have a prosperous and wealthy commercial community reasonably ready to tax itself than one at once crippled and rendered hostile to himself by royal exactions. In the reign of his son, the prosperity of the commercial community enabled many of its members to buy their way into the ranks of the landed gentry, when the dissolution of the monasteries threw the extensive monastic estates into the market, a development which had its reaction upon politics, though that is not the point which directly concerns us here.

The country, in fact, had been growing wealthy during the fifteenth century in

spite of the wars foreign or civil, primarily because those wars did not interfere materially with the development of her commerce. Her mercantile associations had to a great extent broken through the barriers which restricted her foreign markets. Until that stage was reached, she had profited from the encouragement given by successive governments to the German traders of the Hansa who were attracted to England by the privileges granted to them. Now that they were in actual competition with the Hansa, those privileges were a barrier when the Hansa monopoly was broken down under the Tudor regime, commerce developed still more rapidly and the wealth in the country increased. But it was the wealth of the traders.

The prosperity of the fifteenth century is demonstrated by the multiplying of educational, charitable and ecclesiastical endowments; in the next century the prosperous men of business found another and a more selfish outlet for expenditure in the purchase of estates. In both centuries the wealth tended to accumulate in the hands of the few—capitalism came into being; money bred money, because the more a man had the more he could expend profitably. The purchase of land was a profitable investment, socially because the ownership of land gave a social status, economically because the new men put every available acre under sheep, which cost little to keep, while there was an immense market for the resultant wool.

In fact, a double economic revolution was in progress, a sort of foreshadowing of the much bigger revolution of the late eighteenth century. On the one hand manufacture was on the increase, on the other tillage was being turned into pasture. The population was growing, but fewer hands were needed on the land and manufacture was slow in absorbing the surplus. The problem of the unemployed had come into being; because there was not enough work to go round, labour was cheap—in other words, wages were low in proportion to the cost of living; trade was passing from the old towns where it was strictly regulated to the new towns where com-

petition was free, and migration from the old to the new was no easy matter, so that in the one there was lack of employment and in the other the employer could make his own terms. For the labourer those were not halcyon days, though landlords and burgesses might flourish.

What actually, at the beginning of the Tudor period, was the position in the rural districts? The old villeinage or serfdom had disappeared during the last hundred years. In the second half of the fourteenth century so much of the rural population had been cut off by the Black Death (see Chap. 122) that much tillage went out of cultivation. The waste land was put under sheep by the landowners. As the population grew again, serfs and landlords both realized—as they had been doing before the Black Death—that to receive rent for land and pay wages for labour was better than the old system of labouring for nothing on the lord's land and paying nothing for the land which was held from him in villeinage.



RENT DISPLACES LABOUR SERVICES

Following the Black Death the replacement of villeinage by tenancy, to which it had given a setback, recommenced. This tenant paying rent is the frontispiece to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's *Boke of Surveying* (Thomas Pynson, 1523)

February.



SHEEP FARMING UNDER THE TUDORS

An immense increase in pasture at the expense of tillage was the chief social change in England between the Black Death and the age of the Tudors. The illustration for the month of February in the first edition of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* suggests the importance attained by sheep farming in 1579.

British Museum

The peasant paid for the land he held, and the lord hired the labour he wanted on his own demesne. The peasant became a free tenant who could not be ejected so long as he paid a rent fixed in perpetuity; if he held no land he became a labourer exchanging his labour for wages.

But meanwhile the landlords discovered that the waste land they had been putting under sheep was paying them better than the tilled land for which they got only a very small rent, or the demesne land for the tilling of which they had to pay many more hands than on pasture land. The population grew till the supply of agricultural labour became greater than the demand for it. The landlords were not inclined to reconvert their pasture into tillage; on the contrary, they set about getting into their own hands what was under the plough, in order to convert it into still more pasture land, giving less and less employment to distribute among an increasing number of labourers.

Long before the reign of Henry VII was ended, the moralists were denouncing the landlords who for the sake of filthy lucre were turning men off the soil and putting sheep on it instead. Such heartless greed of gain was bad enough in mere laymen; in churchmen it was intolerable, yet the monasteries were no better than the lay landlords. Hear Sir Thomas More, scholar, humanist and lawyer, whose fidelity to

the old faith afterwards cost him his head in the days of Bluff King Hal:

Your sheep do now consume, destroy and devour whole fields, houses and cities for look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool—these noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, *not contenting themselves* with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much noying the weal-public, leave no ground for tillage; they enclose all into pastures, they throw down houses, they pluck down towns.

Therefore it is, that one covetous and unsatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge; the husbandmen be thrust out of their own.

No doubt More exaggerated the extent to which this process of enclosure was clearing the countryside of homesteads, especially in the passage following the above quotation. But matters were so bad that an inquiry was ordered by Wolsey.



LABOURERS OF THE 16th CENTURY

Alexander Barclay was a literary divine made famous by his work, *The Ship of Fools* (i.e. *Ship of Fools*). He published his *Eclogues* in 1509, and a cut in the 'Fifte Eglog' shows two typical English agricultural labourers

and laws were issued to check the land-grabbing which was going on under the colour of law; but a little ingenuity could generally find means of evading the new legislation. The broad fact remained that land, once turned into sheep runs, did not revert to tillage, and that a great many landowners, 'holy men no doubt' as well as money-grubbing laymen, turned all the tillage they could get into their hands into more sheep runs. But if we may judge by the demonstrations against or for monastic landlords between 1370 and 1550, the monasteries in the north and west country were in general easy-going and popular, while those in the south and east were as careful of their own financial interests as any laymen.

Matters, however, grew worse with the dissolution of the monasteries. Their land was largely bought up by the new rich, who had made their money out of commerce and meant to make more out of their land. The old landlords at least had ties of some sort with the families among whom they and their ancestors had lived perhaps for centuries. The new men had no such ties; they had bought their properties and their tenants as a matter of business in which there was no room for sentimental considerations. Even when they broke the law by their methods, there was little enough chance of legal redress, since the only courts to which their victims could appeal consisted of other landlords whose sympathies were all on their own side. In the reign of Edward VI the Protector Somerset set up an arbitrary Court of Requests (that is, of appeals), which had popular sympathies, but only wrought his own downfall thereby, because he united the landed and moneyed interests in support of his rival Warwick. The peasantry rose in the eastern counties under Ket; another agrarian revolt in the west country took the colour of a religious rising, because it demanded the restoration of the good old monastic landlords. Both risings were stamped out with severity, but not before they had reached alarming proportions.

Those risings were the culmination of the agrarian unrest which had been growing

in acuteness for half a century. During the whole of that time the government had been making spasmodic attempts to deal with the new problem of unemployment, partly by prohibition of enclosures, which always proved a dead letter, partly by trying to drive the unemployed into work when the work was not there. Poor relief by the state or by state action was unknown. In the past it had been left to private charity, the monasteries, and the craft guilds which gave relief to their own members. In the past, in a general sense, there had been work to be done for those who chose to do it; the proper objects of charity were the physically unfit. In the new conditions of unemployment it was difficult to distinguish between those who were unemployed by their own choice and those who were willing for work but could find none that would keep body and soul together. The problem is familiar enough in the twentieth century; in the sixteenth it was a new one.

But the sixteenth century was manufacturing unemployment by throwing the agricultural labourer out of work.

The rural districts were infested with vagabonds. **Great growth of unemployment** professedly in search of work. The authorities were inclined to disbelieve that profession, and to treat it merely as a cloak for robbery and violence, as it undoubtedly was in many instances. The country roads were unsafe, thieving and begging were punished with the utmost rigour of the law, with the result—as More pointed out—that the thief was encouraged to add murder to thieving, the penalty being the same for either or both offences, and the chance of escape greater, since the dead could tell no tales. In the reign of Henry VII the disbanded retainers of the great swelled the ranks of the sturdy beggars; in the reign of his son the destitute lost the relief which they had formerly received from the monasteries, and turned to robbery for a livelihood. Again the climax was reached in the reign of Edward VI when the craft guilds were swept away and the guildsmen to whom they had given relief were left destitute. The government met the crisis by constituting vagabondage itself a crime and making the



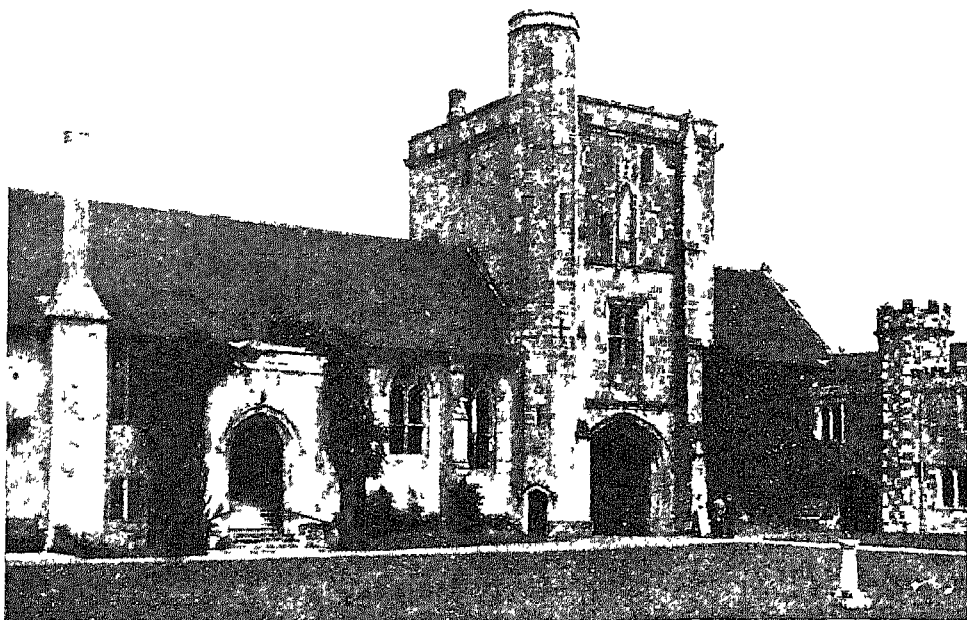
TRAMPS OF THE TUDOR AGE

Barclay's lines on 'folyshe beggers and theyr vanitees' in *The Shyp of Follys*, to which this is an illustration, show that he had little faith in the genuineness of the beggars produced by the unemployment of the Tudor age

vagabond actually the slave of anyone who offered him employment—a drastic but vain remedy which had to be repealed after two years.

Enclosure meant that a considerable number of small-holders were dispossessed by the legal trickery which was aided by the disposition of the courts to side with the landlords who enclosed the land thus acquired; to which they added a considerable proportion of the common lands in which all the villagers had common rights. The dispossessed tenants were added to the numbers of the labourers who were dependent on wages, while the amount of labour required was continuously reduced, as what had been tillage was converted into pasture. Hence the multiplication of the unemployed and the low wages of the labourers who could find work. There was real robbery of the poor by the rich; not by the law, but through the maladministration of the law.

But the main cause of the unemployment was that the landlords preferred to



WHERE A MEDIEVAL ALMSHOUSE STILL FULFILS ITS FOUNDER'S AIMS

The policy of the early Tudors both swelled the number of the destitute by such measures as the disbanding of retainers and curtailed the age old systems for their relief by suppressing the monasteries. The charitable work which these carried out may be realized from the free dole of bread and beer still distributed to all who ask at the Hospital of St Cross Winchester founded by Henry de Blois in 1136 reorganized by William of Wykeham (1367-1404) and rebuilt by Cardinal Beaufort (1405-1447)

Photo Herbert Felton

utilise their land for the growing of wool, which was profitable, in place of tillage, which was very much less so. The dislocation of labour caused want and misery only by the end of the sixteenth century it had adjusted itself, since the labour that had been displaced gradually found new occupation, and the state evolved a method of poor relief more or less adequate to temporary and local dislocation—but that stage was only reached in the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The rural population formed the vast majority of the country, probably there were not a dozen towns whose population exceeded 10,000. If the labourers in the rural districts were in an ill plight, the bulk of the small-holders—big farms had not come into being—the descendants of the yeomen or the villeins of earlier days, were reasonably prosperous. Except where the law was evaded they had security of tenure, owed no man service, and made enough off the soil to live in comfort

according to the standards of the time. Trade, especially foreign trade, flourished, wool merchants and cloth merchants leading, while an increasing amount of the carrying trade was being captured by the English. Navigation laws required goods for the English market to be imported in English ships, but they were practically a dead letter because there were not yet enough English ships to carry the goods that were wanted. But even in the reign of Henry VII the monopoly of the Italians in the Mediterranean was being broken down, and by the middle of the century the privileges of the Hansa, which had been needed to make England a market for foreign goods, became a hindrance instead of an aid to English commerce. In the reign of Elizabeth they disappeared and the Hansards were being driven or had been driven out of the field by English competition. There was a highly remunerative market abroad for all the wool England could send, and English cloth competed with that of the Flemings.

Again, however, it was not the employed but the employers who reaped the profits, not the small craftsmen but the merchants and the big craftsmen. The time had come when a man setting up in business on his own account required capital. In the old days (see Chap 113), when a man had gone through a prolonged training as an apprentice and as a 'journeyman' in the service of a master (which meant not a master of servants but a master of his craft) he had qualified to set up independently, and all the capital he required was his skill and his tools. Now, he could no longer with any chance of success enter the field in competition with the man who had stocks of material to be worked up, stocks of goods ready for sale, and a staff of employees. He

remained a journeyman working for wages to the end of his days instead of one who was always looking forward

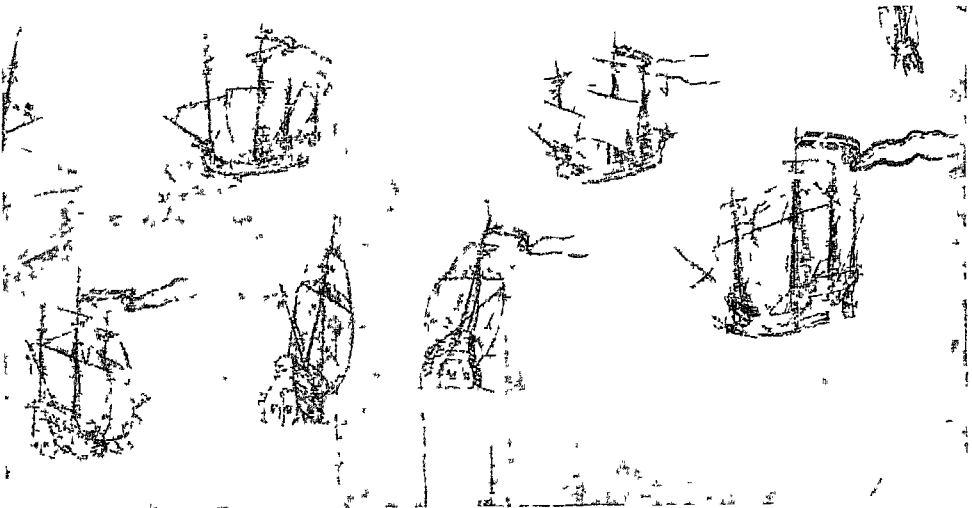


MERCHANT CASTING UP HIS ACCOUNTS

What distinguished the Tudor period was the pursuit of wealth from commerce instead of property for its own ends instead of for political power and by high as well as low. The merchant finds his way into art, as in this contemporary German engraving for the edition of Cicero's *De Officiis* published at Augsburg in 1531.

British Museum

to the time when, being a master of his trade, he would become the employer of journeymen. In the chartered boroughs,



ENGLISH CHANNEL GAY WITH THE SAILS OF ENGLAND'S MERCHANT FLEET

Henry VII though averse from expenditure in most forms, had not been entirely neglectful of the navy but with his son it was a passion. However, it was not until Elizabeth's reign that the navy really received intelligent organization and Henry VIII's most successful work was in connexion with the merchant fleet which his commercial enactments greatly benefited. The Tudor regime started England's maritime career as suggested in this scene of shipping outside Calais roadstead.

British Museum, Cotton MSS, Augustus A 11

which had hitherto practically monopolised trade, no one could trade until admitted a member of the guild of his craft, and the craft guilds had the normal human tendency towards restriction of their membership; which was in their power because the regulation of the trade within the borough was in the hands of its craft guilds.

But where there was no borough and no charter there were no restrictions. Hitherto it had not been worth while to attempt

starting in trade outside the boroughs; but now, with the development of industries, it became

**Unchartered towns
capture the trade**

practicable; very soon it proved profitable, and a great deal of trade was passing to the new towns, where trading was free, from the old towns, where it was regulated by self-limited associations. From many of the latter arose wailings over the falling off of trade; the artisans also suffered because the masters suffered. But the new towns went forward, the industries developed, and by slow degrees in the second half of the century they were providing employment for the surplus rural population. The dislocation of labour was slowly adjusting itself.

Statutory regulations applying everywhere took the place of the guild regulations which had applied locally, because regulation was felt to be necessary, and the guilds themselves perished of inanition when they were despoiled of their funds, in the reign of Edward VI, as the monasteries had been despoiled before them. The spoliation, however, in both cases was based not on economic grounds—not, that is, on the view that trade regulation by guilds was economically unsound—but on the ground that the funds were misused for the encouragement of superstition as understood by the zealots of Protestantism who were then in power. Probably what was felt more acutely at the time was that funds which had to a considerable extent been used for the purposes of modern friendly societies ceased to be available for those ends.

From one point of view, then, the notable feature of the sixteenth-century revolution in England is the development of the commercial spirit, the pursuit of wealth in the popular sense of that term,

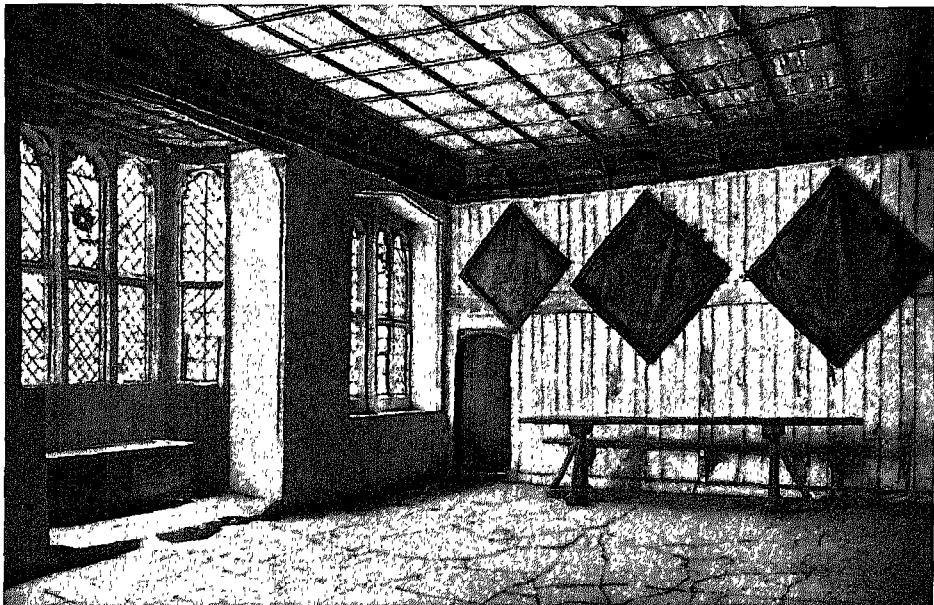
the prevailing desire to grow rich. In the Middle Ages men desired to accumulate not money but land, estates, because the possession of great estates carried power and influence. No trader ever found or made his way into the ranks of the nobility until the close of the fourteenth century; personal wealth hardly availed a man to procure influence outside his own borough; it did not convert him into a landowner. The landowner's wealth, the thing that gave him influence, was the number of his tenantry—until he learned that money enabled him to hire retainers, a discovery which encouraged him to turn his land to such account as increased his cash profits. The development of sheep rearing showed him the way, and he became possessed, as he had not been before, with a desire to make money.

The possession of money suggested openings for expenditure, and in the reign of Henry VIII the king and the court set an example of extravagance and ostentation which the new generation was eager to emulate. It was not in order to accumulate but in order to spend that the old landed gentry made a business of land-owning. But the new landowners who were brought in by the dissolution of the monasteries were men who had made their money by commerce, were imbued with the commercial spirit, and meant their profits not to be merely wasted on unprofitable extravagance but to breed more profits. The great development of chartered trading companies in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors was begotten of the commercial enterprise not only of the merchants but of the wealthy gentry, and of the nobles whose fathers or grandfathers had been no more than gentry, or perhaps a generation or two farther back no more than wealthy burgesses. The new nobility and gentry did not disdain, as the old nobility and gentry had disdained, to soil their fingers by making money. It was by making money that their own families had risen. And by making money the man whose family had not yet risen could hope to become the founder of a family himself. Thus the development of the commercial spirit was giving a new structure to society

**Ostentation
of the Court**



Rebuilt by Sir William Compton in the reign of Henry VIII, this fine old Tudor mansion is the manor house of Compton Wynnyates, a Warwickshire village, and is almost concealed in the hollow where it lies among the southern hills. Roundheads besieged and captured it during the Civil War.



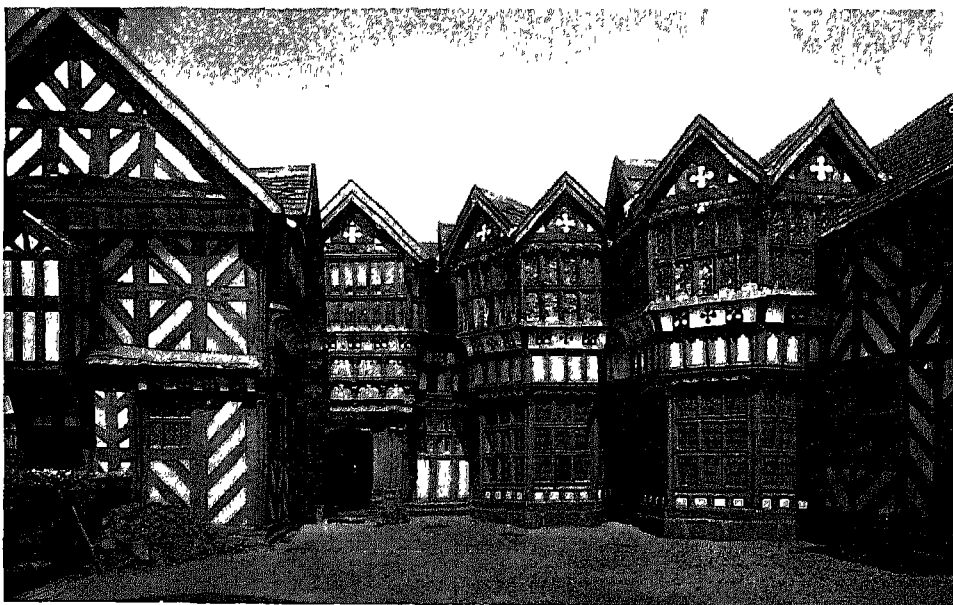
In the Rutlandshire village of Lyddington, close to the west end of the church, stands this Tudor building now known as the Bede House, of which the picture shows the hall, with its oaken walls and remarkably fine ceiling. Once a palace of the bishops of Lincoln, it is now used as almshouses.

BEAUTIFUL SPECIMENS OF TUDOR BUILDING IN WARWICK AND RUTLAND

Photos, Herbert Felton (top) and H. J. Smith



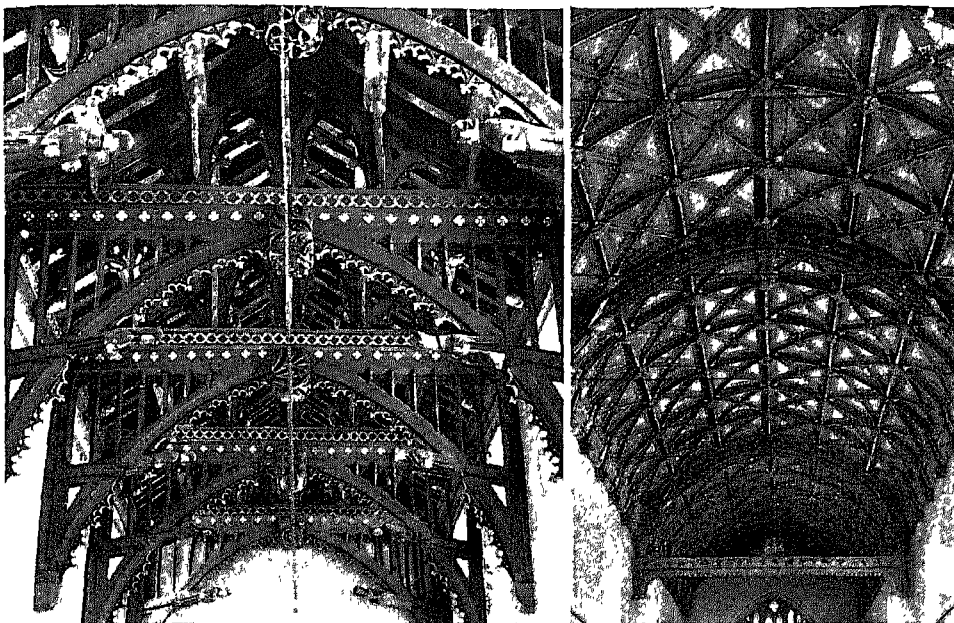
The famous mansion of the Brereton family, Handforth Hall, (left) is a magnificent example of Tudor domestic architecture. It was probably built about 1562. Right, a portion of the half-timbered structure of Huddington Court in Worcestershire, seen from the south-east.



Moreton Old Hall, near Congleton, Cheshire, is an irregular and picturesque moated building dating from the sixteenth century. Elaborately half-timbered, it is built on two sides of a court and has a fine oaken roof, while its diminutive leaded window panes well exemplify the glazier's art.

PICTURESQUE SPLENDOR OF HALF-TIMBERED TUDOR ARCHITECTURE

Photos, Herbert Fellon (top left), B. C. Clayton (right) and Frith (bottom)



The church at Bere Regis, in Dorset, is noted for its superb timber roof of the Perpendicular period (left) Right rich colourings and frettings adorn the roof of Cullompton Church, in Devon, dated 1548 This church possesses a famous rood beam, carved with foliage, which the photograph shows



The church at Llananno, in Radnorshire, is one of those Welsh churches celebrated for containing examples of the late Gothic carving belonging to the early Tudor period Its fine oaken rood screen and loft date from the late fifteenth century, but the twenty-five figures shown are modern

STRIKING EXAMPLES OF LATE GOTHIC ART IN CHURCH DECORATION

Photos, B. C. Clayton



An etching, dated 1821, shows Shrewsbury High Street as it then appeared (top), with its half-timbered Tudor houses. Since then many frontages have been replaced by modern shop windows. The house that belonged to Richard Owen about 1590 (bottom) has suffered in this way.

CHANGE WROUGHT BY A CENTURY IN SHREWSBURY'S TUDOR ARCHITECTURE

Top, from Owen and Blakeway, 'History of Shrewsbury'; bottom, photo, Will F. Taylor

which was no longer framed upon a military aristocracy.

This phase of the revolution was in no small degree due to the political action of the first Tudor. The suppression of the military aristocracy was necessary to the development of the central authority; incidentally it did away with the old social framework. But Henry VII himself was almost an incarnation of the commercial spirit, recognizing the development of power in the development of wealth, and the development of national wealth in the expansion of commerce, his business instinct made that not a minor but the major object of his foreign policy, and the effect was to provide the materials for the new social framework which was to take the place of the old.

The second phase of the social revolution was that wrought by the Reforma-

tion; not so much because so many of the officially taught and conventionally accepted dogmas of religion were gradually discarded officially and conventionally, as because the ecclesiastical organization which was and continued to be an essential part of the social structure was reorganized, first by becoming entirely national, secondly by the suppression of a whole section of it which had been enormously influential, the 'regular' clergy, the monasteries and the friars, and thirdly by the abolition of the rule of celibacy, which since the Norman conquest had been rigidly applied to the rest of the clergy, the 'seculars' as well as the monks. The allegiance of the churchmen to a foreign potentate, the pope, had indeed been a matter much less important socially than politically, but it was otherwise both with monasticism and with celibacy.



CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES

It is hard to take a fair view of the dissolution of the monasteries. On the one hand most of those in the south were corrupt, on the other, the methods adopted by Thomas Cromwell and his commissioners were undeniably brutal. This sepia drawing—from a survey of the lands of Colchester Abbey made about 1540—shows the judge leaving Colchester after the execution (1539) of Abbot Beche for refusal to surrender his house; ostensibly for high treason. According to Cromwell's instructions, he was sent down from the Tower to his native place 'for trial and execution.'

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2164



DEATH OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER FOR THEIR FAITH
in religion most of the English seem to have been indifferent until the Marian persecution hardened Protestant zeal. Latimer (see page 3501) and Nicholas Ridley (c. 1500-1555), bishop of London, were the most notable sufferers. This illustration in Foxe's Book of Martyrs shows their burning at Oxford.

Until their abolition in 1536-9, the monasteries were an essential part of the social system. Such education as there was, outside the wealthy families and the universities, was mainly in their hands, and, as we have seen, they were the principal source of poor relief. There can be no doubt that they were still popular landlords in the north and west, or that in the eastern counties at least they had long ceased to be so. Discount as we may the findings of the commissioners who were sent by Thomas Cromwell to procure evidence on which they might be condemned, it is impossible to doubt that a large proportion of the smaller houses had fallen from grace, and that in many of the larger morality and discipline were exceedingly lax. We may be equally confident that the majority were not the seething hotbeds of vice depicted by the commissioners, who accepted without sifting any evidence produced against them and listened to none in their defence.

But they fostered the superstitions which were denounced by so loyal a son of the Church as Thomas More, whose evidence is unimpeachable. The seculars, the parish parsons, had always been jealous of the influence they exercised, and acquired a higher status through their suppression. Actually the reasons for their suppression were that the king—and

others—wanted their wealth, and that when the king had quarrelled irretrievably with the pope they remained the otherwise insuperable obstacle to the complete establishment of the royal supremacy. But in fact they had ceased to be capable of discharging effectively the functions they had served in the past; their moral influence had broken down; they had become not the agents of intellectual advance but a main obstacle in its path, and in spite of the iniquities which accompanied the suppression, and the hardships immediately involved thereby for the poorest class and for their own dispersed members, morally and eco-

nomically their disappearance was probably for the general good.

The denunciations of the Protestant zealots were hurled not at the parish priests but at monks, friars and church dignitaries. It may be assumed that the parish parson depicted by Chaucer at the end of the fourteenth century continued to be typical of the best, but only the best, of the country clergy:

Christes lore and his apostles twelve
He taughte, and first he folowede it himselfe.

The average parsons had no particular difficulty in taking their theology from the superior authority; like most other people, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the secular clergy were generally disposed not to partisanship but to conformity, whether the lines of conformity were laid down by Gardners and Bonners and Tunstalls, or by Cranmers and Ridleys and Hoopers. They had taken the doctrines of the Church on trust, and when those doctrines became subjects of dispute most of them waited for the voice of authority to direct them. Intense conviction upon the points in dispute was comparatively rare among the rank and file, clergy as well as laity. Where it was present, men and women were ready to go to the gallows or the stake for their convictions, but most of the clergy remained undisturbed in their

livings through the violent changes and reactions of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.

When authority pronounced definitely in favour of Protestantism, the clergy became for the most part more definitely Protestant than the authority, and the population more aggressively Protestant than the clergy, but that must be attributed largely to the Protestant sympathies

aroused by the fires of Smithfield and still more, **Hardening of Protestant zeal** very soon after, by Alva's persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands and the growing hostility to Philip of Spain and the pope as insolent foreigners who presumed to dictate to Englishmen. The identification of 'papisty' with the cause of Spain and of Mary Stuart, for which the popes, Philip and the Jesuits had themselves to thank, developed a popular spirit of intolerance towards Rome and all its works of which there was little indication during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Popular resentment towards Roman doctrine was born of the idea that whatever was Roman must be anti-patriotic, among a people for whom patriotism was a passion.

As concerns the social position of the clergy, however, a curious point may be remarked. The drama is apt to be an index to popular sentiment. The drama, in Shakespeare's hands, was reaching its richest development in the last ten years of Elizabeth's life; and among his characters the clerics who command our respect are always 'regulars.' It is the puritanical parson who is parodied in Sir Topaz the curate; it is the hedge-priest who appears as Sir Oliver Martext; and if Sir Hugh Evans is affectionately drawn, there is more than a flavour of mockery for the affection to sweeten. The attitude of the laymen to parsons is scarcely reverential. There is no disrespect for the clerical office, but very little respect for the individual cleric.

The intellectual movement was vigorous from the beginning of the period. There was an enthusiasm for learning and the spread of learning. The new scholarship was in the air; English scholars, notably Thomas More, won a European reputation;

the great ecclesiastics, until the breach with Rome absorbed their interest, were zealous educationists, and none more so than Wolsey, founders of schools. If Cranmer had had his way, far more of the monastic wealth would have been appropriated to that purpose than was actually the case, but, of what was appropriated to public ends, almost all that Henry VIII did not take for his hobby, the development of the navy and naval defence, went to education.

Great nobles emulated Henry VII and Henry VIII in seeking to make their children paragons of learning. Poor little Lady Jane Grey—a most reluctant queen for a few unhappy days—commands our pity for her over-educated childhood almost as much as for her untimely end, so advanced was she in her studies that at fourteen she sought recreation in the pages of Plato, and her benevolent tutor was looking out for someone competent to instruct her in Hebrew. But our credulity is strained when we find Bishop Ilooper writing of his daughter—not yet three—



A ROYAL INFANT PRODIGY

Fantastic curricula were adopted for the unfortunate children of those who became fanatics of the new scholarship. Lady Jane Grey is an example—at fifteen she had mastered Greek, and was embarking upon a study of Hebrew

Bodleian Picture Gallery Oxford



UNRULY TUDOR CLASSROOM

That education was occupying men's minds is amusingly shown in this satire (from Bateman's 'A Chrystall Glasse of Christian Reformation'). Entitled 'Of Sloth,' it condemns the injurious effect of a somnolent schoolmaster on discipline.

that she 'understands very well the English, German, French and Latin languages, especially the Latin,' if we suppose that he expected his correspondent to believe him!

It must be admitted on the other side that the surviving specimens of spelling by various great ladies suggest that their literary education was not continued after they left the nursery; but spelling was a poor test. 'Correct' spelling in English had not yet been invented. The idea of scholarship in the English language was only coming to birth—More wrote his *Utopia* in Latin. The higher education—only in reach of the few—meant the study of a few Greek and Latin authors, and that of the new educational foundations for the poorer classes was mainly directed to Latin.

The capacities of English as a language were beginning indeed to be tested by such poets as Surrey and Wyatt, who drew their inspiration from the Italians; but were as yet most definitely manifested in religious and controversial writings, in the preaching of Hugh Latimer, the translation of the Bible and the harmonies of the new English liturgy. An English literature had been created at the close of the fourteenth century by Langland, Wycliffe and Chaucer; but the century that followed Chaucer's death was sterile, and the first half of the sixteenth century was a period not of rich production but of gestation in

which there were only indications of a fruitful future.

It was an age, however, which had already developed the love of pageantry and display which was so marked a feature of the Elizabethan era: an extravagant age, after the accession of Henry VIII. His father, indeed, was a rigid economist who never spent a penny for which he did not expect to get full value, though his chapel in Westminster Abbey is witness that he was conscious of artistic value as well as of what we call utility; but ostentation had no attraction for the English Vespasian, and ostentation on the part of his subjects would merely have provided him with an excuse for politely phrased extortion. When his loyal partisan, the Earl of Oxford, welcomed him on a visit with a great show including a display of retainers in costly attire, he was rewarded by a heavy fine for breach of the law of Liveries.

But youth and gaiety were given their fling when the brilliant young Harry succeeded his penurious parent and scattered his accumulated treasures with a lavish hand. The astute Wolsey, who relieved him of the burden of state business, encouraged his extravagance and matched him in the lavishness of his



WYATT THE CULTURED POET

Sir Thomas Wyatt (c. 1503–1542), father of the Sir Thomas who met a conspirator's death under Mary, was a diplomat whose knowledge of foreign languages led to his writing satires, love songs and epigrams on the Italian model.

National Portrait Gallery, London

own expenditure. The nobles vied with each other in ruining themselves to outdo the magnificence of the French in the gorgeous displays of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and when the royal treasury was drained almost dry the spoliation of the monasteries served to maintain the extravagances of the court, while the new men emphasised their gentility in the manner customary to the new rich.

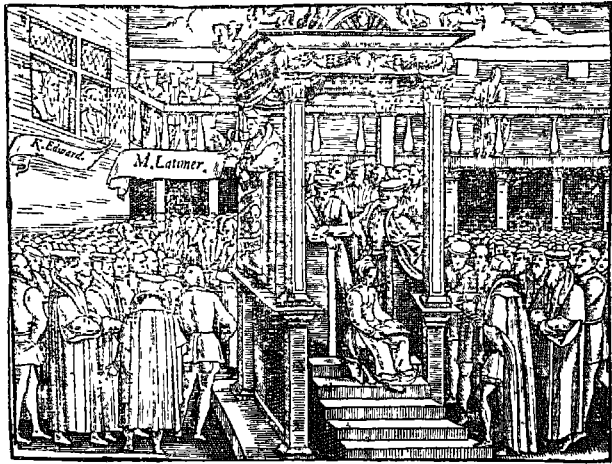
The reckless and corrupt financial administration in the latter years of Henry VIII and throughout the reigns of Edward VI and Mary was a serious check to the general middle-class prosperity, but a temporary check only. Eliza-

beth and her wisely chosen ministers made it their first business to combine economy with efficiency, to get rid of corruption, to pay debts promptly so that money was easily raised instead of at usurious interest, and to spend judiciously. With the sense of stability confidence was restored and prosperity rapidly revived.

The process of 'enclosure' would seem to have reached its limits, and the readjustment of the displaced labour went forward continuously,

Elizabeth's policy restores finance

automatically reducing the problem of unemployment. The disappearance of the craft guilds admitted the unskilled labourers to occupations from which they had hitherto been excluded—originally in the interest of sound workmanship, but latterly because the artisans resented and resisted an increase of their own numbers—without detriment to efficiency, since the necessary skill was easily acquired in many of the hitherto preserved fields. Expanding markets caused the demand for labour to overtake and keep pace with the supply; all the more when the influx of refugees from the Netherlands skilled in weaving raised the standard of English workmanship, improved the quality of the English goods, and gave to them a substantial part of the markets which the



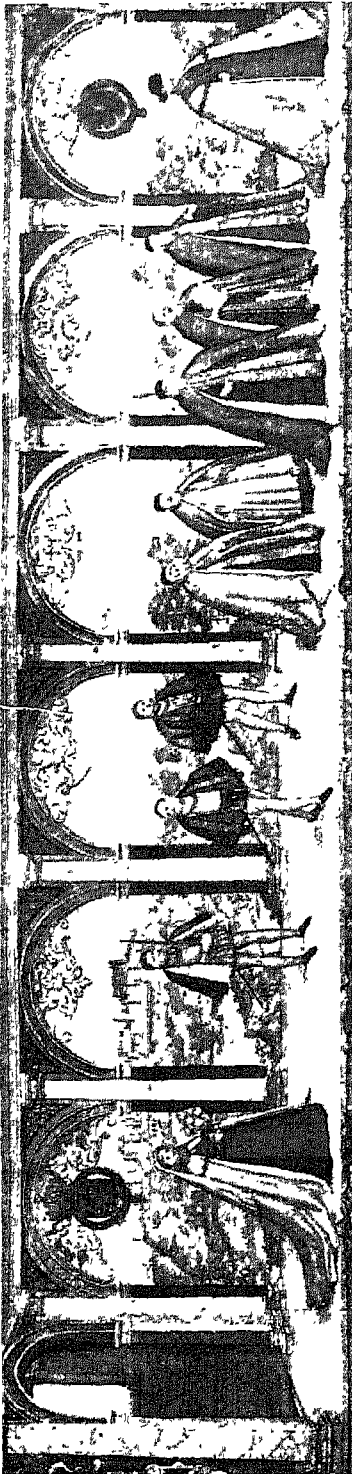
COURT LISTENS TO THE HOMELY LATIMER

Apart from the foreign influences with which men like Wyatt were enriching the language, English under the earlier Tudors was at its best in the preaching of Hugh Latimer (c. 1485-1555), Bishop of Worcester till his resignation in 1539. This woodcut in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* shows him preaching before Edward VI.

Flemings had lost by Alva's misguided policy of oppression and inordinate taxation. Spinning and weaving could be carried on beside the domestic hearth in conjunction with outdoor employment.

The development did not take place in a moment, but the long period of grave agricultural depression was ended at the end, as it had begun at the beginning, of the Tudor period.

But this was by no means the whole of the change that was taking place in the reign of Elizabeth. The new call of the sea was heard not merely by the traders with the European continent, but by an ever-increasing swarm of adventurers in whom the love of adventure for its own sake was supplemented by the sporting chance of huge profits to be acquired by means which might or might not be strictly legitimate, and were no doubt accompanied by heavy risks, but would in any case be applied in regions where law was of very little account. Before Elizabeth's accession robbery on the high seas—provided that its victims were not English—had been freely practised. forcible trading with the Spanish colonists on the other side of the Atlantic soon developed into a chronic state of warfare 'beyond the line,' officially reprobated but winked at so long as the Spanish and English govern-



ELIZABETHAN POMP AND PAGEANTRY IN THE STately GROUNDS OF WINDSOR CASTLE

The love of pageantry which seems engrained in the English—pageantry which was so well done that it impressed many Continental visitors, and still survives in such functions as the Lord Mayor's show in London—was developed under the prodigal Henry VIII and reached its climax under Elizabeth. This water-colour drawing by Mark Gheeraerts shows Elizabeth (left), with Windsor Castle beyond, in a procession of the Knights of the Garter, at the head is the emperor Maximilian (elected in 1567), followed by officials of the order—Garter King of Arms, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod and others

British Museum

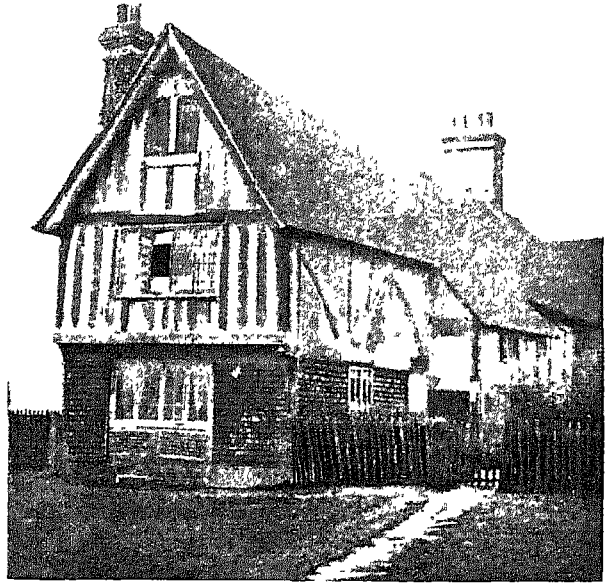
ments were officially at peace. Drake could sail round the world, empty Spanish treasure ships politely, put cities to ransom in all friendliness and come home with a million's worth of treasure, to be knighted instead of hanged for piracy.

When war was declared openly a few years later there was no limit to the depredations that might be wrought and the loot that might be collected from Spanish galleons, and that maritime war went on for twenty years. The financing of privateers was a business in which the chance of huge profits was worth the risk of disaster, and much wealth was brought into the country, of which a large proportion went not to the adventurers themselves, but to the traders who had financed them, to be utilised in further commercial enterprise. A new era of commercial companies was born, and the first charter of the East India Company was dated on the last day of the sixteenth century, though as yet no attempt at planting a colony overseas had succeeded.

Before the coming of the Reformation, religious differences in England were never a matter of social importance, for the simple reason that they never attained such proportions as to make their suppression difficult. Religious temper of the country Lollardy had been, if not utterly crushed, yet driven very thoroughly beneath the surface, within forty years of its birth. Everyone had professed the same creed, because any divagations from it had been treated as heresy by the Church and penalised with the utmost rigour of the law by the state. The churchmen spoke with one voice, and the laity obeyed. But from the time when the Defender of the Faith made up his mind to reject the spiritual authority of the pope, the churchmen ceased to speak with one voice. When men felt that yesterday's heresy might be to-morrow's orthodoxy, there was a heating, if a precarious one, for any sort of teaching, and men who were seeking after truth without convincing guidance arrived at very diverse conclusions for which, when held with any intensity of conviction, they were prepared to make great sacrifices—even to the greatest of all

How deep conviction went with the mass of them will always be open to dispute—the majority were probably always ready to conform to the law whenever the law was definitely declared; but its definitive declaration at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign left room for large diversities within its four corners, while still excluding those who would not reject the papal obedience, and those who rejected its ordinances as contrary to the Scriptures, who in the next century came to be known as sectaries. And within the four corners were considerable numbers who had doubts about conforming but none about demanding its modification.

The identification of Romanism with anti-patriotism by the government and by popular opinion, to which allusion has already been made, necessarily raised a social barrier between Romanists and Protestants. The old marked separation between clergy and laity faded with the disappearance of the



WHERE FLEMISH CLOTH WORKERS SETTLED

Unemployment decreased towards the end of the Tudor period when Continental troubles gave the market to the products of English looms, and the standard of quality was raised by the immigration of skilled Flemish workmen. This Flemish cloth hall near Cranbrook, Kent, was visited by Elizabeth in 1593.

regulars and of the law of celibacy, but the Roman Catholic clergy became in effect outlaws as presumably professional propagandists of anti-patriotism and treason. Anti-patriotism, however, was in actual fact confined to the fanatics of Romanism.

The diversities of Protestantism, on the other hand, took effect in a different way. The Bible in English—though there was as yet no 'authorised version' found in every household—became universally familiar because those who did not read it for themselves heard its words read Sunday by Sunday in the church services, which they had to attend regularly on pain of fines for absenting themselves. No other literature was even approximately so familiar to the masses, and the people became imbued with ideas derived mainly from the Old Testament.

Puritanism was born; which meant in effect the rigid regulation of men's lives by the precepts and ideals derived from the Old Testament, coupled generally with the conception of Rome as the



GROWTH OF PURITAN DISSATISFACTION

Elizabeth's reign saw the beginning of Protestant dissensions in England. This contemporary satire (1569) is the Puritan view of an ecclesiastical court: Truth being drawn away by flatterers from the 'religious Asses,' behind whom stand the friars Lies and Perjury.

From S. Baleman, 'A Chrystall Glasse of Christian Reformation'

Scarlet Woman of the Revelations. It had less kinship with the Sermon on the Mount than with the Song of Deborah. Jesuits were the priests of Baal, and the enemies of England were Egyptians to be spoiled, Amalekites who were to be put to the sword. When the Armada went to pieces, it was because 'The Lord blew and His enemies were scattered'. It brought the speech of religion, the phrases of the Bible, into common use, and it was perfectly sincere until it was conventionalised, became a matter not of conviction but of lip-service, and set the tone of sober respectability: though it was incapable of becoming fashionable, and was too austere ever to grip the masses. Nor did sober respectability ever appeal to the more vigorous spirits in a generation which was primarily engaged in breaking through the conventions of centuries and in seeking new (and frequently forbidden) fields of development. (See also Chapter 144.)

Puritanism, of the genuine and not the conventional order, is the expression of the same spirit which in the ancient world manifested itself as

**Appearance of Stoicism, a spirit much
Puritan spirit more congenial to the**

Romans than to the Greeks, the product of an intense sense of moral responsibility. In the Elizabethans, beside the puritanism there was also a vast amount of no less vigorous paganism, the spirit born of high physical and intellectual energy, apt to be impatient or neglectful of moral responsibility. If the circumstances caused the puritanism of the day to associate itself more particularly with a pronouncedly Calvinistic theology, with which the very idea of irresponsibility was incompatible, paganism was independent both of religion and irreligion. Perhaps it was most markedly manifested in the literature and especially in the drama which burst into such sudden brilliance in the last twenty years of the century.

This is not the place for general literary criticism, but there is no literary form more inevitably characteristic of the age in which it is produced than the drama; and the pervading qualities of the Elizabethan drama, however controlled in

the hands of the greatest masters, were a superabundant and even reckless energy and a passion for colour and movement from the moment when it ceased to be academically imitative of classical models and became audaciously spontaneous.

Energy, colour, movement—these, not without a strong element of the fantastic in its later days, are the outstanding notes of the social as well as the political life of the sixteenth century. **Characteristics of Tudor literature** in England, the era of

the Tudors. The colour passes from the garish crudity of the first period to the brilliance of the second; the movement, spasmodic and uncertain at first, becomes ordered and organized by degrees; the energy in the last years is reaching its highest pitch in a new field, the field of literature. It was only after the great crisis of the Armada, as in Athens of old it had been after the great crises of Marathon and Salamis, that the energy could concentrate upon literature.

And perhaps it is the fantastic element therein which has most to do with the surface of the social life of the later period. The days of the Armada were also the days of Euphuism. The author of *Euphues* was serious enough, but he was amazingly fantastic, and the enormous success of his work was the result, not the cause, of what might be called the fantastic attitude, in which men sought relaxation from strenuousness or evaded it. Euphuism and verbal jugglery became the common speech of polite society, because it was a society which rejoiced in the fantastic action as well as in fantastic speech; in which a Walter Raleigh spread his glittering cloak in a puddle for Gloriana to step daintily over—the same Raleigh who a few years later was exploring the Orinoco, and in the next reign was to end his life on the scaffold for the gratification of a foreign court.

The whole age was strenuous, it traded, wrought, fought and adventured strenuously; it was strenuous in its passions, its enthusiasms and its hatreds; it played riotously, and enjoyed itself enormously; and the fantasticality which embroidered its close was the light relief of its strenuousness.

CHINA UNDER THE MING DYNASTY

Recuperation of Prosperity and external Power
after the Degradation of the Mongol Conquest

By LIONEL GILES

Deputy Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British
Museum; Author of Sayings of Confucius

THE establishment of the Ming dynasty is a remarkable instance of national recuperation after a lengthy period of humiliation and suffering. During the twelfth century the Chinese were forced to yield gradually to the pressure of the Nü-chên, and the Sung had to content themselves with a truncated realm, until even that was wrested from them by the conquering Mongols (see Chap. 111). China was now subjected to the most terrible experience which it is possible for a great nation to undergo: total subjugation by a race far less civilized than itself.

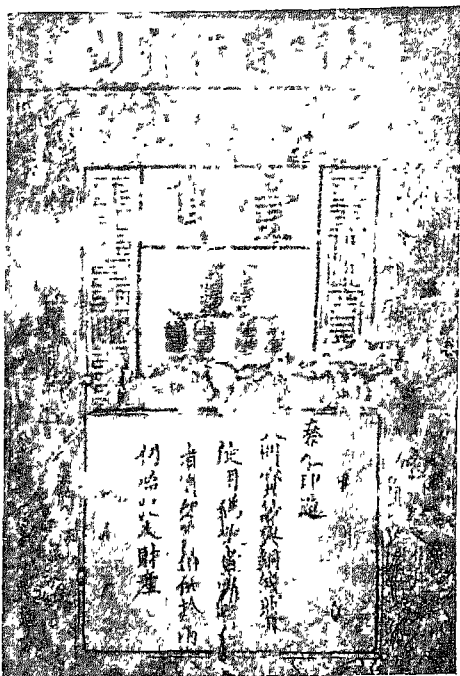
In this respect the Mongol conquest is comparable with the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Goths and Vandals; it has little affinity with such an event as the Norman conquest of England, in which the invaders were undoubtedly the superior, or at any rate the more highly civilized, race. Norman and Saxon were able to blend and form a new nation; but the Mongols had the nomadic strain in their blood which prevented any permanent union with an agricultural people, and they had to be expelled like poison from the body politic before Chinese life could resume its normal course. Not that the Mongols were wholly deficient in good qualities. Terrible fighters and ruthless in their military methods, they showed themselves fairly tolerant and easy-going in their rule after the lust of battle had abated.

The Great Khan established a system of government which in many respects was the last word in efficiency. The roads and postal administration which excited the wonder of Marco Polo had never

been brought to such perfection under native rule. The Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and a hierarchy of officials installed after the Chinese model. An imperial college was opened at the capital, and others were affiliated to it in the principal cities of each province. A section of the Grand Canal, nearly a hundred miles long, was constructed to facilitate the transport of merchandise to the capital. Paper money was circulated and foreign trade encouraged.

It must not be supposed, however, that all or any of these measures could have been successfully carried through without the willing co-operation of the Chinese people. Reading Marco Polo, one is apt to forget that the whole superstructure of Mongol magnificence rested on a China in the solid Chinese foundation. Mongol period Though for some eighty years they formed the ruling caste, the actual number of Mongols in the Empire was relatively very small indeed. The highest posts throughout the country were, of course, allotted to them; but practically all the real work of administration must have been from first to last in the hands of the Chinese themselves. It seems worth while stressing this point, because Western ideas of the period are largely derived from one who was so dazzled by the brilliance of the Mongol khan and his court that he had no eyes for the Chinese background.

Long ago it was pointed out by Yule that nothing is more strange in Marco Polo's book than the number of its omissions. He seems to have no sense at all of the unity of the Chinese race.



CHINESE PAPER MONEY

The Chinese were the first to use printed paper money. We know that 'bank-notes' were current in the T'ang period, but the earliest preserved are Ming, of which this is a specimen; note the strings of 'cash' in the centre. They were discontinued after 1455.

British Museum

For him, China consists of two 'provinces,' Cathay and Manzi, both 'subject to the Great Khan.' In the actual inhabitants of the country, their language, customs and peculiarities, he takes singularly little interest. He speaks of many 'great and noble cities,' but when he has told us that the people are 'idolaters, use paper money, and burn their dead,' he seems to have exhausted his stock of information. There are one or two passages, however, in which he does show some appreciation of the national character as we know it. Thus, he says that the natives of Kinsai (Hangchow)

are men of peaceful character, both from education and from the example of their kings, whose disposition was the same. They know nothing of handling arms, and keep none in their houses. You hear of no feuds or noisy quarrels or dissensions of any kind among them. Both in their commercial dealings and in their manufactures they are thoroughly honest and truthful, and there

is such a degree of good will and neighbourly attachment among both men and women that you would take the people who live in the same street to be all one family.

The pacific temper of the Chinese evidently made a great impression on Marco, accustomed to the broils and vendettas of medieval Italy, for he alludes to it more than once, generally with a shade of contempt, as in his account of Soochow. 'If the men of this city,' he says, 'and of the rest of Manzi had but the spirit of soldiers they would conquer the world; but they are no soldiers at all, only accomplished traders and most skilful craftsmen.' On the other hand, he speaks of the troops from the province of Cathay as 'good soldiers.'

One of the features of this age that attracted the attention of other travellers besides Marco Polo was the general use of paper money. The practice was Chinese in its origin, and had been in vogue since the T'ang **Paper Money** dynasty, but was greatly used in China extended by the Mongols.

It was decreed that the notes should exchange at par with metal money or bullion, but this was, of course, beyond the power of any government to enforce. The Ming dynasty carried on the system for a time; but while the government made payments in notes, it accepted only hard cash from the people. Extreme depreciation resulted, and it is not surprising that after 1455 we hear no further mention of paper currency.

Polo's description of the notes which he saw tallies very closely with existing specimens of Ming bank-notes, but he fails to observe that the characters on them were not written by hand, but printed. A little more curiosity on his part might easily have led to the introduction of the art of printing into Europe a century and a half before the date of Gutenberg (see Chap. 125), with incalculable effects on the history of the world. Not only does he seem to be unaware of the existence of printed books, though they were then quite common all over China, but he says not a word about the unique structure of Chinese writing. The first Occidental to make any

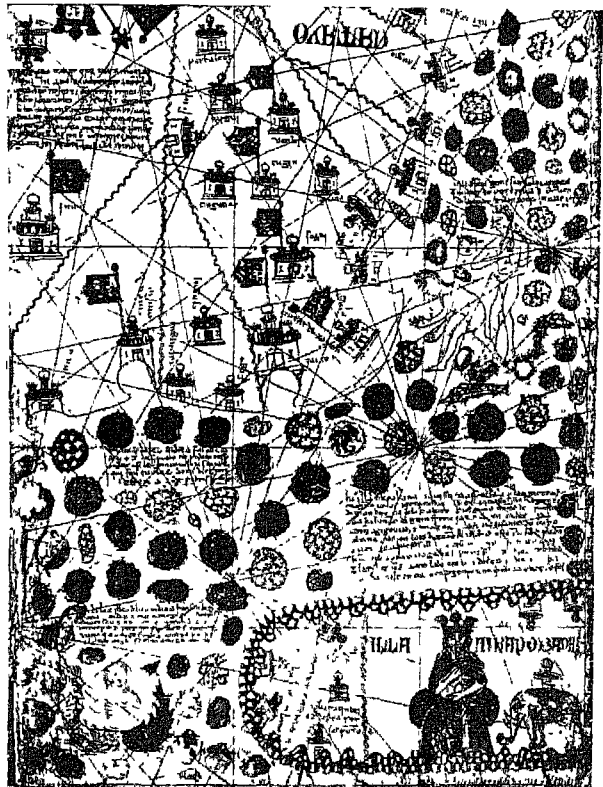
mention of this is the friar William of Rubruquis, who never entered China proper but was at Karakorum in 1254. He notes that the Chinese write with a brush like those used by painters, and that each separate character represents one word.

The dearth of reliable information about the native religion in the pages of Marco Polo affords a good instance of his inability to get below the surface of things. From Marco Polo a po-r observer his repeated references to 'idolaters' little can be deduced except the extent to which the masses were swayed by the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism (for he does not seem to have distinguished between the two). Lamaism, in which the priesthood exercises temporal as well as spiritual functions, was imported from Tibet and became the state religion under Kublai. But among the Chinese, who have always resented the interference of a priestly caste in public affairs, it failed to oust the older and purer form of Buddhism.

Of Confucianism we hear nothing from Marco Polo, although it was then, thanks to its rehabilitation by the Sung philosophers, in a more flourishing condition than it had been for many centuries. Ancestor worship has always been the corner-stone of Chinese religion; but the simplicity and unobtrusiveness of its ceremonies are a sufficient explanation of its having escaped the notice of one whose observation did not usually extend beyond what was large and obvious. With the philosophical side of Confucianism, restricted as it was to the upper strata of society, no stranger from abroad was likely to come into contact, even if his tastes had inclined in that direction.

Though it is easy, from our present point of view, to find fault with Marco Polo

for omitting so much that we should have liked to hear, we must not forget to be grateful for what we do find in his book. For example, we should never have guessed, but for his constant allusions to cremation, how widespread that custom was among the Chinese in the Middle Ages. All native tradition is decidedly opposed to the practice, which seems to have been due to Buddhist influence. It cannot be traced farther back than the Sung dynasty, and appears to have died out again by the fifteenth century. According to a Chinese author, cremation was chiefly practised in Kiangnan, and in 1157 and 1261 was the subject of earnest reprehension on the part of public officials. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that ordinary burial ever fell entirely into disuse in any part of China.



WHAT MEDIEVAL EUROPE KNEW OF CHINA

To distinguish sea from land in this Chinese portion of the 1375 Catalan map of the Far East, note that the patterned smudges represent islands. Actually, the map shows a good appreciation of the relation of China ('Catayo') to the Asiatic land mass. Canton is 'Cincolam,' Hangchow 'Cansay.'

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. espagnol 119; from Yule, Cathay



CHINESE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST

A relic of Chinese Nestorianism is this woodcut reproduction (1588) of a painting perhaps by Yen Li-pên (c. 650). It shows Christ (left; note the Western features) with two tonsured Nestorian priests, and is entitled 'Three in One.'

From Herbert Giles, 'Chinese Pictorial Art'

Some thirty years after Polo's departure, the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone travelled through the Empire. He, like his predecessor, was chiefly struck by the density of the population, the abundance of food supplies and the number of traders and artificers (see page 2909). Canton was 'as big as three Venices,' with an incredible amount of shipping. The port of Zaiton was 'twice as great as Bologna' and full of monasteries, one of which contained 3,000 monks and 11,000 idols. Kinsai (Hangchow) was 'the greatest and noblest city, and the first for merchandise, that the whole world containeth,' and so forth. The Chinese men, to his eye, are 'comely enough,' while the women are 'the most beautiful in the world.' He notices at least two customs which are not mentioned by Polo: the long finger-nails, which he rightly calls the mark of gentility, and foot-binding:

With the women, the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born to them, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least.

Another piece of information, of peculiar interest to us, relates to the existence of Nestorian Christianity in different

parts of the Empire. Not only were there churches at Ho-chien Fu in Chihli, at Chinkiang on the Yang-tse and at the Sung capital of Hangchow, but, according to Marco, also a few Christians in the remote province of Yunnan. The two churches at Chinkiang were built in 1278 by one Mar Sargis, a Nestorian Christian who was governor of the city for three years. This statement of Polo's has been corroborated and much amplified by certain notices of Christians which were discovered towards the end of the nineteenth century in an old Chinese topographical work printed in 1333. Odoric, writing about the same time, mentions three Nestorian churches at Yang-chou, besides an establishment of his own order, the Franciscans.

The latter is accounted for by the mission of John of Montecorvino, who arrived in China very soon after Polo left it. This brave and enterprising Franciscan presented a letter from the pope to the Mongol khan, and was well received. Within six years, though

suffering much from Nestorian ill will, he had

Mission of Friar
Montecorvino

built a church in Cambaluc and had baptised some 6,000 people. His successor Pope Clement V to send out seven Minorites of episcopal rank, three of whom arrived in 1308 and consecrated Montecorvino archbishop. For sixty years the church flourished, but after the expulsion of the Mongols the progress of Christianity in China was cut short, not to be resumed until the Ming dynasty was approaching its end.

It is indeed remarkable how often fate intervened to prevent any permanent intercourse between China and the West. As we have seen in Chapter 75, a promising avenue of communication was closed as early as the Han dynasty, when direct trading relations with the Roman Empire seemed on the point of achievement. A few centuries later, religion was the bond that seemed likely to draw East and West together. The zeal of Nestorian missionaries was rewarded by a period of striking success, as is shown by their famous inscribed tablet, erected in 781. But in the middle of the ninth century came the great persecution of the Buddhist and

other foreign religions, in which no fewer than 4,600 temples were destroyed and some 260,000 monks and nuns turned adrift. Buddhism was too deeply rooted in Chinese soil to be exterminated even by a blow like this; but it proved fatal to the minor sects, and until the time of Marco Polo nothing more is heard of Nestorianism in China.

William of Rubruquis gives an unflattering account of the Nestorians whom he met on his travels, and they certainly showed a narrow, sectarian spirit in their dealings with the missionaries who arrived at the end of the thirteenth century. The Dominican John of Cora says that in 1330 there were more than 30,000 Nestorians in the Empire, and that if they were only willing to live in harmony with the friars and other Christians in the country, both the people and their rulers might be converted to the true faith. As it was, all traces of Christianity were wiped out in the course of the Ming dynasty, and when at last the Jesuits appeared on the scene the work of evangelisation had to be begun afresh.

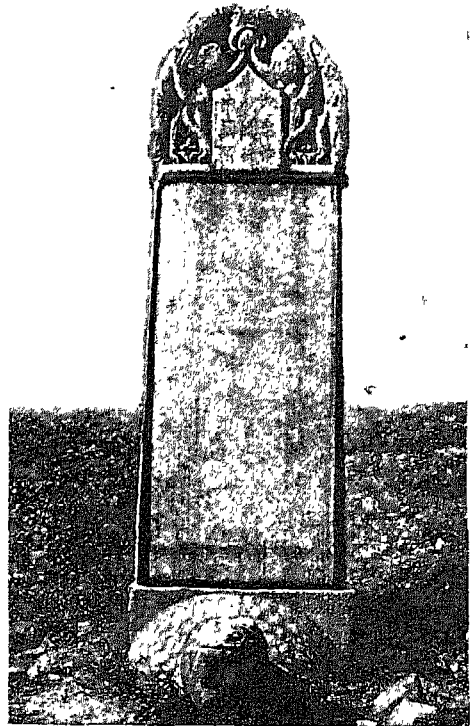
Before taking leave of Marco Polo, it is worth while noticing his account of the method by which the inhabitants of Kinsai were numbered. He writes :

It is the custom for every burghess of this city, and in fact for every description of person in it, to write over his door his own name, the name of his wife, and those of his children, his slaves, and all the inmates of his house, and also the number of animals that he keeps. And if any one dies in the house, then the name of that person is erased, and if any child is born its name is added. So in this way the sovereign is able to know exactly the population of the city. And this is the practice also throughout all Manzi and Cathay.

From very early times the Chinese have been in the habit of making periodical enumerations of the people, and many of the returns have been preserved. For the most part, only the number of households and of individuals is recorded; but in the topographical work mentioned above there is included a census of the Chinkiang district for the year 1331, which gives much more detail. The total population was found to be 114,218

families, together consisting of about 650,000 individuals (one item is lost), of whom 2,421 were foreigners. Thus there was an average of nearly six persons to a family, a higher ratio than that usually found in the returns for the whole Empire, which seems to indicate local prosperity. The foreigners are classed as Mongols (592), Uighurs (200), Moslems (684), Christians (215), Tangutese (54), Khitans (191), Nü-chên (485). It will be observed that the proportion of foreigners to native-born Chinese is extremely small, and that the Mongols, who were then the ruling race in China, are largely outnumbered by the other foreigners.

No less interesting are the different professions under which the inhabitants are classed. First comes the bulk of the people under a heading which is said to include peasants, artisans, shopkeepers,



THE FAMOUS NESTORIAN STELE

Nestorianism reached China in the 7th century, as is proved by the inscription on the 'Nestorian stele,' erected near Singan in 781. It records the favour shown by successive T'ang emperors, with a hazy account of Christian doctrines.

From Chavannes, '*Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*'

traders, clerks, petty officials and slaves. Then we find, in the following order, literati, physicians, couriers and express messengers, official underlings, tax-gatherers, boatmen, skilled workmen, soldiers, musicians, members of the Lung-hua sect (a religious order dedicated to the worship of Maitreya Buddha), professors of the occult arts (divination, astrology, geomancy, etc), hunters, monks who had re-entered secular life, Buddhist and Taoist monks, nuns and lay brothers. The Buddhists total 2,403 persons, as against 570 Taoists.

If we have lingered somewhat long over the medieval travellers, it is because their descriptions supply certain elements in Chinese history that cannot, as a rule, be found in native sources. The Chinese have the historical sense highly developed, and they possess an unrivalled series of dynastic and other histories, compiled with wonderful chronological accuracy; but it is only natural that they should take for granted a number of points that will strike the foreign observer as curious and worth recording.

But for Western notices, we should never have been impressed with the full glory of Kinsai, nor suspected, perhaps, even the existence of the seaport of Zaiton, which the Arab Ibn Batuta pronounced the greatest in the world (see pages 2900-10). The Chinese themselves evidently took all this as a matter of course, for no description of any port that can positively be identified with Zaiton has yet come to light in their topographies. Both the origin of the name and the exact situation of the city are still doubtful, though it is often taken to have been Tsuen-chow (see map in page 2913).

Many more facts, then, were learned about China in the comparatively short Mongol period than had come to the knowledge of the West during all the preceding centuries. As soon as the Mongols quit the stage, an impenetrable curtain falls once more, and for two hundred years the people of Europe knew nothing of what was going on in the Far East. When the next act begins with the arrival of the Jesuits, the scene has changed almost beyond recognition. The

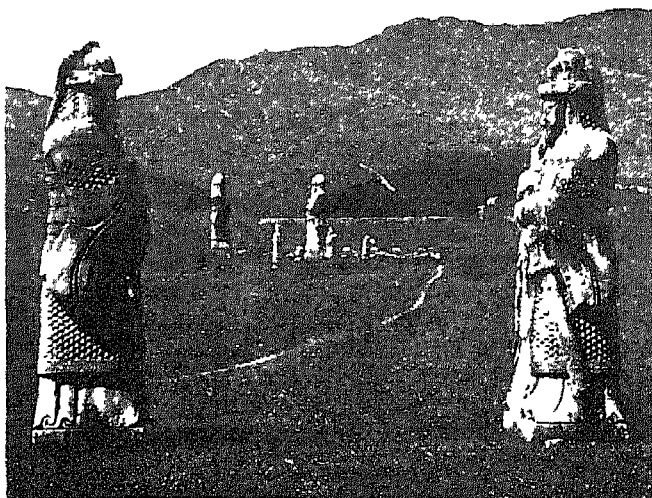
great port of Zaiton has disappeared entirely; its trade was killed no doubt by the policy of rigid exclusion adopted by the Ming government. Canton was thenceforth the principal emporium of Southern China; even in the days of Marco Polo it was no mean rival to Zaiton. But why the one should have survived while the other decayed so rapidly is by no means easy to explain.

From the first, the Ming rulers appear to have taken up a suspicious, not to say hostile, attitude towards foreigners, very different from the friendly gestures with which the Mongols welcomed them to their court. Perhaps the latter realized their position as interlopers amongst a people of superior mental calibre, and were anxious to obtain as much external help and advice as possible to enable them to grapple with unfamiliar problems of government. The Chinese, on the other hand, having once regained possession of their country, and feeling perfectly competent to govern it on their own lines, were naturally desirous of keeping all foreigners at arm's length.

This jealous exclusiveness, again apparent in their dealings with Europeans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has not always been a national characteristic; at many stages of their history, and notably in the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese have shown themselves well disposed to strangers and receptive of new ideas. But centuries of fighting against foreign encroachment, followed by the horrors of invasion and conquest, had deeply impressed on their mind the necessity of adopting hedgehog tactics towards the outside world.

In considering the fortunes of the Ming dynasty, one cannot but remark a general resemblance to the course of events under other imperial houses. In most cases the triumphs of the initial period are secured by a ruler of strong and masterful character; but the dynasty soon falls off into a succession of effeminate, self-indulgent or imbecile monarchs who allow the policy of the state to be shaped by favourite concubines and their unworthy creatures. The great rulers of

**Reasons for
exclusiveness**



Near the chief city of Kiangsu, which he had captured and renamed Nanking or 'Southern Capital,' Hung Wu, first of the Mings, built a mausoleum approached by an avenue of colossal stone guardians; those seen here (left) are armed as military mandarins. Yung Lo, however, moved the capital to Peking, and here a similar mausoleum arose; some of its figures (right) are robed as civil officials.

Photo (left), E.N.A.



Yung Lo's mausoleum is about 25 miles north of Peking, not far from where the southern curtain of the Great Wall crosses the Nankow Pass. It differs from the earlier one at Nanking in that its avenue contains, besides human figures, two pairs each (one pair standing, the other crouching) of camels, elephants, lions, unicorns, horses and 'ch'i-lin' (fabulous animals). Whoever succeeds in lodging a stone on the back of one of the standing elephants is supposed to win good luck.

LIMESTONE MONOLITHS THAT GUARD THE TOMBS OF THE EARLY MING EMPERORS

Photos, E.N.A.

Chinese history have nearly always been founders of a dynasty or early representatives of their line. Such emperors as Wu Ti of the Han and Hsuan Tsung of the T'ang are only partial exceptions, as both belong to the first half of their respective dynasties. But it is seldom indeed that we find a man of even moderate capacity among the later scions of an imperial house.

The reason is not far to seek. The founder of a dynasty is usually one who emerges victorious from a fierce struggle with one or more rivals, which has severely tested his qualities of brain and body. It is the fittest who survives; and whatever his faults may be, the new monarch is not likely to be deficient in the sterner virtues, or in the strength of personality

which ensures respect and obedience. Once the dynasty is firmly established, however, the heirs to the throne, brought up as they are in the sheltered, enervating atmosphere of the palace, surrounded by intriguing women and crafty eunuchs, are bound almost of necessity to be degenerates. The line of the Mongols was really doomed from the moment that they exchanged the desert for the palace; and the Mings who supplanted them were soon involved in the same inevitable process of decay.

The revolution in which the youthful grandson of Hung Wu (see page 2990) disappeared was in one sense a blessing, in that it raised up another masterful ruler in the person of Yung Lo Ming (page 3123), who like his father had to fight for his throne. These two men, while lacking the touch of supreme genius that we discover in a 'superman' such as T'ai Tsung, both governed firmly and well; it was owing to their sleepless vigilance that the Mongol power was kept within bounds and never again became a serious menace to the safety of the state. Both were ardent Buddhists, in the sense that they fostered the religion and tried to extend its influence. Of true religious feeling and personal observation of the fundamental Buddhist precepts their careers show but little trace, and that although Hung Wu actually spent some years of his youth as a novice in a monastery.

It may be noted in passing that Hung Wu is not the personal name of Chu Yüan-chang, but the 'nien-hao' or 'year title' chosen to denote the years of his reign (1368-98) when he ascended the throne. In all previous dynasties, from the time of the Former Han, it had been optional for emperors to change or retain their year titles as their fancy dictated. Thus the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung kept to a single year title, namely Chêng Kuan, whereas his successor Kao Tsung had as many as fourteen in the course of a reign lasting thirty-three years. Under the Ming it became the invariable rule for the same year title to be retained throughout a reign, so that it is sometimes used as if it were the name of the emperor



OFFICIAL OF A MING COURT

This little seated statuette of buff pottery glazed a dull green illustrates the dress and appearance of court officials under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), which revived the glories of the T'ang regime.

Eumorfopoulos Collection

himself. Hence we speak of the Ming emperors Hung Wu and Yung Lo, or of the Ch'ing emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, etc. The practice, though strictly incorrect, is convenient, because the 'temple names' which emperors received after they were dead lack variety and are therefore less distinctive.

The Ming dynasty, then, must be owned to have made an excellent start, especially

when we remember the tribulations that the country had recently passed through. By the Chinese themselves it is not generally ranked with the great dynasties of Han, T'ang or even Sung; but in some ways it was more fortunate, if not more successful, than any of these. Let us summarise the more important achievements of Hung Wu.

To begin with, he swept the Mongols out of China and beat them decisively in battle after battle. He added the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan to the Empire, forced Burma to pay tribute and imposed his suzerainty on Korea. His domestic reforms were equally drastic and far-reaching. The whole system of government was overhauled and remodelled on the pattern of T'ang, a penal code was promulgated, taxation was regulated on a new basis, and public examinations were reorganized in the form which they retained until the beginning of the twentieth century. Literature was patronised and education promoted.

In most respects the emperor Yung Lo proved a worthy son of his father, and the three years of violent civil commotion which followed Hung Wu's death cannot be laid entirely at his door. The young emperor Hui Ti had committed himself to the guidance of one Fang Hsiao-ju, an honest but fanatical statesman who managed to embroil him with all his uncles. Five of them were degraded, but the prince of Yen happened to be a man of energy and decision. Seeing that he was marked down for destruction, he threw off his allegiance and marched southwards. The fall of Nanking was marked by scenes of needless cruelty, but it must be admitted that he had received great provocation.

Assuming the year title of Yung Lo, the new emperor began his reign (1403-24) with measures of foreign policy that were carried out with characteristic thoroughness. Determined to uphold and extend Chinese prestige abroad, he sent embassies to Java, Sumatra, Siam and Bengal. A further expedition was sent out in 1405 to cruise along the coasts of 'the kingdoms of the Western Ocean.' The leader was a eunuch, Cheng Ho, who had distinguished himself as a military officer, but was destined to win greater fame by a series of naval exploits in the south seas. On reaching Ceylon, he appears to have made an attempt to gain possession of a sacred tooth of Buddha, treasured there as a relic. The king of the country—now identified with Alagakhonára—refused to yield it up, and Cheng Ho withdrew.

In 1409 (according to the Galle Trilingual Stone, discovered in the present century) Cheng Ho was back in

Ceylon, this time with a Chinese sloop powerful fleet of sixty-two upon Ceylon ships, packed with soldiers.

In the fighting that ensued the Chinese were able by a clever ruse to slip past the enemy and take the capital by storm. The king was captured and carried off to China, together with his wives and children, and the leading men of the kingdom. This astounding feat of arms at once established China as the dominant power in the Indian Ocean, and her influence extended as far as the east coast of Africa.

'From this time onward,' we are told in the dynastic history, 'the barbarian nations across the sea showed themselves more submissive to the majestic virtue of the Son of Heaven: envoys with tribute filled the highways, and frequent payments of tribute were received from the kings of Ceylon.' These high-sounding phrases cannot disguise the fact that the expedition was one of purely piratical aggression against an unoffending nation. It is pleasant, at any rate, to be able to record that the unfortunate monarch was mercifully dealt with; though dethroned, he was permitted to return to his own country in 1412.

In the years that followed, the sea power of the Chinese seems to have

reached its climax: the wonder is that it had taken so long to develop, and declined again so rapidly. We know that the Arabs had opened commercial relations with the Chinese soon after the Han dynasty, and that they had established a chain of ports along the coast from southern Arabia as far as Canton, where they appear to have had a settlement as early as A.D. 300. In the seventh century the second Sui emperor sent a mission by sea to Siam, and Buddhist pilgrims went by way of Java, the Nicobar Islands and Ceylon to the mouth of the Ganges. Towards the end of the eighth century an itinerary of the sea route from Canton to the Persian Gulf was compiled by one Chia Tan, but it is not certain how much of it was derived at second-hand from the foreign traders who frequented Canton. Another document, issued by a Chinese official in 1178, makes it clear that the bulk of the trade between China and the

Malay archipelago was still in the hands of the Arabs and other foreigners. It was only in the Mongol period that Chinese traders began to be more adventurous, and from that time onwards the range of their voyages steadily increased.

Until the era of the great Portuguese explorers, Chinese navigation compares favourably with that of European countries. The size of the Chinese ships, belonging to 'the merchants who traffic about the Isles of the Indies,' excited the admiration of all medieval travellers, including Marco Polo, who tells us that they had 'four masts, and sometimes two additional masts, which they ship and unship at pleasure.' Every great ship contained from fifty to sixty cabins, accommodated a crew of at least two hundred sailors, and was accompanied by certain large barks or tenders, besides about ten small boats which when under sail she carried slung to her sides. The Arab Ibn Batuta



ENVOYS CEREMONIOUSLY RECEIVED AT THE IMPERIAL PALACE

A painted roll some fifteen feet long by Ch'iu Ying (fifteenth century) is entitled *Han Kung Ch'un*, or 'Springtime in the palace of the Han (Dynasty)'; but actually, of course, shows court customs and costumes of the Ming period. The part here reproduced is the reception of envoys. Among

Ming artists Ch'iu Ying is esteemed by Chinese critics for his figure grouping.

British Museum

confirms these details, and adds that each ship 'has from twelve to three sails, made of bamboo laths woven into a kind of mat. They are never lowered, and are braced this way and that as the wind may blow.'

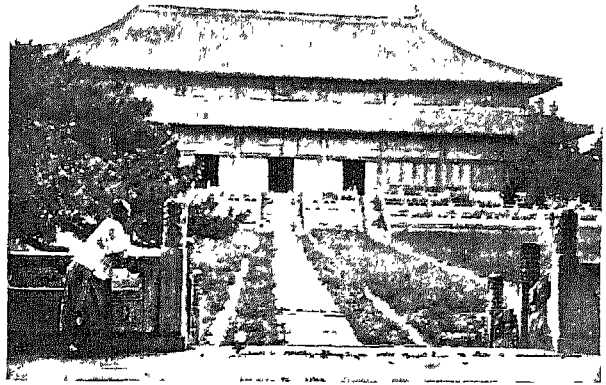
In the time of Fa-Hien, or Fa-Hsien, the famous Chinese pilgrim of about A.D. 400 (see also page 2209) ships were steered solely by the sun, moon and stars, and if possible kept within sight of land. It is doubtful at what date the magnetic compass was first applied to the art of navigation, but it does not seem to have been in general use for many centuries after Fa-Hien. The invention of the compass

is generally attributed to the Chinese on the strength of a passage in the history of the Liu Sung dynasty, which was written about A.D. 500. This deals with vehicles of a strange type known as 'south-pointing chariots,' which are there said to date back to the twelfth century B.C.

But the first of these chariots of which we have any reliable details was made

in A.D. 417. We are told that 'a wooden figure of a man was fixed on the top, with an arm raised and pointing southwards, in such a way that, although the chariot turned round, the arm still pointed south.' Earlier than this, mention is also made of a 'south-pointing ship,' but the first undoubted reference to the mariner's compass is found in a work belonging to the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is there called the 'south-pointing floating needle,' and it was used on ships that went to Korea in 1122.

A momentous step was taken by Yung Lo towards the end of his reign, when he transferred his capital from Nanking to Peking. The location of the capital has always been a matter of the first importance at all periods of Chinese history, and many volumes might be written on the subject. Throughout the ancient dynasties, beginning in 2205 B.C., it was shifted



TEMPLE HALL OF THE GREAT YUNG LO

It was Yung Lo, the third emperor and second founder of the Ming dynasty, who finally moved the capital of China from Nanking to Peking, whence (under the name of Cambaluc) the Mongols had already ruled the land; and here is still to be seen the great sacrificial hall of his mortuary temple.

more than once, but always occupied a more or less central position in what has become the province of Honan. With the accession of the House of Chou, which sprang from the extreme west, there began a series of oscillations between Shensi and Honan, which lasted until the Tatars established their rule over the north of China in the third century A.D. The Chinese emperors were then extruded from their ancient domain, and Nanking became the capital for the first time.

With the reunification of China under the Sui and the T'ang, the capital reverted once more to Ch'ang-an in Shensi, Lo-yang in Honan being accorded the almost equally honourable status of 'eastern capital.' Pressure from the Khitans rendered it advisable to go farther east to Pien-liang (the modern K'ai-fêng Fu). Here the Sung court was established until it was driven south by the Nü-chên, and was obliged to retreat as far as Hangchow (Marco Polo's Kinsai). Khanbaligh or Cambaluc, in the immediate vicinity of the modern city of Peking, was the site adopted by the Mongols from their predecessors the Nü-chên. The founder of the Ming dynasty fixed his abode at Nanking, and for a time it seemed as if this city, occupying a commanding position on the Yang-tse, not too far from its mouth, and about equidistant from the

northern and southern frontiers, might become the permanent capital of China. But the constant warfare which Yung Lo had to wage against the Tatars of Mongolia convinced him of the superior advantages of a capital in the north, and in 1421 the transfer of the court to Peking was accomplished.

That the policy was not without its dangers was sharply demonstrated within thirty years of the change, when a Chinese emperor was actually

Peking becomes the Imperial capital taken prisoner by the Mongols, and carried off in triumph. More-

over, the placing of the capital in the extreme north of so vast an empire has tended to make it 'top-heavy' by accentuating the natural cleavage between north and south, which even in modern times has still proved a source of weakness. Had the capital remained at Nanking, it is highly improbable that the Manchus would have been able to conquer the whole Empire, though they might have overrun the northern provinces. Finally, it is hard to estimate the effects which the greater accessibility of Nanking to those coming by sea might have had on Chinese relations with foreigners from the West; but the opinion may be hazarded that they would in the long run have been beneficial to both parties.

The literature of the Yüan (Mongol) and Ming dynasties is not usually considered equal to that which had been produced under the T'ang and the Sung. Poems and essays continued to pour forth in abundance, but the magical touch of a Li Po or an Ou-yang Hsiu was wanting. The truth is that the old literary forms were nearly outworn, and it was found impossible to put new wine into old bottles. But the national genius was far from being exhausted; now, for the first time in history, that great stream of popular literature which we know to have been in existence for more than a thousand years, but which was consistently ignored or kept out of sight by the scholarly classes, forced its way to the surface and began to flow in two main channels, which are known to us as the drama and the novel.

It is probable that the drama in China, like that of Greece, had its origin in the

sacrificial ceremonies of religion. Song and dance formed a regular accompaniment to these ceremonies, and we also hear of pantomimic displays and representations of ancient historical events, divided into a number of scenes. Yet no record of anything in the nature of a stage play can be traced until the reign of Hsüan Tsung (712-756), who founded a sort of academy, known as the Pear-tree Garden, for the training of young people in the arts of music and dancing, and the production of what, for want of a better name, may be described as operas. Music must have constituted the basis of these performances, but it seems that the slender thread of a story was also introduced between the choral songs.

During another long interval of five hundred years there is no definite evidence that theatricals spread farther than the private houses of wealthy citizens, or became part of the recognized amusements of the people. It was not until the close of the Sung

dynasty, in the middle of the thirteenth century, that the dramatic instincts of the Chinese were really awakened. The impulse may have come from the Mongols, for it is precisely in the period when they were engaged in adding the Chinese Empire to their vast dominions that dramatic literature begins. On the other hand, there is nothing in the themes or language of the plays then produced to suggest that they were other than Chinese in their origin.

Growth of Chinese Dramatic art

The earliest stage play that has come down to us, *The Story of the Western Pavilion*, is also one of the most exquisite from a literary point of view, though more lyrical in character and less vigorous in action than many that were to follow. A marvellous creative period now set in, almost comparable in fertility of genius to the Elizabethan era in England. The names are recorded of no fewer than 564 plays written by 85 playwrights who lived under the Yüan dynasty, and a collection of the hundred best pieces has been preserved to form the classical repertory, so to speak, of the Chinese theatre. This sudden flowering of an art which had begun to cast its roots in

Chinese soil as early as the time of Confucius is one of the strangest phenomena in literature.

Under the Ming and Manchu dynasties the drama suffered no decline in popularity, though the great outburst of creative activity gradually began to wane. Modern Chinese plays are mostly deficient in literary merit, but they still follow, in external construction at any rate, the model of the dramas produced under the Mongols. They are usually divided into four acts, with or without a prologue, and are accompanied throughout by an orchestra consisting of gongs, drums and cymbals, besides string and wind instruments. The words are delivered in a high-pitched recitative, varied by bouts of chanting in passages where special stress is required for the heightening of emotion or the utterance of moral reflections. There is, as a rule, one particular character who breaks at intervals into song and fulfills in some degree the function of a chorus.

Plays are roughly classified as 'civil' and 'military.' Military plays are chiefly based on episodes drawn from the inexhaustible mine of Chinese history, and deal with the heroism or villainy of emperors, celebrated generals and other famous historical personages. A great deal of fighting takes place on the stage, accompanied by all manner of gymnastic and acrobatic feats. Civil plays comprise all the events of every-day life, and range from domestic drama and the comedy of manners and intrigue to farces and burlesques of the noisiest, and frequently of the most obscene, description. Falling somewhat outside these two main classes are the quasi-religious plays dealing with exhibitions of Taoist magic, or the very popular variety of comedy in which priests, both Buddhist and Taoist, are held up to ridicule. Contrary to the

usual belief, women took part in theatricals throughout the Mongol and Ming dynasties, and a stop was only put to the practice in the eighteenth century, during the reign of the emperor Ch'ien Lung, whose mother had herself been an actress.

The history of the novel in China runs on more or less parallel lines with that of the drama. Evidence has come to light showing that a great quantity of popular fiction must have existed alongside the elegant productions of the T'ang litterateurs. Few traces of it, however, now remain, except in collections of short stories, mostly dealing with the supernatural; and even these owe their survival less to their intrinsic quality than to extraneous graces of style. Hence the novel has the same illusory appearance of springing into sudden life as the somewhat earlier beginnings of the drama.



YOUNG ACTOR IN A FEMALE ROLE

The earliest record of Chinese drama is the Pear-tree Garden academy founded by the T'ang emperor Hsuan Tsung—whence actors are still known as Young Folk of the Pear-tree Garden. To-day female parts, as above, are taken by men, but this was not so in the classic days of the Mongol dynasty.

Photo, B. T. Pridoux



SPLENDOUR OF MING PORCELAIN

Under the Mings porcelain made great advances, largely owing to the innovation of painting in colours beneath the glaze. This porcelain figure is of the canonised warrior Kuan Yü; it has a hole at the back for offerings.

Eumorfopoulos Collection

The History of the Three Kingdoms, written in the fourteenth century and of doubtful authorship, is a prose epic or panoramic romance covering a period of nearly a hundred years, from the decay of the Han to the rise of the Chin dynasty. A complete English translation has been published, from which a good idea may be gained of the original, with its thrilling episodes and innumerable but well-marked characters. The whole book is alive, and there is hardly a dull page in it from first to last. Almost as popular, and even more valuable for the insight it gives into Chinese manners and customs, is another long novel entitled The Story of the River Banks, which still awaits a translator. Nothing is known about the author except his name, and in most of the later novels even the author's name is wanting—a fact which is eloquent of the low esteem in which the writing of fiction was held in China. In spite of these early examples,

the novelist's art did not make such rapid progress as the drama, or perhaps the impulse was more sustained; for the latter part of the Ming dynasty was prolific in story writers, and one at least of the great Chinese novels (in the opinion of some good judges the greatest of all) belongs to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Those who are anxious to make a study of ordinary domestic life in the Ming period may be recommended to turn to some of the shorter tales such as *Hao Ch'iu Chuan* or *Yü Chiao Li*, both of which have been excellently translated into French and less successfully into English. We are introduced to a leisured, cultured society in which literary attainments count for much more than wealth or rank. Success in the public examinations, unlocking the door to an official career, is the object of every aspiring student. For this he must possess a thorough knowledge of the classics and the knack of expressing himself elegantly in verse. It is the dearest wish of parents to marry their daughters to young men of promise, and more often than not the test imposed on suitors is their ability to dash off a poem on any given theme. Hence versification is an accomplishment in which the hero of a Ming novel will almost invariably excel.

The inferior status of women, about which much has been written, seems to have been more a matter of theory than of practice. Though greatly handicapped in many ways, and not

least by the inveterate custom of foot-binding, they have always held an honourable position in the Chinese household, and Marco Polo was struck by the respect that was paid to them. In domestic affairs they usually had the controlling voice, and the girls of a family were sometimes as well educated as their brothers. It is noticeable, if not significant, that in each of the novels above mentioned the heroine evinces a quick intelligence and a force of character which almost overshadow her lover.

It is not only in the output of fiction that Ming literature can show solid achievement. Scholarship is represented by many great names, and philosophical speculation did not stand still. Though

**Honourable status
of Chinese women**



CHINESE CERAMIC ART IN THE FIFTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

1. Porcelain beaker with Ming emperor in an historical scene. 2. Mandarin administering justice on lid of a porcelain enamelled box ('Chia Ching,' 1522-66). 3. Box with underglaze painting of flowers and animals in five colours ('Wan Li,' 1573-1619). 4. Square beaker with three-colour glaze and relief ornament of the Chinese 'Rip Van Winkle' watching the fairy draught-players (15th century). 5. Wine jar with three-colour glaze and relief ornament of the Chinese 'Rip Van Winkle' watching the fairy draught-players (15th century). 6. Stand for artist's colours 'Chia Ching period, Mahomedan blue'. 7. Porcelain wine vessel, incised ('Chêng Tê,' 1506-21).

1 Victoria & Albert Museum; 3 and 6, British Museum; rest from the Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection, courtesy of Ernest Benn, Ltd.

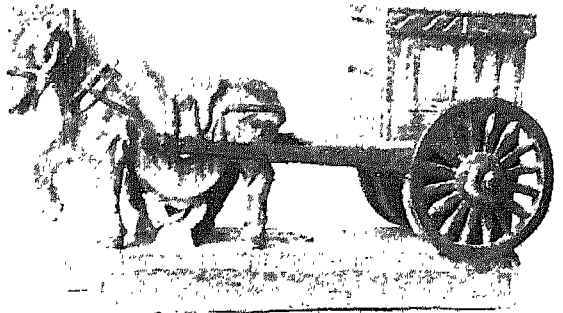


BRILLIANT RANGE OF COLOURS ON MING PORCELAIN AND POTTERY

Extreme felicity in the lesser crafts compensates for a decline in inspired art during the Ming period ; especially in ceramics. Overleaf are utensils, chiefly porcelain ; the statuettes above comprise two porcelain figures and two ridge tiles of rough glazed pottery. Kuanyin (top left ; see page 2562), here in female guise, holds the Register of the Good, while the green-faced Judge of Hell carries the Register of the Evil under his arm

Top left, courtesy of Mr. George Eunorfopoulos ; bottom right, British Museum ; rest, Victoria & Albert Museum

the Confucianist system of Chu Hsi may, by its very completeness, have become something of a dead weight, stifling further inquiry, there is at least one heterodox thinker, Wang Yang-ming, whose doctrines have been studied with increasing attention down to the present day. His thought contains two cardinal principles: one, that knowledge and practice must not be divorced; the other, that every man with his individual mind should strive to investigate the principles of things in themselves. Apart from the mind, no active power exists. The standard of moral conduct is to be found in our own nature and needs only to be properly interpreted. No historical work of outstanding importance was produced in the Ming dynasty, but two useful dictionaries of the Chinese language paved the way for the standard K'ang Hsi lexicon, which



HOW MING LADIES WENT TRAVELLING

As in the case of earlier dynasties, it is the tombs that continue to furnish the most intimate glimpses of Chinese social life during the Ming regime. This horse-drawn covered travelling carriage of pottery has its back and front closed with doors, and windows pierced in the sides.

Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos

has not yet been superseded. A great *Materia Medica* was also published, containing information of high scientific value on plants, minerals, etc.

But all feats of book-making dwindle to small proportions in comparison with the

Yung Lo Ta Tien, an encyclopedic compilation in all departments of human knowledge. With its 22,937 chapters or sections in some 10,000 bound volumes, it could claim beyond dispute to be the largest book that the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, its immense bulk made the cost of printing prohibitive, and the original manuscript perished by fire before the Ming dynasty came to an end. Two copies had previously been made, one of which survived in part until the end of the nineteenth century. Many volumes were burnt during the Boxer troubles, and at present only a few hundred remain, scattered through various public and private collections. The six volumes in the British Museum contain much interesting matter not as yet printed.

In the domain of pictorial art, the Ming period may



MEMBERS OF A MANDARIN'S HOUSEHOLD

These pottery figures from Ming tombs are artistically in no way superior to the T'ang specimens in page 2559, though the application of glaze shows a technical advance. On the left is a lady with a dish, followed by a man in a cowl and a musician with a conical cap holding a trumpet.

Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos



EXQUISITE NATURE STUDY BY A MING ARTIST

Ming painters were refined rather than original; as may be gathered from the amount of copying from earlier masters done in the period. This, however, is but a generalisation and must not be allowed to derogate from the genuine excellence of works such as this ink sketch of wild geese by Lin Liang

British Museum

be acknowledged to stand lower than those immediately preceding it, but it is by no means one of stagnation. The textbooks tell us that the great era of landscape painting practically reached its close in the Yüan dynasty, but genuine works of the Sung and Yüan artists are now extremely rare, and one has to judge of their excellence from the enthusiastic but

not always illuminating descriptions of art critics. Before the Chinese practice of copying old pictures and affixing thereto the signatures of the original artists was fully understood, Sung and Yüan attributions were recklessly given to many paintings which are now believed to be Ming copies. Even the prolific landscapist and horse painter Chao Meng-fu has been deprived of most of the works formerly placed against his name in the collections of Europe and America.

Thus, much of what was once praised as Sung art must now be treated as Ming, and a certain amount of confusion exists as to the real characteristics of the two periods. On the whole, however, we shall not be far wrong in crediting the Ming painters with industry and technical refinement rather than original genius, which indeed is hardly to be looked for in men who were chiefly bent on carrying on a tradition inherited from the Southern Sung school. That will not prevent us from bestowing whole-hearted admiration on such wonderful nature studies as *The Tiger*, by an anonymous artist, or the famous pair of ink-sketches depicting wild geese and rushes, by Lin Liang. These are in the British Museum collection.

Other noted painters are Tai Chin, whose 'copies of the old masters it was impossible, from the point of view of technique, to distinguish from the originals,' Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, a really great artist who hampered his own genius by excessive formalism, and Wên Chêng-ming, who went to the opposite extreme in 'refusing to be bound by any set rules.' Mention must here be made of the magnificent frescoes from a rock-temple in Shansi recently presented to the British

nation by G. Eumorfopoulos. They probably belong to the late fourteenth century, yet the stately figures of Buddhist saints which they portray are instinct with the deep religious feeling which we are accustomed to associate with Sung art. Another fresco, perhaps two hundred years older, showing a group of three colossal figures, is pronounced by Laurence Binyon to be, in colouring as well as in design, 'the most august example of Chinese painting that has yet come to light.'

However great their achievements in pictorial art, it is generally agreed that the men of Ming were following in the footsteps of those whose achievements were even greater. It was otherwise in such branches of craftsmanship as porcelain, bronzes and lacquer work. In each of these, instead of a decline, there was a very notable revival. The bronze incense-burners made in the Hsüan Tê period (1426-35) are famous the world over for their graceful shapes and artistic decoration. The art of lacquer-making is believed to have originated in very early times, but in China itself it made less progress than in Japan, where it was brought to a high pitch of perfection. In the Ming dynasty a mission was sent to study the industry there, and much beautiful work has since been turned out at various centres, especially Canton.

Cloisonné enamels were introduced by the Arabs, probably in the Yüan dynasty, being known to the Chinese as 'Byzantine incrustated work.' The best

Enamel work and porcelain enamel work of the Ming dynasty produced in the middle of the fifteenth century, is said by Bushell to be 'characterised by a boldness of design and breadth of treatment which have never been surpassed, combined with a striking depth and purity of colouring.'

Of all the artistic products of the dynasty, however, porcelain stands easily first. Pottery of a kind that approximates to true porcelain was made in the Later Han dynasty and, although complete specimens are wanting, we know that porcelain of fine quality was turned out by the T'ang potters. Discoveries have been made in Mesopotamia of fragments of celadon ware and white porcelain which



PRECIOUS EXAMPLE OF A RARE ART

Fresco painting, once the glory of Chinese art, largely disappeared with the proscription of Buddhism in the ninth century; but this priest with a censer, one of a group from a rock temple in Shansi, shows that masterpieces were still being produced as late as the fourteenth.

British Museum, Eumorfopoulos Gift



A PARADISE ON EARTH : FAIRY SCAPES SEEN WITH THE ROMANTIC IMAGINATION OF A MING ARTIST

Ming landscape painting reveals some of its most characteristic qualities—a delicate and sometimes rather fantastic artificiality, a feeling for romance and a brilliant technique that yet cannot stand comparison with the sensitive simplicity of such a work as that in the plate facing page 2553—in the untitled picture by an unknown artist, of which part is reproduced above. It apparently represents a scene of Taoist revels, perhaps on one of the islands of the blest, and so is known for identification as *The Earthly Paradise*. Note the lady steering a banquetting party on a floating island

British Museum

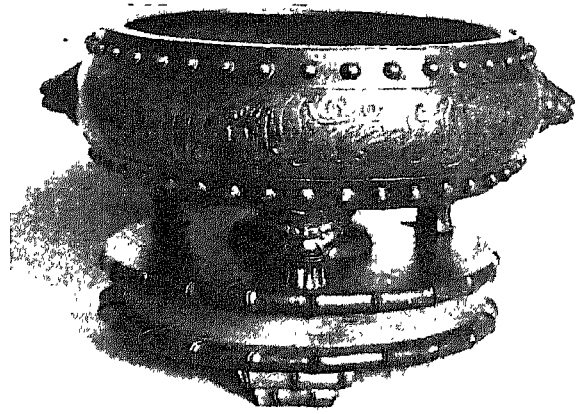
can be definitely assigned to the ninth century. Of the Sung wares, described in glowing terms by Chinese connoisseurs, very little is known to survive, but they are broadly distinguished by their monochrome glazes (including flambés). There was no painted decoration, and all colouring was in the glaze itself. (See page 2563.)

Decoration in different colours was a new departure first attempted by the Ming craftsmen. The method chiefly employed was painting under the glaze, that is to say, the colours were laid on the clay after baking, but before glazing. Enamels applied over the glaze and fixed by subsequent firings were also introduced, but this method reached perfection later. Shapes and designs were of inexhaustible variety. Not long ago only the coarser Ming wares suitable for export were known in Europe. Now it is realized that there were many qualities of porcelain too delicate to be transported over long distances, and it is on these especially that the high repute of Ming potters is based.

Though celadon green glazes were still used in Ming times, the bulk of the ware produced at Ching-tê Chên was decorated with under-glaze blue and coloured enamels, or coloured

The colouring of glazes on a white base. Ming porcelain The 'Mahomedan blue,' which was the most important constituent in the famous blue-and-white porcelain of the Hsüan Tê and Chêng Tê periods (1426-35 and 1506-21), was derived from cobaltiferous ore of manganese, imported from Persia, and the industry was largely dependent on the supply of this material. It was usually blended in a fixed proportion with the inferior cobalt found near Ching-tê Chên.

The Ming dynasty petered out somewhat ingloriously, though at the very end, when it was too late, a stubborn resistance was offered to the Manchu armies in the south. The growing weakness of the



MING CRAFTSMANSHIP : A BRONZE INCENSE BOWL

The Ming was a flourishing period for smaller crafts; witness this bronze incense burner of the Hsüan Tê period (1426-35). It has further interest since the Arabic inscription shows that it served a mosque; and it was the Moslems (there are 25 million in China to-day) who first introduced cloisonné enamel.

Victoria and Albert Museum

dynasty sprang from internal causes, and especially from the ascendancy acquired by the eunuchs, which surpassed anything known in the worst days of the Later Han. A certain irony is imparted to the situation by the fact that the first Ming emperor, fully alive to the perils of eunuch domination, had gone so far as to issue a decree forbidding them to meddle in state affairs under pain of death. But his son found it convenient to ignore this decree, engraved though it was on the very door of the palace, and during the reigns of his successors it continued to be a dead letter. Eunuchs of great ability there were, no doubt, such as the adventurous Chêng Ho, but their influence in court circles was bound to be detrimental to the state. Having free access to the members of the imperial family, which was often denied to the regularly appointed ministers, they found unlimited opportunities for intrigue and self-enrichment. For two centuries misgovernment was rife, and the efforts of the more conscientious statesmen were always liable to be paralysed by the interference of these national pests.

Fortunately for the Mings, the safety of the state was not seriously threatened until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Rebellions occasionally broke out, but none on the scale of those that shook the Empire from end to end under



CARVED LACQUER AND CLOISONNE ENAMEL

The art of enamelling, sometimes *champlevé*, more often *cloisonné*, seems to have reached China in the thirteenth century and by Ming times had attained the level of delicacy suggested by the incense burner above (Ching T'ai, 1450-56). Left: box lid in red and gold lacquer, an art that the period also brought to perfection.

Victoria and Albert Museum

Hsiung-nu, the Khitans or the Nü-chên ; even the once-dreaded Mongols were but a shadow of their former selves, though they continued to harass the frontier at intervals. The piratical raids of the Japanese, though fierce and persistent, were mostly confined to the coastal area of the southern provinces, and were brought to an end by the death of Hideyoshi in 1598. Meanwhile, the future masters of China were gradually gathering strength and preparing for the inevitable struggle.

The amazing success that attended the rise of the comparatively insignificant

tribe of the Manchus, though due in part to the genius of their great chief Nurhachu, was only made possible by the corrupt government and internal dissensions of the Chinese themselves. With the resources at their disposal, the latter should not have found it difficult to ward off the attacks of a state which never possessed anything like the overwhelming might of the Mongol hordes under Jenghiz and his successors. This second loss of independence, however, cannot justly be accounted a misfortune for the Chinese people at large, since the Manchu emperors included some of the greatest and wisest rulers that China has ever had.

An event fraught with even more momentous consequences was the first appearance of foreigners from the West. In 1516, a year before Luther began the

Reformation in Europe, the first Portuguese vessel arrived in Canton, and twenty years later Macao was granted for a settlement, which the Portuguese hold to the present day. The Spaniards followed, but found it more convenient to settle in the Philippines. Thence tobacco is said to have been introduced into China in 1530, and it soon became so popular that the last Ming emperor, who was nearly contemporary with James I of England, issued an edict forbidding its use. Needless to say, the imperial prohibition had no more effect than the royal 'Counterblast,' and the tobacco plant is now cultivated in every part of the country. The English first landed on the coast of China in 1620, which is also the date of the Dutch occupation of Formosa. It must be admitted with regret that these first-comers from Europe gave the Chinese no very exalted idea of Christianity or Western civilization. They generally behaved like buccaneers of the lowest type, and were justly treated as such.

Very different was the conduct of the early Jesuit missionaries, mostly Spanish and Italian, who were the first foreigners to penetrate into the interior of China since the time of the Mongols. The indefatigable Francis Xavier, the apostle of Japan, died on the very threshold of the mysterious land which it was his ardent desire to convert to the Christian faith; but even if his life had been prolonged, it

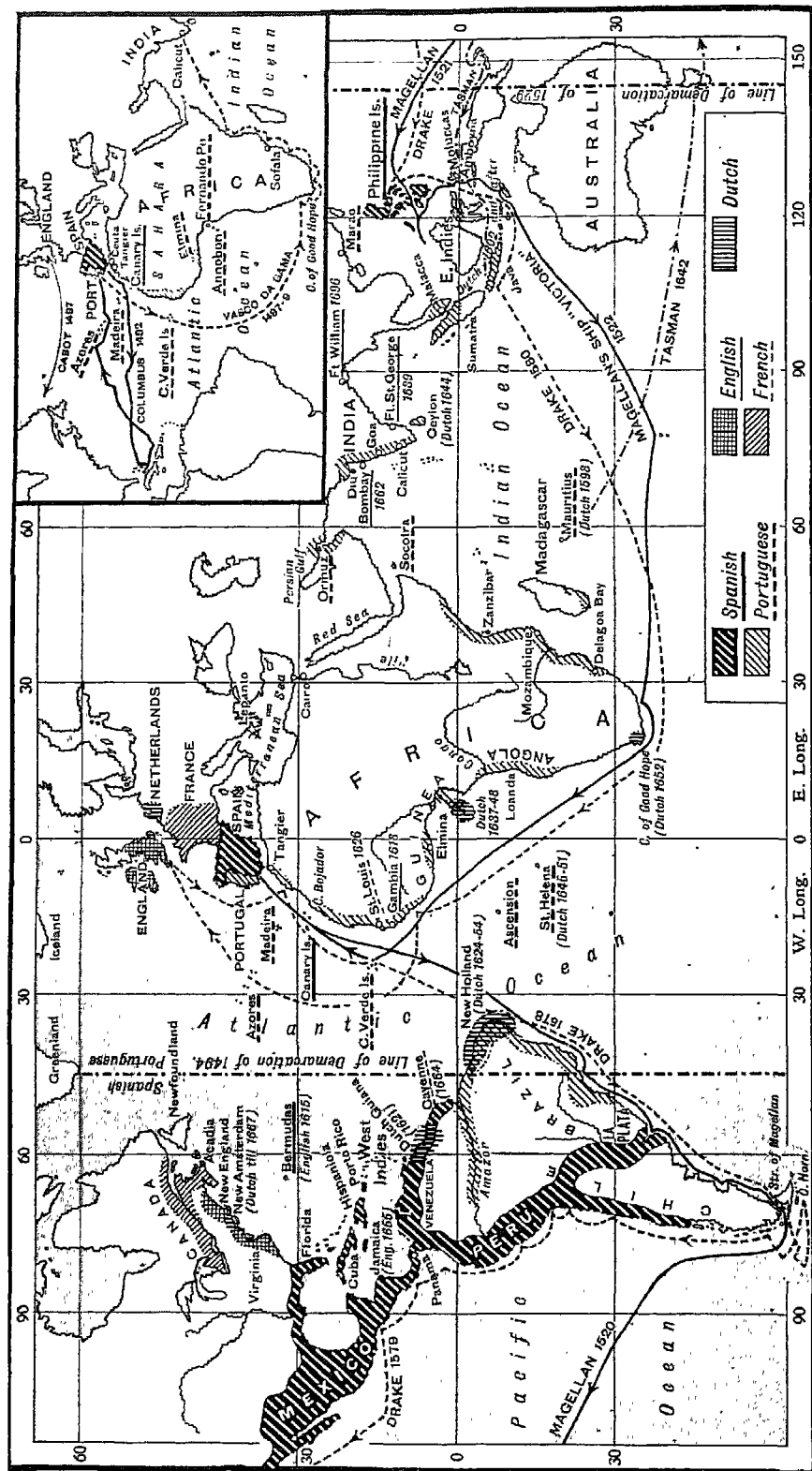
may be doubted whether his passionate zeal would have achieved so much as the quieter methods of his great co-religionist, Matteo Ricci, who reached Peking about fifty years later. Courteous, sympathetic and tactful, Ricci was an unfamiliar type of 'Western barbarian' that the Chinese could not but respect; and his keenness of intellect and very considerable scientific attainments assured him of a warm welcome amongst the educated classes of the capital, whose admiration for learning outweighed their instinctive distrust of new-fangled religions.

The account of his travels through China, which was edited after his death by Trigault, and which appeared in 1616 in a French version entitled '*Histoire de l'expédition chrétienne au royaume de la Chine*,' shows an almost uncanny degree of insight into every department of Chinese life. With fewer opportunities for observation than were vouchsafed to Marco Polo, he immeasurably surpasses the latter in the extent and thoroughness of his knowledge; indeed, the book may still be read with far more profit than most of the works since published on things Chinese. Ricci's example inspired his fellows to continue his work on the lines he had laid down, and if the Christianisation of China has proved after all to be but an idle dream, it is certain that no blame for the failure can be imputed to the Jesuits of the seventeenth century.



CANTON AS A LINK WITH EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Canton, the great city of southern China on the Chu-kiang or Pearl River, was the first port to see the arrival of European shipping (1516); the vessel was a Portuguese, and two years later trading relations were established. This engraving is from Jan Nieuuhof's account (1669) of 'an Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces'; it shows Dutch craft surrounded by sampans in the river, and in the background the city with its two pagodas—that on the left being a mosque



RESULTS OF A CENTURY AND A HALF OF EXPLORATION AND COLONISATION

Consequent upon the voyages of Cabot, Columbus and Vasco da Gama in the fifteenth century, shown in the inset map, there was an outburst of activity in exploration on the part of European maritime powers, followed by occupation of key positions in the world markets and colonisation of large areas. The principal developments brought about by Magellan's and Drake's circumnavigations in 1520 and 1578 are shown above, and also the lines of demarcation drawn through the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in 1494 and 1529 respectively to prevent dispute between Portugal and Spain—an arbitrary arrangement nullified when increasing trade rivalry did away with the theory of 'national' seas.

COLONIAL EXPANSION AND THE GROWTH OF SEA POWER

The 'World Enlarged' by the Voyages of intrepid
Mariners from the Coastwise Nations of Europe

By A. P. NEWTON D.Lit. F.S.A.

Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London; Author of
An Introduction to the Study of Colonial History

THE period between the close of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century is marked in Europe by the rise of nations and by the beginnings of their expansion over-sea into the outer parts of the world. That expansion was dependent not only upon political circumstances, but also upon general progress, for it only became possible when men could be safely transported across the sea and furnished with supplies to maintain them during their early struggles with the forces of nature and with savage tribes. The beginnings of colonisation are so intimately associated with the fight for sea power which won security for the development of the Western nations that they must be considered together.

Amid the many causes that combined in the fifteenth century to bring about the change from the medieval to the modern age, the revelation of new lands beyond the ocean had a profound influence both on thought and politics. The men of the later Middle Ages felt themselves shut up in a narrowing and declining world. Opportunities seemed fewer than they had been in the great days of old, and Christendom was hemmed in by enemies on every side.

The habitable Western world lay, as it had lain since the dawn of history, round the midland sea, and thither the eyes of all civilized men were turned. Christendom was restricted to its northern shores by the forces of Mahomedan enemies who were stretched out in an unbroken crescent from the gates of Constantinople round to the Pillars of Hercules, and beyond. To the north were

only mists and ice, and the lands of uncouth barbarians; to the south were the impassable burning deserts of Africa, and to the west the terrors of the ocean. Only to the east could men look out, but their path towards the half-hidden wonders of the Indies and Cathay was barred. When Constantinople, the last vestige of the Roman Empire, fell before the conquering Turks in 1453, the encirclement of Christendom seemed complete, and men despaired. But within two generations the whole outlook was profoundly changed. The sons of men who had seen that crowning disaster of the old world were still in their prime when Magellan's men came back from the circumnavigation of the globe seventy years later.

No equal interval of time can approach those years in the multiplicity and importance of their happenings. The oceans had been opened up to European enterprise; the Portuguese had made themselves masters of the commerce of the East by such an effort of sea power as the world had never seen, and the Spaniards were conquering a new world beyond the Atlantic that abounded in wonders and opportunities for the adventurous. The ocean was no longer the world's end; it had become a broad highway, tempting men out to seek their fortune. Man's energy had passed beyond the restricted arena of ancient struggles, and those who would might voyage outwards to seek commerce or find rich fiefs in new and virgin lands wherever their ships would carry them. Only the influence of the recovery of the treasures of ancient learning can surpass

the importance of this opening of the oceans in changing the world's outlook.

With the new era new weapons were found for the struggles of the nations. The land was no longer to circumscribe them; the sea was added as the element whereon some of the hardest fights were to be fought and some of the greatest prizes to be gained. Venice and Genoa had won and held their pre-eminence among the wealthiest cities in Europe by the exercise of their sea power in the Mediterranean, but now they were left in a backwater while the fight passed to wider spaces and to new contestants. For nearly a century only the Spaniards and the Portuguese could wield the new weapons of sea power, and during all that time they alone held dominion oversea. Before their monopoly was broken, they had established vast colonies from which their enemies could never dislodge them. More than half the area of the Western continent became a new and permanent home for the development of Iberian culture and institutions, and it is to the history of Spain and Portugal as colonising powers that we must look first in attempting to trace a connexion between sea power and colonisation. Not merely in material equipment were the Iberian peoples more favourably situated than others to begin the extension of European

power beyond the ocean. They were also especially fitted to extend the boundaries of Christendom because they had been organized for centuries to carry on the struggle against the infidels.

While at the eastern end of the Mediterranean the Mahomedans were pushing back the borders of Christendom and making commerce between Europe and the **Iberian Peninsula** Indies more and more **freed from the Moors** precarious, in the west the tide had turned, and bit by bit successive crusades recovered the Iberian Peninsula from Moorish rule. The counts of Portugal had conquered Lisbon and the western seaboard down to Cape St. Vincent before the end of the thirteenth century, and the kings of Castile had driven the Moors from the rich province of Andalusia and come down to warm water at the great port of Seville, whose wealth lay in its trade with Africa.

The ships that traded with Lisbon and Seville were the objects of constant attacks by Moorish pirates, and before the end of the fourteenth century both Castile and Portugal began to organize naval forces to gain control of the seas between their shores and the African coast. These were the first attempts at sea power beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, and they mark the beginning of a maritime rivalry that had important consequences. Throughout the later years of the fourteenth century Portugal and Castile were repeatedly at war, but the fighting was confined to their land frontier.

In pursuance of a claim that the Fortunate Islands or Canaries had belonged to the domains of the Visigothic kings of Spain, Don Luis de la Cerda of the royal house of Castile obtained from Pope Clement IV in 1344 a grant of the lordship of the islands, despite the protest of King Alfonso IV of Portugal, who had already sent an expedition to explore them.

Little was done to enforce the rival claims until 1402,



ABORIGINES OF THE CANARIES

of the Canaries, from which this illustration is taken. The Guanches, as the Spaniards called the indigenous population, came from Berber stock. They were virtually exterminated.

From Edouard Charlon, 'Voyageurs anciens et modernes'

when a Norman adventurer, Jean de Béthencourt, obtained the assent of King Henry III to an expedition for the conquest of the Canaries as a fief of the crown of Castile. This enterprise was the first attempt at European colonisation beyond the sea, but it met with little success, and the adventurers fell into bitter faction fights among themselves. Portugal was too much occupied at home to interfere, for John I, who had only established his rule after a long war with Castile, was averse from reopening the conflict for the sake of distant dependencies.

The expansion of Portugal beyond the sea began with the crusade of 1415 against the Moors in North Africa which led to the capture of the pirate stronghold of Ceuta, and marks the entry on the world stage of one of the greatest figures in the story of expansion.

Prince Henry the Navigator Prince Henry 'the Navigator' was the third son of John I by his English wife, Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, and stands in a unique position as the last crusader and the first inspirer of modern discovery. He moulded himself upon the pattern of St. Louis, the ideal Christian knight, and dedicated his life to the conquest of the infidel; but he saw beyond the ancient horizons, and in his search for new ways to achieve the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent he pointed the way for the modern world to the conquest of the oceans.

His earliest design was to find a sea way round the flank of the Moors and to join hands with the Christian kingdom of Prester John that was said to lie beyond the African desert. As governor of Ceuta Prince Henry saw the merchants who came with their caravans to its gates, and from them he heard tales of the fertile lands of the negroes whence they brought their gold dust and ivory. If he could obtain access to those lands, he would win treasure wherewith to equip his knights and might get command of the sources of the commerce that enriched his enemies. Henceforth he devoted his life and resources to the search by sea for Guinea and the mouth of the Western Nile that was believed to flow from Egypt.



HENRY 'THE NAVIGATOR'

For over forty years, from 1418 onwards, Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460) devoted his immense wealth to the scientific and practical organization of maritime exploration. This miniature appears in the manuscript of *The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 1446

From Major 'Prince Henry'

Prince Henry was the first statesman to realize that the sea was not a limit to man's activities but a highway for his trade, that the future of his people lay oversea, and that it was to be won by sea power. He set himself to build up the maritime resources of Portugal as none had done before, and the task was a long one. Portuguese sailors were mostly fishermen without the skill in navigation that was necessary for distant voyages. The prince brought skilled cartographers and astronomers from Majorca and Sicily to train his pilots in the art of navigation according to the best scientific principles of the time, and shipwrights from Biscay to improve upon the build of his fishing caravels so that they might be large enough and strong enough to keep the sea in all weathers.

The southward quest through the 'Sea of Darkness' along the inhospitable African coast went very slowly, though the prince sent out expeditions again and again. It was not until 1434 that his squire, Gil Eannes, found a passage for the first time past the terrors of Cape

Prince Henry, however, did not abandon his designs against the Canaries, and Castile sent occasional expeditions to the African coast which the Portuguese claimed as their own preserve. The long dispute, the first concerning lands across the ocean, was only brought to an end after the fierce war of the Castilian Succession, when Ferdinand and Isabella undertook the complete and effective occupation of the islands. By the Treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479, ratified at Toledo in 1480, Portugal finally recognized the rights of Castile and received in return the acknowledgment of her exclusive claims in the other island groups and along the Guinea coast.

Before Prince Henry's death in 1460 he had firmly set his people on the path of colonial expansion, and had worn down the early opposition to his schemes. The lands of the negroes along the banks of the Senegal had been reached by his captains, and they had passed on to explore the coast at least as far as Sierra Leone, and to find new lands suitable for colonisation.

Results achieved in the Cape Verde Islands.
by Prince Henry The hope of reaching the

Land of Prester John by the 'Western Nile' had been disappointed, and the crusading motive had been displaced by the desire for commercial gain; but during this time of preparation the Portuguese had made great progress. They had learnt how to organize and equip distant maritime ventures, and in slave-raiding expeditions their captains had been trained in audacious leadership. Fleets of well armed and seaworthy caravels had been built, and Portuguese pilots had won a reputation as being among the boldest and most skilful mariners in Europe. All these achievements had been inspired and directed by the genius and pertinacity of one man, and the verdict of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations is amply justified in pointing to Prince Henry the Navigator as the father of colonial enterprise.

For twenty years after Henry's death the work of exploration was somewhat neglected, and the national energies were turned to unsuccessful campaigns against the Moors and to intervention in the

civil wars in Castile. With the accession of John II in 1481 it was taken up again with a definite purpose of establishing a great Christian empire in West Africa, and passing beyond the continent into the Indian seas. A strong base was founded at St. George da Mina (or Elmina) on the Guinea coast, expeditions were sent out with orders to sail as far south as they could in search of an eastward passage, and information was collected concerning conditions in India and the carrying on of the spice trade which was now the avowed object of effort.

Though his enemies derided his far-reaching commercial schemes as unworthy of a knightly monarch,

they were amply justified by later results, **Renewed activity under King John II** and John II deserves

to be ranked only second to Prince Henry as a patron of discovery. He was determined to keep on good terms with his powerful neighbours not only for dynastic reasons, but also in order that he might pursue his maritime schemes without interference. The fame of the Portuguese discoveries spread through Europe, and Lisbon became the resort of adventurers of all nationalities who had schemes to propose for the king's support. Among them were two brothers from Genoa, Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, who made a scanty living by the sale of 'seamen's charts.'

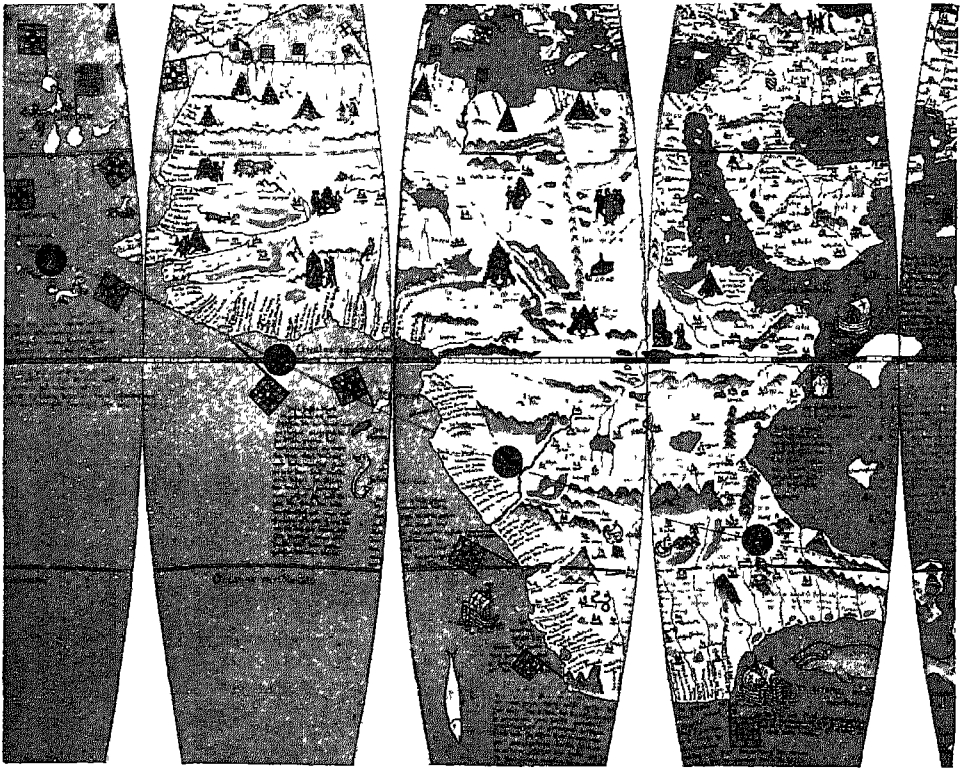
Christopher married into a family whose members had been among the early colonists of the Madeira group, and the stories that he heard from them and his sailor customers set him dreaming of fresh islands to be discovered out in the Atlantic. He may also have already begun to think of finding a westward route to the Indies of Cipangu and Cathay; the riches of which had been described by Messer Marco Polo two centuries before. He ventured to propose a project of discovery to King John, but it was rejected on the advice of the scientific cosmographers appointed to examine it, and soon afterwards he left Lisbon to try his fortune in Spain.

The long sought passage round Africa was at last discovered by Bartholomew Diaz in his great voyage of 1486-88, and

in later years Columbus claimed that he was present when the explorer described to King John how he had been blown far to the south, and how, when he had beaten his way back to the African coast, he had found that it trended east and north-east so that the way to the Indies lay open. Domestic troubles prevented the immediate utilisation of Diaz' information, and before a new expedition was ready Portugal seemed to be anticipated by the Genoese adventurer whose projects she had rejected. After years of fruitless supplications Columbus had at last secured the support of Isabella the Catholic. He sailed out from the Canaries into the Atlantic in August, 1492, before the trade winds and westward currents whose constancy had been revealed by Prince Henry's pilots many years before, and when he dropped anchor off Lisbon on his return

seven months later (March 4, 1493), he proudly proclaimed that he had found the outlying islands of the Indies and that he had annexed them as possessions of the crown of Castile.

A new conflict of interest arose, and the patiently fostered accord between the two Iberian powers was endangered. Portugal would not lightly abandon the prize for which she had so long been striving, and Ferdinand and Isabella at once appealed to the pope for a delimitation of their sphere of discovery from that of their rivals. Alexander VI was a Spaniard and much dependent upon the 'Catholic kings' for support for his Italian schemes, and he hastened to issue bulls that were based upon earlier precedents. The discovery of new lands to the west of a line of demarcation just beyond the colonies of the Portuguese was reserved to Castile



AFRICAN SEGMENTS OF MARTIN BEHAIM'S TERRESTRIAL GLOBE

Martin Behaim was born at Nuremberg in 1459, and went to Lisbon in 1484, where he became associated with the cosmographers in the service of King John II and made a voyage to Guinea. Returning to Nuremberg in 1490, he was commissioned by the city council to prepare a terrestrial globe. The map comprises twelve segments, or 'gores,' and contains over 1,100 place names and numerous legends, miniatures and heraldic emblems. Behaim died in Lisbon, July 29, 1507.

From E. G. Ravenstein, 'Martin Behaim, his Life and his Globe'

to the exclusion of the enterprise of all others. But John II protested, and it was only after prolonged diplomatic negotiations that an agreement was reached. By the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) Spain and Portugal arranged to share the opportunities of oceanic discovery between them, the eastward route being reserved for Portuguese exploitation and the westward for Spain. The threatened breach of amity was thus averted, and a bargain made that was to have consequences of permanent importance.

John II died before his preparations for a new expedition to follow up Diaz' discovery were completed, and it fell to his successor, King Emmanuel 'the Fortunate,' to reap the rewards of eighty years of effort. After a two years' voyage to reconnoitre the Indian markets (1497-9) Vasco da Gama returned with a rich cargo, to report that to get a share in the spice trade would call for a good deal of hard fighting. For centuries the commerce of the Indian seas had been in the hands of the Mahomedans of Arabia and Malabar. They could depend upon the support of the sultan of Egypt, who derived immense profits from the tolls levied on the goods that passed through his dominions to be purchased by the Venetians for distribution in Europe. He would not lightly let his monopoly go, and he had a well armed navy that would make him a dangerous opponent.

The early hopes of finding Christian powers in India with whom alliance might be made against the Moors proved to be unfounded, and the Portuguese leaders began to realize something of the magnitude of the task they were attempting. The Mahomedans could only be ousted by Portugal if she won the command of the sea, and for this Emmanuel



DIVISION OF THE NEW WORLD

In 1502 Alberto Cantino sent the duke of Ferrara a map which was the first to mark the arbitrary line shown in the portion above, whereby Pope Alexander VI divided the New World between Portugal and Spain in 1493. With this the modern map in page 3526 should be compared.

Biblioteca Estense, Modena, British Museum facsimile

made preparations on an unprecedented scale. His ambition was clearly set forth to the world by his acceptance from the pope of the significant title of 'Lord of the Navigation, Conquest and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.'

The first struggle for maritime power on the modern scale brought forth feats of heroism and audacity by sea and land that have been portrayed in the immortal verse of Camoens, but they would have been of little avail without the consummate leadership of two men who were the real founders of the Portuguese power and who may be ranked among the



DOM VASCO DA GAMA

Vasco da Gama led the expedition of 1497-99 that discovered the ocean highway to the East, and there founded Portugal's dominion in India. He died, viceroy of India, at Cochim, December 24, 1524. This portrait appears in Barreto de Rezende's report (see page 3536)

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197

greatest of commanders. They were the earliest leaders to conceive the part that sea power can play on the world stage, and it was by using its resources to the full that they achieved success.

Francisco de Almeida was sent out by Emmanuel to be the first viceroy of India with full power to wage war and conclude treaties in his name. He was the first statesman to grasp the essential conditions of power in the Indies, and upon his victories the first foundations of the Portuguese empire were laid. He wrote:

Let all our forces be on the sea, because if we should not be powerful at sea (which may the Lord forbid), everything will at once be against us . . . Let it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore.

His aim was to win trade, not territorial dominion, and he held that Portugal would weaken and dissipate her forces

if she tried to hold other land bases than those that were absolutely necessary. The enemy to be feared was not the Moors, who had only ill-found trading vessels with which to oppose the well armed and seaworthy caravels of the Portuguese, but the sultan of Egypt who had strong forces in the Red Sea, and the Turks who might come down to the help of their co-religionists from their bases in the Persian Gulf. Almeida set himself to destroy the Mahomedan bases on the African coast, which lay on the flank of the route by which reinforcements must reach him from Europe, and to stop up the avenues for his enemies' approach. The strategic points of Socotra and Ormuz which guard the narrow entrances to the Red Sea and the Gulf were seized, but the capture of Aden was neglected.

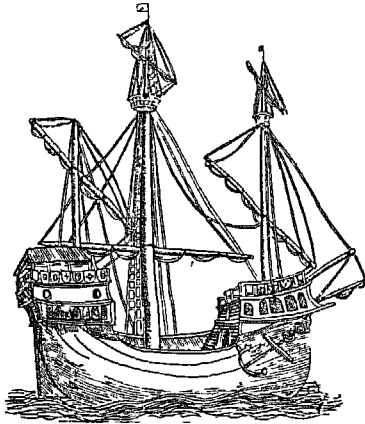
Almeida easily dominated the routes of the Arab traders with small detached forces, but the danger that had been foreseen arose when an Egyptian fleet got through to the Mahomedan stronghold of Diu and met and overwhelmed one of these detachments. The decisive struggle came in February, 1509, when Almeida brought the Egyptians to action in the *Portugal Mistress* harbour of Diu and, of the Eastern Seas by superior gunnery and leadership, completely destroyed them. The consequences of the victory were conclusive, for no other organized fleet remained to dispute Portugal's naval supremacy; her ships could transport her soldiers where she would, and could forbid maritime trade to all others. The monopoly of the spice trade was won, and two years later the Venetian factors could find no spices or pepper to purchase on the Cairo market, while the warehouses of Lisbon were filled to overflowing.

Afonso d'Albuquerque took over the supreme command from Almeida in December, 1509, and before his death, six years later, he had made the Portuguese name renowned everywhere throughout the East, even as far as China and Japan. Almeida had devoted his forces to dominating the Arabian Sea and controlling the pepper and cinnamon trade of Malabar;

d'Albuquerque had far wider plans and aimed at the foundation of a great empire. It was based upon the power of his fleet, but he dreamed also of commanding large armies and land garrisons wherewith to hold all the strategic points of the Indies, and to proceed thence to the conquest of Mecca and Egypt, and to recover Jerusalem and the Holy Places from the infidels. Such plans were far beyond the power of Portugal, but they are significant as showing that the greatest of her captains had not forgotten the ideals of the crusaders which had inspired Prince Henry and moved him to begin the enterprise that d'Albuquerque did more than any other to crown with success.

D'Albuquerque's grandiose schemes in the Red Sea were doomed to failure, but in the East he achieved his aims. From the capital of the Indies that he founded at Goa he sent out expeditions for the capture of Malacca, the fortress that commanded the straits that led to the Far East, and its occupation in 1511 made him master of the spice and silk trade. Thence he sent out forces to explore the Moluccas and envoys to enter into relations with Bengal, Pegu, Siam and China, and to secure their trade.

The energy put forth by the Portuguese was as extraordinary as their conquests were swift, but even at the height of d'Albuquerque's success it was clear that he had not sufficient force at his disposal to carry out his wider schemes. This weakness was due to the immeasurable extension of his dominions at which King Emmanuel aimed. He was not content to concentrate his efforts on the operations in the Indian seas that were proving so profitable, but frittered away his men in carrying on the wasteful campaigns of his predecessors in Morocco. His encouragement to his subjects to found



A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CARRACK

About 1516 a woodcut was published depicting d'Albuquerque's unsuccessful siege of Aden in 1513. This excerpt shows the type of vessel in which he conducted his operations.

British Museum

colonies in the new-found land of Brazil was of more lasting value. The region was discovered by Cabral in 1501 on the second voyage to India, and since it lay to the east of the Tordesillas line of demarcation, Emmanuel was anxious to occupy it in order to forestall his Spanish rivals. Vast grants of land were given to the nobles who would send out expeditions to colonise them at their own expense, and in a few years the coast was explored far to the south and dotted here and there with estates

exploited by Portuguese feudatories with the enforced labour of the native tribes.



A GREAT INDIAN VICEROY

Affonso d'Albuquerque (1453-1515) first visited the Indies in 1503, and after 1509 as viceroy. By his wise statesmanship and use of sea power he firmly established Portuguese empire in India. This portrait is from the same MS as the illustrations in pages 3534 and 3536.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197

In Africa, too, Emmanuel adopted a forward policy and sent out expeditions to establish bases in Angola and to persuade the negro chiefs of the Congo to acknowledge Portuguese suzerainty. The old design of Prince Henry was also at last accomplished, and a mission visited the court of Priest John in Abyssinia to enlist his aid against the Moors in the Gulf of Aden, but found in place of the wealthy priest-king only a poor semi-savage chieftain ruling over a mass of warring tribes.

The dispersal of his forces was only possible because Emmanuel had nothing to fear from his neighbours in Europe. It was the settled policy of Spain to keep on friendly terms for dynastic reasons, and no other power yet looked out to the Ocean. Portugal's expansion was therefore free from interference during the critical years, but its success was only achieved by the exhaustion of the nation and the decimation of its best elements. The agricultural population was drained

away to satisfy the incessant demand for sailors and soldiers for the fleets, and the fields of the landowners were left desert or tilled by imported negro slaves.

Lisbon was too remote from the European markets to be the distributing centre for the trade in Eastern products, and they had to be brought up channel to Antwerp. The richly laden ships afforded a tempting prey to the English and French pirates who swarmed there. Whether as outlaws or as commissioned privateers they found that the king of Portugal had his hands too full elsewhere to protect his convoys, and their depredations became a serious drain upon his profits. The important result of this unofficial privateering war was that it gave the seamen of the western nations experience of oceanic navigation and began the improvements in ship building, seamanship and gunnery that produced such momentous results later in the century. In the Indian seas the Portuguese

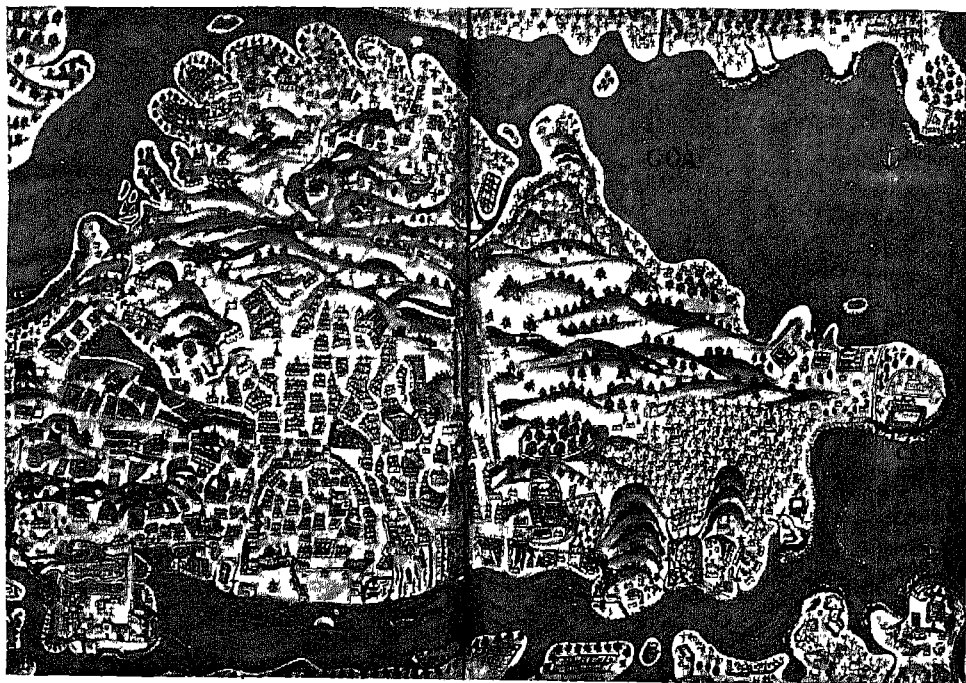


CHART OF OLD GOA, FIRST CAPITAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

Afonso d'Albuquerque succeeded Almeida as Portuguese viceroy in India, and immediately set to work to found a great Portuguese empire in the East. As a first step he took possession of Goa, in the centre of the Malabar coast, intending it to be a colony and naval base as distinct from the fortified factories at Calicut, Cochun and elsewhere. Old Goa is thus depicted in a chart included in a report on the country made by Pedro Barreto de Rezende (see also illustration in page 3396).

British Museum, Sloane MS 197



PORTUGAL'S BOLDEST EXPLORER

Fernan Magellan, the Portuguese navigator, was born c. 1480 and served his own country in the East. In 1517 he entered the Spanish service and made his most famous voyage. He was killed in the Philippines, April 27, 1521.

From Na. arrete, 'Coleccion de los Viajes' engr. by Selma

could keep command of the sea against all the Turkish and Egyptian fleets that were sent against them, but their real danger lay in European waters and in the sapping of their resources by unremitting raids on their commerce.

While Portugal was winning glory and riches in the East, Spain was suffering disappointment in her new discoveries. Columbus's claims to have reached the easternmost confines of Asia were soon shown to be baseless, and it was found that the way to the West was barred by an immense continental mass. If Spain was to share in the riches of the Indies as she hoped, a passage must be found. Columbus was bitterly attacked and discredited for his failure to find it in his third and fourth voyages, and others took up the quest, so that before Nuñez de Balboa first saw the Great South Sea from the mountains of Darien and claimed its waters for his master in 1513, the extent of the Atlantic coast of the new world had been revealed from Florida to Brazil without the sign of a passage.

One of Portugal's renegade sons at last revealed the long-sought secret for her rival. Fernan Magellan, perhaps the

boldest and most skilful explorer of the age, had served in the expedition sent by d'Albuquerque to reconnoitre the Molucas in 1511, but having been dismissed by King Emmanuel passed over to Castile to offer his services to Charles V. Cortés had yet hardly begun his conquest of the riches of Mexico, and Spain did not realize the immense field that awaited her exploration, so that Magellan's plans were well received. Setting sail in 1519 he passed farther south than had ever been reached before, and came at length to the tortuous straits that now bear his name. Amid tremendous difficulties he crept through them out into a new ocean that he called the Pacific, and pushing ever westward he came at length to islands that had been reached by Portuguese ships that had come eastward round the Cape of Good Hope. Before his death in a skirmish with Asiatic savages he knew that his purpose had been achieved and that he had proved the practicability of the long-sought Spanish passage to the Spiceries.

The return of Juan Sebastian del Cano with the remnant of Magellan's men in 1522 was a political event of importance, for it revived the dangers of rivalry beyond the ocean that had been averted by the Tordesillas agreement nearly thirty years before. But the Portuguese power in the Indies was now strong enough to



ONE OF MAGELLAN'S SHIPS

Magellan's expedition in 1519 comprised five vessels, and the Victoria (above), a two-masted carrack of 85 tons burden, was the first ship to complete a voyage round the world. Magellan's own ship, the Trinidad, was 110 tons burden.

From Hulsius, 'Collection of Voyages,' Nuremberg, 1602



HONDIIUS' 'MAP OF THE MAGELLAN STREIGHT'

It was in October, 1520, that Magellan discovered the strait called after him between Patagonia and the land he named Tierra del Fuego, and after five weeks' struggle he reached the Pacific Ocean. This map of the recently discovered region was drawn by Jodocus Hondius about seventy years later.

British Museum

crush any intruding Spaniards, and the emperor was not ready to forsake his policy of peace with his neighbour in the Peninsula for problematical profits. The conquest of the Aztec Empire and the many roads to fortune that were opening out in Central America were far more attractive to adventurers than the long and dangerous voyage to the Moluccas, and it was hard to find captains to command expeditions. It was decided, therefore, to compromise, and after long negotiations an arrangement was reached in the Treaty of Saragossa (1529) whereby the line of demarcation in the Pacific was fixed as the continuation round the globe of the Atlantic line. This left the Moluccas within the Spanish zone; but the emperor resigned his claims to them in return for a large money payment. By the treaty all trespass of the subjects of either power within the zone of the other was forbidden under severe penalties.

The process of mutual recognition of interests that was begun at Alcaçovas in 1479 was thus completed at Saragossa fifty years later. So long as the energies of other nations were absorbed in European and domestic affairs, the claims to exclusive sovereignty of the ocean and the right to exploit the new discoveries would stand; but the dangers implicit in the position were recognized by some

Spaniards. It is in the pages of two Spanish writers about 1564 that we find the beginnings of the discussions concerning the 'freedom of the seas' that became so prominent in the seventeenth century and wherein the foundations of modern international law were laid.

It was the generally accepted theory in the first half of the sixteenth century that the seas were capable of appropriation, and that they were almost wholly under the dominion of one power or another. Venice was mistress of the Adriatic, and the king of Denmark enforced his claim to the sovereignty of the Baltic by exacting tolls from

all vessels that passed the Sound. Successive kings of England had made claims to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, but had done little to enforce them. The immunity of Spain and Portugal from attack upon their claims for so long was owing to political circumstances, but encouraged their growth to something far beyond what was intended when the bulls of Alexander VI were drafted. Not merely did their jurists assert rights over the ocean corresponding to those of Venice in the Adriatic, but they extended them by claiming dominion of all adjoining coasts not in the occupation of any Christian prince by right of prior discovery, and thus by implication shut out all other nations from world power.

Political claims

to 'National' seas

The claims in reality were political and not legal in character, and amounted to the assertion that Spain and Portugal held a privileged position and that they might enforce upon others agreements that had been made between themselves for their own convenience. De Castro and Vasquez, however, maintained that the claims of the Portuguese to exclude others from the navigation to the Indies and of the Spaniards to possess sole dominion in the new world were vain and foolish, and could have no force in controversies

between sovereign princes and peoples, because they were contrary to the laws of nature. But such expressions of opinion were purely theoretical, and the effective attack upon the monopolies came not from the lawyers but from the corsairs.

The naval campaigns of the long wars between Francis I and Charles V were mainly confined to the Mediterranean, and were of the same type as had been seen there from time immemorial, the fighting ships being galleys propelled by oars. It was not until after 1540 that Francis conceived that he might find valuable aid by organizing the attacks of the corsairs on Spain's communications with her colonies. In 1541 he asserted liberty of navigation for his sailors, and told the Spaniards: 'The sun shines for me as well as for others. Where is the clause in Adam's will that shuts me out from the partition of the world?'

A new era in sea warfare began when strong squadrons of French corsairs were commissioned at the outbreak of war in 1542, and their ravages

French corsairs in among the Spanish
American waters colonies in the Carib-
bean became a serious

menace. But France did not persist in her protest against the Spanish claims, and at the peace prohibitions were issued forbidding French sailors to trade in American waters. The Spanish colonies had again to suffer terrible French raids in the war against Henry II, but at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) Philip II was able to secure the formal recognition of his exclusive rights in the Indies. France withdrew from the competition for sea power for nearly a century, and the struggle was left to the gradually rising power of the English and the Dutch.

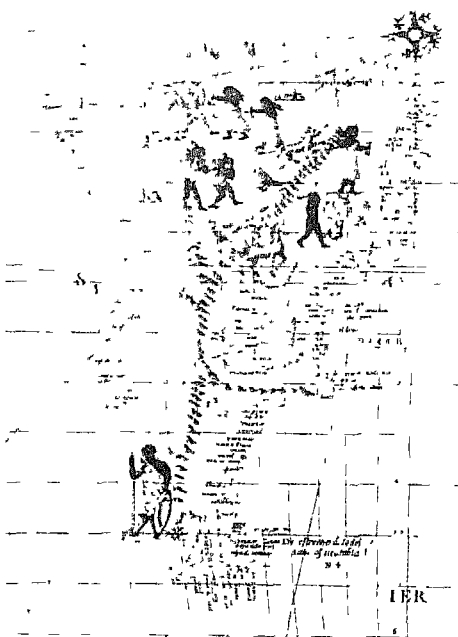
A quarter of a century separated the close of the Hapsburg-Valois wars in 1559 from England's entry into the Elizabethan naval war on a national scale in 1585. That interval saw the full establishment and organization of Spanish colonial dominion and its extension almost to its limit. The time of Charles V had been one of discovery and conquest, the first half of the reign of Philip II was mainly one of consolidating control over the territories that had already been annexed beyond the

ocean. Almost the only new annexation was that of the Philippines, the interest of which is that though the islands lay well within the Portuguese sphere as delimited at Saragossa, the Spanish occupation brought forth no protest.

The energies of Portugal were exhausted, and her claims to monopoly in the Indies could stand only so long as they were unattacked. Magnificent and wealthy as **Decay of Portugal's** the Portuguese Em- **Empire in the East** pire in the Indies appeared, it was in reality decayed to the core. Its rule was marked by a narrow despotism for the benefit of corrupt officials who neglected all the maxims of good government that had been laid down by d'Albuquerque and cared only for their own aggrandisement. The men of lower rank who had no opportunities for extortion like their rulers sank into sloth and debauchery, while the native inhabitants within the limits of the settlements suffered the oppressions of a merciless tyranny. Hence the name of Portugal was detested throughout Asia, and any assailants who attacked her rule were welcomed by those whom she misgoverned.

In Brazil, however, where true colonisation was undertaken in a primitive country only peopled by savages, a greater success was achieved, and the seeds of civilized rule were planted soundly. The work was a direct continuation of that of Prince Henry in planting the oceanic islands and closely followed the same precedents. It was overshadowed by the more showy exploits in the Indies, but a prosperous and contented community slowly grew up in Brazil, which carried on a valuable trade in tropical products with Europe, and began to import negro slaves for its plantations from Africa. Before 1580 Brazil had, in fact, become established as the first and the typical plantation colony in tropical America.

The Spanish conquests were on a wider scale, but they resulted everywhere in the foundation of colonies of a similar type. The world had seen nothing like the tremendous outburst of expansive energy that in a single generation carried Spanish rule from the confines of Florida and Mexico to the outposts of Chile and La



PERU AND SOUTH AMERICA

Sebastian Cabot (1474-1537), adventurer and cartographer, led an expedition to Brazil in 1516, and spent four years in South America. This map of the continent south of the Amazon is part of his own *Mappamundi* published in 1544.

From Jomard, *Monuments de la Géographie*

Plata in the far south. It was the extension to a wider field of those efforts for the conquest and subjugation of the infidels to which the Castilians had devoted themselves for centuries. The deeds of the conquistadors are reminiscent at every turn of the Moorish crusades, and the colonies they founded derived their economic and social structure directly from the conquered lands in old Spain.

They were essentially aristocratic and feudal and dependent upon the toil of serfs like those on the estates of the Church and the nobles in Castile. The main difference was one of scale, for the reduction of the natives to serfdom in the continental colonies provided labourers for vast ranches that exceeded anything in the narrower home land. The middle and lower classes of the Spanish emigrants congregated mostly in towns that reproduced in the new world the urban life of Spain, but the great extent of the colonies with a comparatively small white popula-

tion was due to the fact that they consisted of immense estates whereon a few baronial landlords ruled in feudal fashion over the aboriginals whom they had subjugated. In the islands, where the natives were exterminated in the early days of the conquest, their places as labourers were filled by negroes from Portuguese Africa and there again a similar type of society was developed.

The Spanish colonial empire, unlike the Portuguese dominion in the Indies, was not dependent upon sea power for its very existence. The colonies, when once firmly established, were almost self-sufficing. Their communications with Spain were carried on by comparatively lightly armed merchantmen that were an easy prey for the corsairs until they were gathered into annual fleets convoyed by ships of war. The constant demands of the colonists that a strong squadron should be stationed in the Caribbean for defence against raiders were neglected, for the attention of the Spanish naval authorities was concentrated upon their galleys in the Mediterranean which were the defence against the menace of the Turkish fleet.

The great victory of Lepanto in 1571 was won in a galley fight of the traditional kind, and the immense prestige it gave to the Spanish navy was really a misfortune, for it confirmed its commanders in their belief in the old

weapons at the moment when a new era in naval warfare was dawning. The Indies fleets were made up of carracks and galleons that had been developed to carry passengers and goods and not for fighting. They made their regular passages along fine-weather tracks and through calm seas, and since the defence of the convoys against raiders was mainly entrusted to the soldiers whom they carried, little attempt was made to develop the art of manoeuvring the ships as fighting instruments. That advance was left to their enemies, the corsairs of the stormy waters of the Channel.

The real founders of the English navy were the first two Tudors, and it was the improvements which they fostered in ship building, gun founding and naval administration that made the achievements of

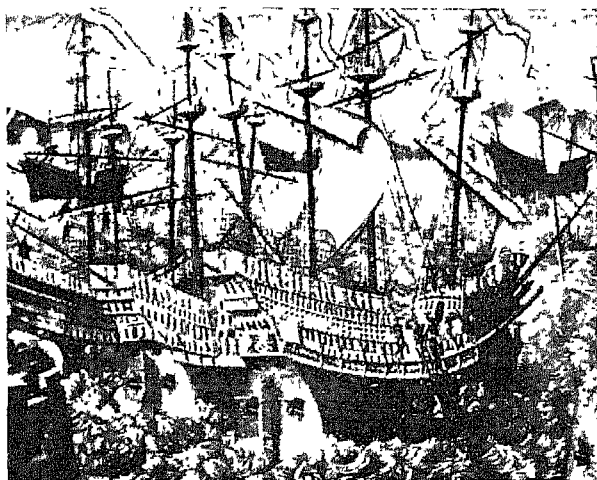
the Elizabethan seamen possible. Their influence was indirect, for it was in private war rather than in the king's navy that English sailors under Henry VII and Henry VIII learned a skill in seamanship and navigation which far surpassed the rudimentary arts that had sufficed the earlier shipmen to guide their clumsy cogs and balingers across the Narrow Seas.

As the corsairs from the west-country ports began to seek their booty farther and farther afield, so they learned how to conduct long voyages to Guinea or Brazil, and how to outmanoeuvre any forces that were sent against them. The task of the old shipmen of the king's navy had merely been the humble one of transporting the soldiers who did the fighting, but the new type of seaman could fight his ship as well as sail it, and the Channel pirates who under Henry VIII preyed upon the Portuguese merchantmen, as they carried their rich cargoes from Lisbon to Flanders, were the direct precursors of the Elizabethan privateers.

When England began to look out over sea in search for a share in world commerce, it was upon the efforts of her merchants that she depended, and not on the direct lead of the crown as in Portugal. The organization of trade with foreign countries was in the hands of the great chartered companies, the Staplers, the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Merchants, and similar methods were adopted for the new ventures. The way to the south being forbidden, the first expedition of the 'Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of New Trades' was sent out in 1553 to search for a passage to Cathay by the north-east. It failed to accomplish its original purpose, but it opened up a new and profitable trade with the dominions of the tsars of Muscovy by way of the White Sea. Again and again during the next twenty years expeditions were

sent forth by companies of adventurers to seek the northern passage, as is told in Chapter 138, but they always failed, and the leading merchants became convinced that it was only by the routes to the southward that they could achieve their aims. Sooner or later England would be forced to brave the prohibitions of Spain and Portugal and take a part in the struggle for the freedom of the sea.

During the first half of Elizabeth's reign the rising tide of hostility to Spanish pretensions was masked by elaborate pretences that the attacks of the privateers were merely reprisals for private injuries, and that they were not inconsistent with the maintenance of peaceful official relations. It was only when the circumstances of her European policy had compelled her to come out openly as the champion of Protestantism that she was ready to make formal protest against the Spanish claims to exclusive oceanic dominion. In 1580, however, she declared unmistakably her intention to maintain that those claims were contrary to the law of nations, and that all men had a right to navigate the vast ocean, for the use of the sea and air is common to all. 'Neither can any title to the ocean belong to any people or private man, forasmuch



EARLY TUDOR MEN-OF-WAR

Battleships of Henry VIII's time are shown here from the painting of Volpe at Hampton Court. They had three, four or five masts, cumbrous top hamper of forecastles and deck-houses aft, and several tiers of guns. Most famous was the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, or 'Great Harry,' accidentally burned in 1573.



HERO OF THE SPANISH MAIN

Sir Francis Drake (1545-95) was trained for his wonderful career by his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. He fought the Spaniards in the West Indies, and was the first Englishman to sail round the world. For this exploit he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth on board the *Golden Hind* at Deptford.

Engraving by Hondius

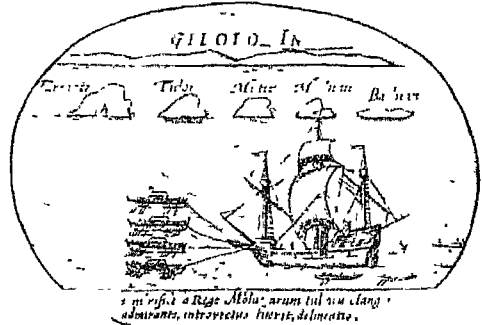
as neither nature nor regard of the public use permitteth any possession thereof.'

The first successful effort to open up communication with the Indies was Drake's great voyage of circumnavigation in 1577-80, but the resounding story of his pillage of the defenceless Spaniards in the South Sea has overshadowed the fact that it was the Moluccas at which he was aiming. When he reached them he found such detestation of the Portuguese that he could readily obtain agreements with the native sultans, and for long afterwards appeals were made to these as a justification for English claims in the Spiceries. The information that Drake brought home was considered as valuable as his immense booty, and when six years later (1586-8) Thomas Cavendish repeated his exploits in the

second English circumnavigation, it was to his confirmation of Drake's account of the East Indies that the greatest attention was paid.

Now that Portugal had passed under Spanish rule (1580), the old claims to the dominion of the sea had been merged into one overweening demand for world mastery. It was clear that if England was to win safety from the menace of invasion and conquest and freedom of commerce for her sailors and merchants, she would have to fight for them. Only by the exertion of her sea power in home waters could she hope for success. No longer cloaked by any pretence of private venture, Drake and Frobisher were dispatched (1584-5) on the greatest of all Caribbean raids, and the insolent completeness of their success goaded Philip on to feverish preparations to cut out the source of the mischief by the invasion of England with overwhelming force. All trade with Englishmen and Netherlanders was forbidden, their ships in Spanish harbours

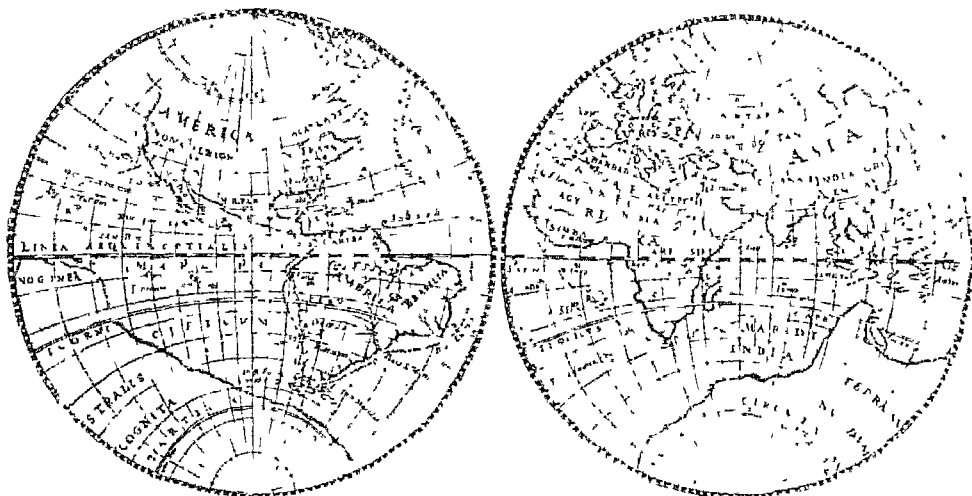
were seized and their crews thrown into prison, and warning was given to Parma



DRAKE IN THE MOLUCCAS

In 1579 the *Golden Hind* reached the Moluccas, and the prince of Ternate, with great pomp, visited Drake in person. This is one of four illustrations from a Flemish map of Drake's voyages produced at Antwerp probably in 1581.

British Museum



MAP OF THE WORLD IN SILVER ILLUSTRATING DRAKE'S VOYAGE

This print, taken direct from the original plate of thin silver, shows the route of Drake's voyage in 1577 to California via the perilous passage through the Magellan Strait (left). The course of his homeward journey is shown in the reverse half of the medallion (right), through the Spice Islands and the Indian Ocean, whence he brought back many curiosities. The map was engraved for Drake in 1586 and, besides Drake's route, shows the regions explored by Frobisher in 1576-5.

British Museum

in the Netherlands to hold his armies in readiness to reinforce the Great Armada when it came up the Channel.

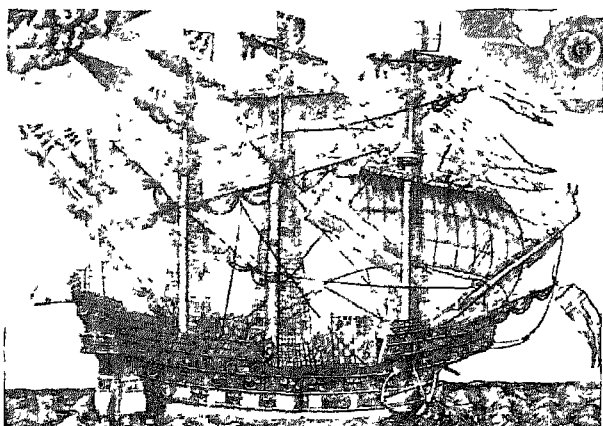
But England had leaders who believed that the surest defence lies sometimes in attack, and Drake was launched for a sudden blow at the transports that were known to be preparing. The place of assembly for the ships that had been summoned from all the Spanish ports in the Mediterranean was in the harbour of Cadiz. Thither Drake sailed (April, 1587), to be met off its entrance by some of the galleys that were generally accounted the

most formidable war vessels in the world. But Drake made light of them. With guns of longer range and greater weight of metal than any of his enemies could mount, he battered the galleys to pieces while he manoeuvred his ships so that they could not approach him. Then, burning or capturing all the shipping in the harbour, he passed away to intercept the vessels that were coming round with provisions for the fleet at Lisbon, and at last returned for reinforcements to continue what was really the conception of a blockade of the Spanish coast. But that conception was



PANORAMIC VIEW OF CADIZ IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TIME

Owing to its noble, almost land-locked, bay, Cadiz was for centuries one of the world's principal seaports. In the fifteenth century its natural harbour was the headquarters of the Spanish treasure fleet, and thus the object of numerous attacks. Drake 'sing'd the king of Spain's beard' here in 1587 by burning all the shipping in the harbour, and in 1596 Essex and Lord Howard took and sacked the town. This view is taken from Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in 1577.



A FAMOUS FLAGSHIP

Ark Royal, Lord Howard of Effingham's flagship in 1588, was a four-master of 800 tons burden with a complement of 425 men. Her armament comprised four 60-pounders, four 33-pounders, twelve 18-pounders, twelve 9-pounders, six 5½-pounders and seventeen small guns, with a broadside weight of 377 lb.

Contemporary woodcut

too novel and too apparently dangerous to be accepted, and it was in the Channel that the great struggle was to take place.

There are few battle stories more familiar than that of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, but neither at the time nor later were all the tales true that were told of the fight, and the real causes of England's first great naval victory have often been overlooked. When the Armada set sail from Lisbon on May 20, 1588, it appeared the most imposing sea force ever assembled, but it was in reality little more than a fleet of ill-armed transports. Of its 130 vessels only a third could in any real sense be classed as fighting ships, and of the 30,000 men aboard 22,000 were landsmen who knew nothing of the sea. The soldiers included some of the world's best infantry; but even the best of the ships were short of guns and gunners, and they were hard to sail and manoeuvre in boisterous weather.

In all the essential factors of the new sea power the English squadrons were infinitely superior. The ships of the queen's navy were those that really counted, for the auxiliary merchantmen did nothing of much importance. The royal ships were fast and very handy vessels that had been specially designed for the new method of fighting, and they carried guns of greater range and heavier

metal than anything seen before. Their numbers were approximately the same as those of the fighting Spanish ships, but their tonnage was much less. Their greatest strength lay in the fact that they were manned by trained crews who sailed and fought their ships under skilled naval officers whom they trusted.

It took three months of trouble and disorder after leaving Lisbon before the Armada could reach the Channel, and when the two fleets met for the first time on July 21, the English superiority at once became apparent. The next six days saw a series of actions all the way up Channel in which

the English pounded the heterogeneous huddle of Spaniards from every western quarter with hardly an effective reply. When they cast anchor off Calais on July 27, the Spanish leaders knew that they were beaten, though the final catastrophe was not to come till two days later. Thrust from their anchorage by the panic of the fire ships, they were relentlessly driven northwards with all the force of the English guns. The battle of Gravelines lasted throughout the 29th, but when it was over and the remnants of the beaten Armada were fleeing northwards to escape as best they could, the dreams of Spanish sea power were ended.

Rout of the Spanish Armada

They had lasted so long because there had been none before to challenge that power seriously. Spain had merely had to suffer from the disconnected efforts of privateers and commerce raiders, whose depredations were costly and irritating, but who could give no decisive blow. Now that decisive blow had fallen, and gradually the conviction spread through Europe that the freedom of the seas had been won and that the way to the Indies lay open for those who would attempt it. But even England herself hardly knew at first what she had done, and the completeness of her victory was attributed

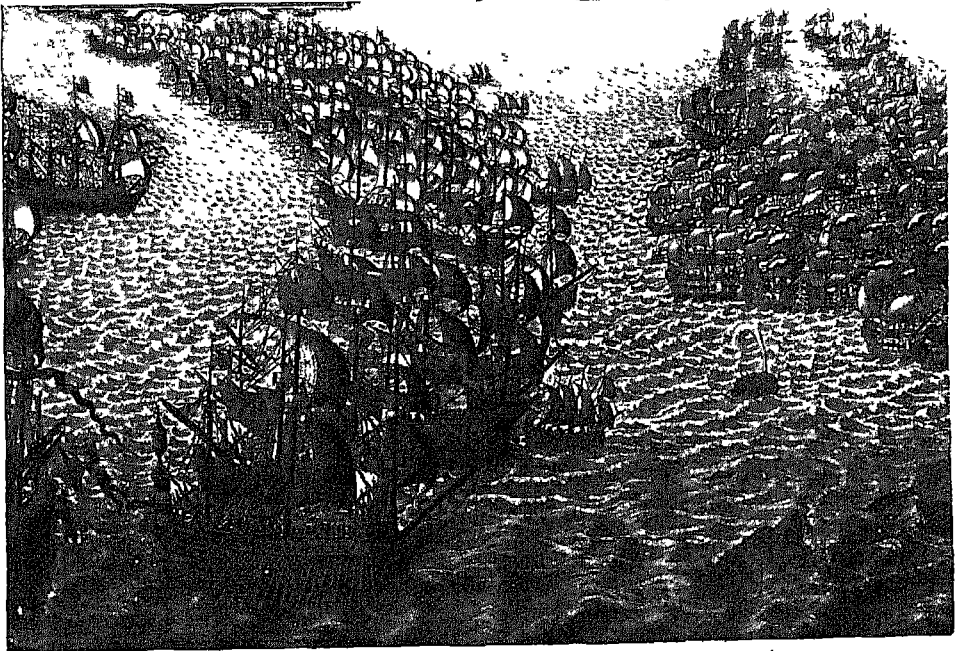
either to the direct intervention of Providence, or to the fortunate participation of the winds and waves that had strewn the coasts of Scotland and Ireland with the wrecks of the fleeing galleons. But the sailors of the maritime nations knew better. To quote Sir Julian Corbett:

The English had invented a new art; they had created a new machine to put it in execution; by long and hard service in the open sea they had trained hands to work it, and over all to direct its untried energy there had arisen a master-spirit of the highest order. It was not the first time that such a convergence had changed the course of empire, nor can it be the last.

The later phases of the war did little to add directly to England's newly won naval prestige. Sea power was no longer the exclusive possession of Spain, but she was still very formidable. The wastage caused by the attacks of the privateers upon her commerce gradually sapped her strength, but they could not finish the war. The Dutch gained most immediate benefit; for, the sea route from Spain to

the Low Countries being closed, supplies and reinforcements could only be sent to the Spanish armies by the long and costly land route, and this seriously weakened them. Behind the battle line along their frontiers the Dutch were able to build up their commerce in comparative security, and they were ready to act more rapidly than the English in attacking the Eastern trade, for they were not hampered by the queen's cautious and somewhat vacillating policy.

The first English expedition to the East by the Cape of Good Hope was sent out by London merchants under James Lancaster, in 1591, but it was not until ten years later that they were allowed to make a bid for the trade in earnest. Meanwhile, the Dutch secured an advantageous position in the Eastern Archipelago despite Portuguese opposition, and their merchants had started to build up a widespread contraband trade with Brazil and the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. Private trading ventures were



ENGLAND'S FLEET ENGAGING THE SPANISH ARMADA

Lord Howard of Effingham was the admiral in command of the English fleet that routed the Spanish Armada, and some time later he employed a Dutch artist, H. C. Vroom, to design a series of tapestries illustrating the English triumph. Above is the panel depicting the English fleet engaging the enemy in the Channel, July 21, 1588. The tapestries afterwards were hung in the House of Lords, and were destroyed in the fire of 1834, but in 1739 a reproduction of them had been published by John Pine

Photo, W. F. Mansell

found to yield better returns than great organized raids with an ambitious political object and the more far-seeing English merchants were anxious for peace in order to profit by the opportunities that lay open. The statesmen, too, had come to see that sea power alone could make no permanent conquests from Spain in the parts of the Indies that she had occupied.

In the course of long peace negotiations before the death of Elizabeth the differences narrowed down to the question of the freedom of trade and colonisation,

but, despite all pressure, Spain's pride and 'Mare liberum' and 'Mare clausum' would not permit her to abandon her exclusive claims, though it was clear that her forces were insufficient to guard outlying territories that she had never occupied. When the Treaty of London was at length concluded (1604), it contained no formal admission of the legality of trade or settlement by other powers, but thenceforward Spain had tacitly to recognize the new principle that the navigation of the ocean routes was free, and that any territory over sea not in the effective occupation of a Christian power lay open for the exploitation of all. Grotius' celebrated work, the *Mare Liberum* (Free Sea) was prepared in order to justify these principles for the use of the Dutch negotiators of the Truce of 1609. It was not published until later, when its arguments were used in the narrower controversy with England over the fisheries of the British seas that provoked John Selden's celebrated rejoinder the *Mare Clausum* (Closed Sea), and laid the foundations of international maritime law (see further in Chap. 143).

With the opening of the seas to the activities of all nations our interest passes to the colonising enterprises upon which the new maritime powers began to embark. The struggles for sea power became localised in the Indian Ocean where the English and the Dutch contended with the Portuguese and with one another for the mastery of the trade. The downfall of the Portuguese power in the East was no rapid and spectacular event as its rise had been. It was involved in

a long-drawn triangular struggle that stretched over forty years and was not ended until the middle of the seventeenth century, when Portugal, though she had thrown off the Spanish yoke, had sunk to the impotence and obscurity of a third-rate European power. By dint of exhausting efforts she retained one valuable colonial possession in Brazil, but in Africa and the East only fragments of what she once possessed remained to her, and she had become a negligible factor.

The Dutch became the masters of the Spice Archipelago by the exertion of a mixture of commercial suppleness and overbearing force. Under the lead of two great governors-general, Coen and Van Diemen, who deserve to be remembered along with d'Albuquerque, they thrust out their competitors by the skilful employment of their fleets backed by national resources with which it was impossible for the purely mercantile English East India Company to contend successfully. After 1625 English efforts were mainly directed to securing trade for their factories on the coast of India, and it was not until the latter half of the seventeenth century that the rise of England's power in the East foreshadowed her future greatness.

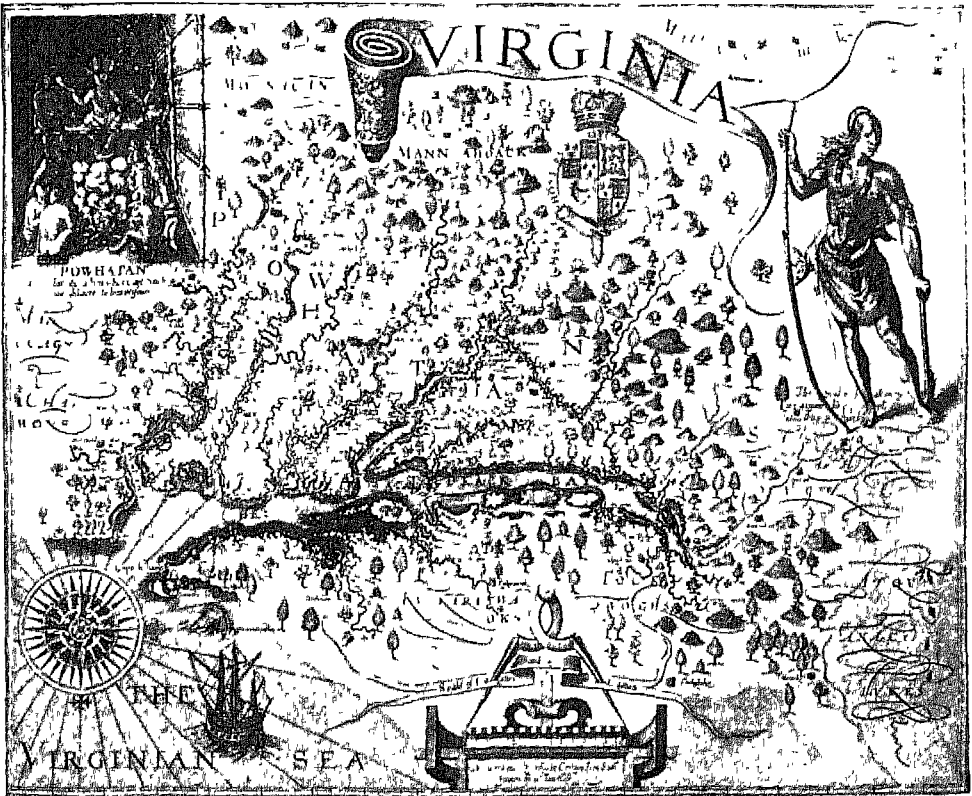
The energies of the Dutch were devoted in America as in the East Indies to contraband trade with the Spanish colonists and the native tribes, with such success that they Dutch failure undersold all competitors. in America

With the renewal of war in 1621 a new departure was made, and serious efforts were begun to found a colonial dominion like that of Spain. A West India Company was founded on the same highly organized lines as the Dutch East India Company, and great territorial conquests were attempted in Brazil. But the attempts were in the end a costly failure, for the Netherlands had no surplus population to become colonists, and their resources were insufficient to carry on naval and military operations in two distant fields at the same time as the incessant defensive campaigns along the frontier. Overstrained efforts in the long run exhausted the limited population of the Netherlands as they had done in Portugal.

The beginning of real colonies of settlement came as the result of English efforts. The development of English activities in America diverged from those in the East Indies, though they were alike in being entirely dependent on private enterprise without assistance from the state. In the East all attempt to found settlements or win territorial dominion was avoided, and the aims were entirely commercial. The pursuit of trade in America was the original aim of the merchants who found the capital for the Virginia Company in 1606, but their hopes were soon disappointed and the enterprise had to depend upon other colonising motives for its continuance. Since the middle of Elizabeth's reign colonial enthusiasts like Richard Hakluyt had been preaching the need of England for colonies to take her

surplus population and to provide commodities that she could not grow at home but had to purchase from foreign countries.

According to their conception the colonies would drain away the unemployed vagrants from the towns and countryside and provide homes for them where they might be an asset and not a burden to the state. Such ideas were the inspiration of many of the founders of Virginia (1607) and Bermuda (1615), the first English colonies, but here again hopes were proved unfounded, and it was not possible to produce the silk and wine, the fruits and oil that had been looked for. Twenty years after its foundation Virginia had just turned the corner and become self-supporting; by the expenditure of large amounts of capital without return, and out of thousands of emigrants, a colony numbering a few



VIRGINIA IN 1611: 'DISCIBED BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'

Virginia was colonised in 1607, and among the original settlers was Captain John Smith, hero of the famous Pocahontas romance. In 1610 a new party of settlers arrived, and with them William Strachey who, on his return to England in 1611, took part in editing this 'Map of Virginia Discouered and Discibed by Captain John Smith,' and also wrote an admirable account of the early settlement of Virginia. Smith's map is contained in a copy of Strachey's manuscript.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 1622



NUCLEUS OF FRENCH CANADA

Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635), first governor of French Canada, planted the first actual French settlement in 1604 on an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River in New Brunswick. It is thus depicted in his 'Voyages,' 1613.

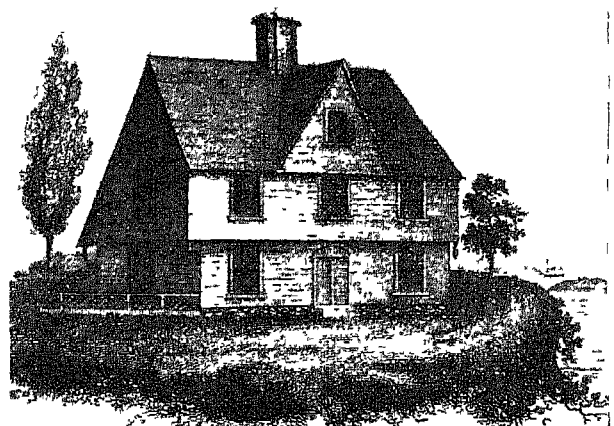
hundred survivors had found in tobacco a commodity that they could raise to pay for goods they needed from England.

Similar colonies attempted in the less favourable climate farther north had failed and were abandoned. Though the English investors had lost all their capital, a result of momentous importance had been achieved, for the seed of a new community had been firmly planted and had begun to grow. Virginia differed essentially from its predecessors, the Spanish colonies in America, in that it was dependent upon the labours of the settlers themselves and had no reservoir of native population upon which to draw. Though the colonists took with them their law and system of local government, the community from the beginning began to move along a different line of social development from the mother country because it had to adapt itself to meet primitive conditions in a different geographical environment.

A scattered type of colony grew up along the navigable rivers with few towns or villages, but with the people gathered in self-contained plantations owned by men who had sprung as a rule from the higher classes in England, and cultivated by white indentured

servants who had been recruited from town slums or had been reprieved from English prisons. There was only a small middle class, and the general trend of Virginia after its very early years was in the direction of an aristocratic form of society. The whole colony was closely dependent upon England, for the planters were always in debt to the merchants who financed them, and lived very much at their mercy. As time went on and recruited white servants became difficult to obtain, their place was taken in part by negro slaves, and thus the aristocratic trend of the colony's development was accentuated.

A similar primitive form of aristocratic society characterised the French colonies in Canada and Acadia that began contemporaneously with Virginia. They found their means of subsistence mainly in the fur trade, but their growth was very slow, and until the latter part of the seventeenth century they were too weak to be of importance. It was in New England that the colonising ventures fraught with the greatest importance for the future began. These novel ventures sprang from motives entirely different from the policies of the merchants who had done most to plant Virginia and the Bermudas. Their aim was not the production of profits for adventurers who



HOME OF A PILGRIM FATHER

Plymouth, on the Massachusetts shore, where the Pilgrim Fathers landed on December 21, 1620, was the first permanent white settlement in New England. Allyn House (above), built by one of the Mayflower company, was demolished in 1826.

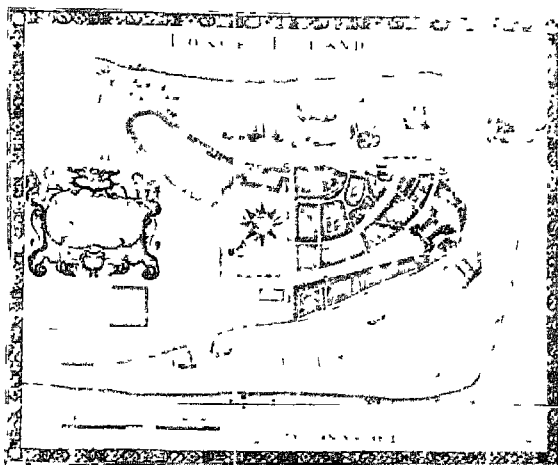
From W. Tudor, Life of James Olin

stayed at home, but the founding of new homes for men with particular religious and political ideas. The Pilgrim Fathers of the Mayflower, who began their colony of Plymouth in 1620, were inspired by religious separatism; but the founders of Massachusetts, who were the leaders of the great migration, were inspired by motives alike political and religious. They left England with their families and possessions because they felt that their liberties of life and conscience were threatened by royal and episcopal tyranny.

From the beginning the new communities in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island diverged from the mother country with a distinct line of development. They were socially and economically more independent than any earlier European colonies. From the first the colonists supported themselves without relying upon English promoters, and their numbers grew so rapidly that within ten years they had largely outrun those in Virginia and Maryland. It was a real swarming-off from the old home, such as the Greek colonies had been in the ancient world.

The new communities were democratic in social structure and government, and though their law and local institutions

Birth of the American Nation were taken with them from England, the temper in which they were administered was different owing to the absence of class distinctions. Their attraction to the average emigrant did not lie in their Puritanism, but in their free land and the opportunities they afforded to the common man. Land on the borders of the settlements was to be had for the asking, and though the pioneer faced the dangers of the wilderness in front, he was still in touch with his fellows behind him. The colonies grew outward from the original centres with a natural expansion of government and social economy that



EARLIEST MAP OF NEW YORK CITY

New York City was founded as New Amsterdam in 1623, and in 1626 Peter Minuit, Director of the Dutch West India Company, bought Manhattan Island for twenty-four dollars. This plan shows the town as it was in 1661; when captured by the English in 1664 its name was changed to New York.

British Museum

was spontaneous and owed nothing to direction from outside. Thus, by the middle of the seventeenth century the seeds of a new nation in America had been planted by a colonising process such as had not been seen before.

As was shown earlier, the firmly occupied parts of the Spanish Indies were invulnerable to attack, but the islands of the Lesser Antilles had been neglected as affording nothing of value and no opportunities of exploiting a native population. They lay open and defenceless to those who would occupy them, for Spanish sea power had sunk too low to keep effective guard over the parts of the Caribbean that lay far from the centres of government. The truce with the Dutch came to an end in 1621, and by 1625 Spain was again engaged in war with England and France. Its effects upon the history of Europe were of little account, but in the colonial sphere they were very important, for they led to the foundation of those West Indian colonies of England and France that were to be the most valued of all overseas possessions in the eighteenth century.

The war revived the old ideas of the Elizabethan period, and Charles I, being

too ill-provided to send large organized expeditions against Spain, returned to the notion of waging profitable war at the charge and by the private exertions of his subjects. But the time for that had passed; the Spanish colonists knew better how to defend themselves and they relied little on help from outside, for the colonies were largely self-contained even in time of peace. The Englishmen soon found that the Hollanders took all the profits that could be obtained by attacking Spanish commerce, and that privateering raids would not pay their expenses. They turned, therefore, to seizing lands that seemed likely to yield a profit. The best of these lands that were unoccupied by the Spaniards lay in the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles, and there Englishmen, French and Dutch almost simultaneously began to raise tobacco on small plantations tilled by white labour. More than once Spanish fleets came down upon them and cleared them out, but they always returned and began again as soon as their enemies had gone.

The influx was not the result of any combined or concerted effort, but was the spontaneous result of the search of numbers of private speculators for opportunities of profit.

Colonisation of the West Indies The masses began to realize for the first time that emigration overseas might afford them opportunities of advancement, and in the years between 1620 and 1640 a sudden surge of English and French emigrants pressed forth. We have already spoken of this migration as peopling New England and adding to the settlers in Virginia and Acadia. The greater part of the stream, however, swept into the West Indies, and the emigrants congregated in dense numbers in certain islands like St. Christopher and Barbados, whence they spread in every direction throughout the Caribbean in search for opportunities of settlement.

But the dangers of the tropical climate, the lack of suitable supplies and the impossibility of continuous manual labour for white men in the tropics made the rate of mortality appalling. Only a fraction of the colonists survived the deadly conditions, and when the stream

of emigration almost ceased with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, the planters had discovered that negro slaves were cheaper and less troublesome than white servants. The negroes could be bought from the Dutch slavers who were engaged in the contraband trade with the Spaniards, and they could be fed on less and worked harder than whites. After 1637 tobacco planting gave way to sugar cultivation, and by the middle of the century the main outlines of the peculiar social economy of the 'Sugar Islands' had appeared.

Each colony was a densely peopled political community in which a comparatively small number of planters intensively cultivated limited estates with the labour of mercilessly exploited black slaves. Of the white immigrants who had come to the colonies in such great numbers, there remained comparatively few as overseers or tradesmen and managers for the mercantile syndicates in England who owned the best estates and took most of the profits. It was not until the latter part of the century that the highly artificial system was established, but even before the Civil War the Island colonies clearly differed both from Virginia and the colonies of settlement in New England.

In the struggle for the freedom of the sea, the Dutch had relied upon England's help and had followed her lead, but when the fight was won

the English merchants **Dutch and English Commercial rivalry** found that their allies took their own course

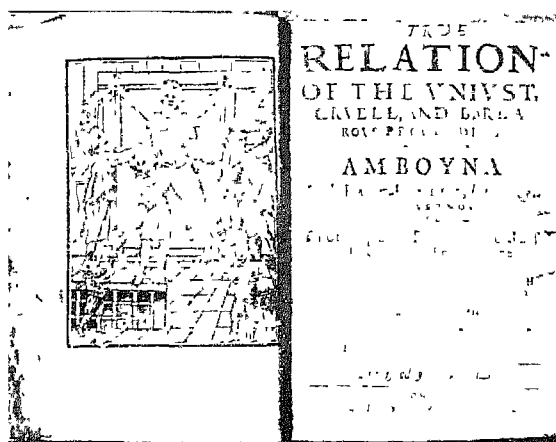
and were determined to secure all they could for themselves. Where they could get control, the Dutch were as rigidly determined to exclude others as the Spaniards had been, and their cruelty to Englishmen at Amboyna in 1623 was long remembered. But they paid no respect to the commercial restrictions of other nations, and were ready to engage in contraband trade wherever they could make a profit. The trade of Virginia and the West Indian colonies was nominally restricted to English shipping, but the Dutch were continually poaching in their harbours, and offered goods for sale to the colonists at prices much below those in the magazines sent out from England. Between 1640 and 1650 the troubles at

home so badly crippled English shipping that the trade of the colonies passed almost entirely into Dutch hands, and very little colonial produce came to England.

One of Cromwell's first tasks after his accession to power was to remedy this, and to recover the colonial trade. The formulation of his celebrated Navigation Ordinance of 1651 began the organization of the colonial system that was to play such an important part in the history of the empire for more than a century. The old Anglo-Spanish quarrel was forgotten, and hostility was focussed upon the 'grasping and greedy Hollanders,' who were trying to monopolise the trade of the outer world. With the outbreak of the first Dutch war matters of trade and colonisation for the first time affected policy, and a new era began.

Since Spain and Portugal had lost their dominant position at sea no power had held pre-eminence, and all nations had been able to regard the colonial enterprises of their subjects favourably without fear of their affecting diplomatic relations in Europe. The naval power of the Dutch had grown more rapidly than that of either England or France, but Blake's masterly handling of the Cromwellian navy soon overtook their lead and launched England fully on the course that was to carry her to the supremacy of the sea. With that supremacy was linked her opportunity of unhampered colonisation and security for the colonies that she had already planted.

At the middle of the seventeenth century the English settlements were still immensely overshadowed by the vast territories under Spanish rule and the great Portuguese dominion in Brazil, but these colonies showed little sign of development from their primitive social conditions. The English colonies, on the other hand, were characterised by a restless spirit of pioneering and individual enterprise that



REPORT ON THE AMBOYNA MASSACRE

Rivalry for the monopoly of trade in the East Indies led to some savage conflicts. One of the worst was the 'Amboyna Massacre' in 1623, when the Dutch destroyed the English settlement at Cambello. Above are the frontispiece and title-page of the English East India Company's account (1624).

Courtesy of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House

promised well for their future expansion. They were already more numerous and more diverse than those of any other nation. France had done comparatively little as yet, for her colonies in Canada and Acadia were weak and very small, and in the West Indies she was only just beginning to plant in St. Domingo and Martinique. A few Dutchmen were settled in Manhattan, but their numbers did not grow, and their progress was checked by the neighbouring English colonies on the Connecticut. The Dutch invaders had been driven out from their conquests in Brazil by the efforts of the Portuguese colonists; and though they held their trade centre at Curaçao and some plantations in Guiana, the failure of the Dutch West India Company showed that there was no future for Dutch colonial enterprise in America.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company occupied the Cape of Good Hope as a port of call for their ships, and the English company took St. Helena for the same purpose; but neither was at first a true colony, and they were merely subsidiary stations in the East Indian trade. The promise of the future lay in the growing prosperity of the English settlements in New England, in Virginia and Maryland, in Bermuda and the West Indies.



GORGEOUS COSTUMES OF THE NOBILITY IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN

The care lavished on fine clothes by the Elizabethans is well illustrated in these pictures of various aristocratic personalities of the time. Top : Queen Elizabeth, magnificently gowned, proceeds in a litter borne by six knights to the wedding of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, accompanied by the bridal party (part of engraving by Scharf) Bottom left : Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Bottom right : the countess of Pembroke in a richly ornamented gown decorated with exquisite lace.

From the 'Archaeological Journal' (top), and Wallace Collection and National Portrait Gallery, London

THE SPIRIT OF THE ELIZABETHANS

An Outburst of exuberant Adventure by Land
and Ocean and in the Realms of Thought

By J. B. BLACK

Professor of Modern History, University of Sheffield; Author of *The Art of History, Elizabeth and Henry IV, Elizabethan Society, etc.*

FOR the plain man as well as for the historian, the Age of Elizabeth has always had a peculiar, an irresistible charm. Touched by the last dying splendours of the Middle Ages, and at the same time lit up by the dawning light of the modern epoch, it figures in the imagination as some twilight world, where men are magnified into gods, and the whole drama of fate and circumstance is cast in an ampler and more elemental mould than at any period in English history. Our very words betray us when we allude to it; for we speak in parable and metaphor, as of something that partially escapes our grasp. 'Halcyon times,' 'spacious days,' 'the golden age' fall from our lips unbidden; or we murmur the glowing words of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt:

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd
isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this
England.

It may be that in all this we are the victims of an illusion, intoxicated with the pomp and majesty that cling like a garment to the Elizabethans. Nevertheless one thing seems certain. It would be hard to match the Elizabethan Age in the whole range of history for brilliant deeds, heroic and luminous thoughts or commanding personalities. As the glittering procession passes before us—soldiers, sailors, courtiers, statesmen, poets and gallants—we bow our heads in wonder that such a galaxy of talent should assemble itself within the confines of a single reign. 'Observe,' writes Fuller, 'how God set up a generation of military men, both by sea and land, which began and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like a suit

of clothes made for her and worn out with her.' Better words could hardly be found. We might well exclaim with Lord Howard of Effingham, 'God send us to see such a company again when need is!'

Historically considered, the England of the late sixteenth century was the product of the impact upon English life of two mighty energising forces: the reformation of religion, and the revival of letters. Each in its own way had begun to stir men's minds more than half a century earlier; but, by the time which we are now considering, such a volume of criticism and creative energy had been set free as England had never before witnessed. Old landmarks were swept away as by a flood, and the face of the country was fast changing out of *Efflorescence* recognition. From the decay of *Literature* of Roman Catholicism arose . . . a Protestant state church, which rallied to itself, as time went on, the patriotism of the age, and became, in a sense, the emblem of the new epoch. From the literary stimulus, working on contemporary life, sprang that glorious and unforgettable sunburst of imagination and intellect, which the poetry of Spenser, the drama of Marlowe and Shakespeare and the philosophy of Bacon reflect like polished mirrors to all succeeding generations. Above all, a new national consciousness was born, portentous in energy, varied in form and infinite in ambition, whose motto might be the strident lines of Michael Drayton: . . .

A thousand Kingdoms will we seek from
far,
As many nations waste with civil war.

The influence of this new spirit in national affairs is impossible to mistake or



FAMOUS ELIZABETHAN STATESMAN

William Cecil (1520–1598), created Lord Burghley in 1571, was chief minister and most trusted adviser to Queen Elizabeth from 1572, and until his death laboured tirelessly in his country's behalf. This portrait was probably by Marcus Gheeraedts.

National Portrait Gallery, London

ignore; it is one of the cardinal facts in British history. To the men who made themselves its exponents are due the first effective idea of a Great Britain and also, in some degree, the first decisive steps towards its fulfilment. To them also are due the first fumbings and gropings after a Greater Britain beyond the seas, and the transformation of England from a relatively unimportant member of the European community of nations, with narrow outlook and narrow ambitions, into a state with interests and commitments in every quarter of the world. In short, it was the men of Elizabeth's day who, with 'prophetic soul dreaming on things to come,' first traced before the wondering eyes of their contemporaries the shadowy outline of Imperial Britain. They staked out a claim to world power, which their successors prosecuted triumphantly.

The same spirit also pervaded the economic sphere. Here the Age of Elizabeth witnessed something akin to a revolution in the scope and organization of manufacture and commerce, in the use of massed capital and in the character and distribution of the national wealth.

Economic activities were now liberated which have dominated English history for centuries. Never before had individual initiative won so instant a recognition or so rich a reward. Never before had the path to social distinction opened up so alluringly before the individual who was prepared to set convention at defiance in the pursuit of gain. In this respect, at least, it was an age of greed and materialism, when all classes engaged pell-mell in a mad scramble for wealth and the luxuries wealth affords. From the standpoint of the masses, too, there is something surprisingly modern in the enormous increase, during Elizabeth's reign, of an unemployed and unemployable proletariat, who surge round the palaces of the rich, infest the highways and fill the 'houses of correction,' provided that they do not end their careers midway, as many did, on the gallows. Clearly we have to do with a tumultuous age, prodigal in its new-found energy, full of growing-pains and chaotic in its activity.

Let us first of all try to picture the general attitude of mind of the Elizabethans as members of a political community. It was a period, we say, of great turmoil **A Period of religious turmoil** in religious matters, when Puritan struggled with Catholic, and Catholic with Puritan, and the government repressed both in order to maintain the state church. We might be inclined, therefore, to conclude that the Elizabethans were a fiery, disputatious breed of men, who spent their days, when not actually fighting the Spaniard, in cutting each other's throats for the sake of a dogma. Yet such a conclusion would be no better than a kind of optical illusion. The striking fact is that, in spite of the tremendous upheaval caused by the religious changes of the time, and the world-shaking controversies that they occasioned, very little of this ferment found its way into the 'street.'

The mass of men in the sixteenth century, like the mass of men in all ages, had little interest in theology or politics, and the little they had was spectacular rather than critical. Schisms and plots, Puritan or Jesuit, might keep statesmen like Burghley and Walsingham awake o' nights,

trouble the hard-worked bishops, or drive the queen into paroxysms of hysteria—these commotions in the council chamber or the royal boudoir were looked upon as the inevitable afflictions of crowned heads, and of the solemn-visaged men to whom Providence had committed the task of piloting the ship of state into port. They seldom perplexed the mind or darkened the path of the plain man. He, good fellow, was content to take his beliefs on trust from his superiors.

If he went to see the barbarous 'hanging, drawing and quartering' of traitors at Tower Hill, or stood by to hear the government proclamations at Paul's Cross, he did so in much the same spirit as when he paid his ten doits to see a dead Indian. It was all a part of the daily mundane spectacle. 'Affairs of state,' as he called them, were above and beyond his ken: he never discussed them save to proclaim himself at all times a devoted supporter of the monarchy. His politics may therefore be summed up in the single word 'patriotism.' Patriotism, in fact, was the universal religion of the age, the mainspring of action, the very air that everyone breathed.

Nor was it a common type of patriotism that actuated the Elizabethans, generated in moments of crisis only. It was a glowing social force always in action, compassing both Catholic and Protestant, and sweeping into its bosom even

those whom the law condemned. For example, when the boldest of Puritans, John Stubbs, was subjected to the barbarous punishment of having his right hand chopped off by a butcher's cleaver for writing a pamphlet against the proposed marriage of the queen to the Catholic duke of Anjou (1584), he suffered the torture placidly; and then, amid the tense silence of the crowd, raised his hat with his left hand and cried 'God save the Queen!' Clearly Stubbs's patriotism was a stronger thing than his puritanism. But much the same thing happened when Edmund Campion, the intrepid Jesuit, died a traitor's death for alleged conspiracy in 1581. Although unjustly condemned, his last words were a protestation of loyalty to the queen: 'If our religion do make us traitors, then we are worthy to be condemned, but otherwise, we are, and have been, as true subjects as ever the queen had.' He, too, could proclaim himself a patriot in spite of the fact that, being a Catholic, he loathed the religion established by Elizabeth.

10

*Babington with his Complices**Sincerely encouraged by P. & R. of Sp. rayseth rebell**Desmonds bloody practise approved*

POPISH PLOTS AGAINST ELIZABETH'S LIFE AND RELIGION

These small prints engraved by Cornelius Danckwerts illustrate the dangers menacing Elizabeth; after her excommunication by Pius V in 1570, she was constantly threatened by Jesuit conspiracies. Top: Sir Anthony Babington addresses his accomplices; he planned the assassination of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary. Bottom left: Philip II of Spain and the pope encourage Stucley's rebellion. Right: the earl of Desmond, with papal approval, murders Irish Protestants.

The plain fact is, that the immense popularity of the crown dwarfed all other enthusiasms and loyalties. The queen was saluted by nearly all her subjects as the patron saint of England, the pledge and security of national greatness. And when the hour of need arrived, and the invading squadrons of Spain were on the high seas, there was neither Catholic nor Puritan—all were Englishmen prepared to do battle for their common heritage.

Of course, this devotion of all classes to the crown was not the result merely of chivalrous sentiment playing on the fact that the crown was worn by a woman. It was due to the very efficient manner in which the queen secured the conditions for a full and free expansion of the creative energies of the nation. Under her wise rule England enjoyed a gener-



THE POPE ON TRIAL BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH
This contemporary print allegorically depicts Diana (Elizabeth) sitting in judgement on Callisto (the pope). England's Protestant allies are represented by her nymphs. The pope, in the hands of Time and Truth, is hatching, from eggs, a cockatrice (the Inquisition) and other deadly Romanist weapons.

British Museum: Political and Personal Satires

ation of almost unbroken peace, external and internal, stretching from the commencement of the reign to the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1585. And during this lull the prosperity of the industrial and commercial classes grew by leaps and bounds. Activity begat self-reliance, and self-reliance begat a feeling of optimism and of superiority over all other peoples. An old Armada couplet sums up the widespread confidence:

We'll not give up our Credo for pope, nor
book, nor bell,
And if the Devil should come himself we'll
hound him back to Hell.

To distil poetry out of economic prosperity must be a surpassingly difficult task. Nevertheless, the peace and plenty of the times gave many a limping rhymester his cue for tiresome adulations of the food supply. In one of these crude poems England is compared to 'the kernel of the nut,' other nations to 'the shell':

Here things are cheap and easily had,
No soil the like can show:
No State nor Kingdom at this day
Doth in such plenty flow.

The pope might launch his thunderbolts—or, in the violent phrase of the time, 'spit and curse his fill'—against the



PATRIOTIC ENGLISH JESUIT

Edmund Campion was executed in 1581 for his ministrations to Roman Catholics, then forbidden to practise their religion. To the end he avowed his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth. This is a partly allegorical engraving by Lerch

British Museum

queen · he could not interfere with the steady march of economic forces. Like 'foolish Balaam,' to whom Bishop Jewel ventured to compare him in 1570, his cursing was turned to blessing, and 'the more he cursed the more England prospered.' 'Thanks be to God,' wrote the worthy bishop, 'never was it better in worldly peace, in health of body, and in abundance of corn and victuals.' Or, as an anonymous poet put it :

God, for her, doth clothe ye ground with
store
Of plenty and increase :
Our barns are full, our barks can bear no
more,
And blessed are we with peace.

Clearly an unanswerable reply to the prognosticators of evil, and an infallible support for the optimism of society! High Heaven had written its approval like an apocalypse across the face of the country. England was prosperous because 'God was with her.'

But the Elizabethans had many other qualities besides patriotism. First and foremost, stress must be laid on the fact that they were a mundane people, intensely absorbed in the outward things of sense—the lust of the eye and the pride of life. Watch them as they sun themselves in the public eye at the theatre, S. Paul's Church and the Bear Garden, and it will be apparent that in each case the atmosphere is the same—'of the earth earthy.'

Contemporary records tell us that S. Paul's, like most churches of the period, had suffered greatly from the desecration and sacrilege accompanying the Reformation. In Elizabeth's day it had become 'a house of talking, of walking, of brawling, of minstrelsy, of hawks, and of dogs.' The middle aisle, commonly known as Paul's Walk, was the scene of a veritable pandemonium. Here the gallants and the idle gentlewomen of the city met

to exchange favours. Here, too, came the hawkers and the riff-raff of the streets. In one corner stood the lawyers at their 'pillars' to receive clients, while in another shopkeepers exposed their wares for sale and indulged freely in their various street cries. Even the tombs and the font were used as counters for the payment and receipt of accounts. 'Lordless men' paraded the nave offering their services for hire. And, to increase the din and confusion, horses and mules were led through the Cathedral as a short cut, littering the place with the filth of the streets.

Outside, in the churchyard, was the book market of London, where as many as twenty bookstalls clustered up against the walls. Apparently the enterprising book-sellers used the vaults of the sacred building to store their superfluous literature. Thus, under the very eyes of the clerical authorities, the 'merry books of Italy' were bought and sold, and in all probability it was in this very market that Shakespeare purchased the Italian



S. PAUL'S A PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE

This engraving by Hollar shows the nave of old S. Paul's in majestic solitude. In Elizabeth's day it was the resort of all men for mundane purposes. It was the place where the pedlar hawked his wares, the idle gossiped and the pugnacious brawled.

In 1666 the cathedral was destroyed by the Great Fire.

From Dugdale, 'History of St. Paul's Cathedral'



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

This portrait of England's much loved dramatist can claim to be one of the best real likenesses that exist. It was engraved by Martin Droeshout on the publication of the first folio edition of the plays in the year 1623.

Photo, W. F. Mansell

romances on which he based so many of his plays. Such, then, was S. Paul's in the heyday of the Renaissance; it partook of a fair or market ministering to the widespread demand for amusement, publicity and social diversion.

In the theatre, of course, the mundane spirit of the age attained its most acute expression. What attracted the Eliza-

bethan populace to the theatre? We are sometimes invited to consider the high artistic value of a Shakespearean play, and to marvel at the dizzy heights of appreciation to which the audiences at the Globe, Swan and Blackfriars could rise when witnessing a play like *Hamlet* or *Romeo and Juliet*. But we should remember that Shakespearean drama was far above the habitual level of the contemporary dramatic productions. The Elizabethan play often staged scenes that would revolt a modern audience—scenes portraying madness, drunkenness, vice and brutality, that appear to us to be no fit subject for art at all. Yet this must have been a considerable attraction to the apprentices, mechanics and artisans who filled the 'pit.' The obvious fact is that the popularity of the stage lay in its direct appeal to the senses. Just as it was the 'rough and tumble' at the Bear Garden in Southwark that delighted the onlookers—the 'clawing, roaring, tugging, tossing and tumbling' of the bears, and the 'nimbleness' of the dogs; so, too, it was the vehemence of the action, the licence of expression and sentiment, the brilliant declamation and the fine dresses of the actors that charmed the playgoers. Philip Stubbes, the Puritan, was not very wide of the mark, in spite of his bitterness, when he wrote the following passage:

The substance of tragedies is anger, wrath, cruelty, incest, murder: the persons and actors are gods, goddesses, furies, fiends, hags, kings, queens, and potentates. Of



VIEW OF THE BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK, IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

This view of Southwark in the year of Shakespeare's death is taken from a panoramic picture of London engraved by Visscher in 1616. It shows the Globe Theatre, an octagonal wooden structure, so famous for its association with the great dramatist. Burnt down in 1613, it was rebuilt and finally pulled down in 1644. This district bordering the river was then known as Bankside, and the picture shows the Bear Garden where men indulged in the sport of bear and bull baiting.

British Museum

comedies the matter and substance is love, cosinage, flattery, adultery: the persons or agents, queens, scullions, knaves, courtesans, lecherous old men, and amorous young men.

Perhaps the real trouble was not so much the theatre itself as its accompaniments. It was a kind of safety-valve through which all the pent-up 'humours' of society found expression—a place where the individual could throw off restraint and gratify his appetites to the full. 'Hell is broke loose,' cried a scandalised divine, when he saw the crowds hurrying to the theatre area, 'but it is good to draw all the devils into one place, so that we may know what they do and find them if need be.'

The prevailing moral and intellectual tone of this picturesque society was, as we should expect, singularly Intellectual and free and vigorous. No heed moral standards was paid to the accepted standards of the past, nor was much heed paid to the admonitions of the moralist and the preacher. If the pulpit was studiously ignored in its efforts to stem the tide of immorality and blasphemy, the lay critics were pilloried by the wits as vain fools. They speak,' wrote Thomas Nash, 'as though they had been brought up all the days of their life on bread-and-water . . . as though they had been eunuchs from their cradle, or blind from the hour of their conception.'

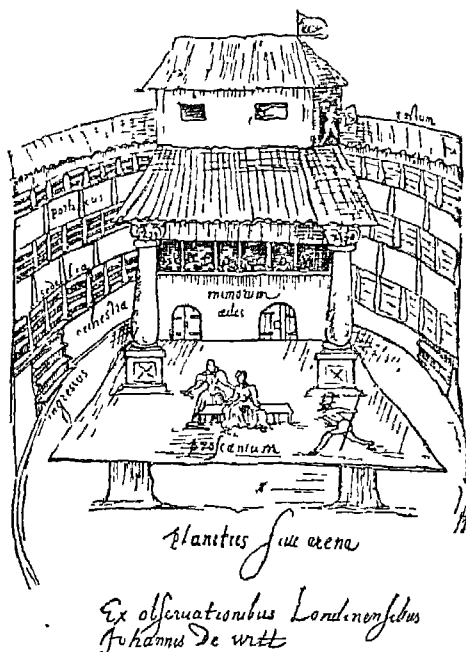
Of course, the events of the previous generation, the vast doctrinal changes, the extensive spoliations of the Church, the growing discredit of religion, contributed greatly to the atmosphere of egoism and epicurism in which the Elizabethan lived. The unsettlement of belief combined with the unscrupulous pursuit of gain prepared the way for a crude materialism and a frankly pagan attitude to life. The scapegoat of the times, the 'whipping boy' of society, on whom all the sins of the generation were visited, was the so-called Italianate Englishman—that is, the Englishman who had visited Italy in order to complete his education, and had picked up on his way the vices as well as the virtues—more often the vices—of that over-civilized country.

Robert Greene addressed him thus:

Thou comest not alone, but accompanied with a multitude of abominable vices hanging on thy bombast, nothing but infectious abuses and vainglory, self-love, sodomy, and strange poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious isle.

Among other things, the Italianate gentlemen were the patrons and advocates of the new novels from Italy and the other questionable books of the period. Most critics, clerical and lay, complain bitterly of the increasing vogue of these 'merry' tales. 'We have heresy and blasphemy and paganism and bawdry committed to the press,' cried Deringe, a court preacher, 'there is no Italian tale so scurrilous, or fable so odious, or action so abominable, but some have ventured to defend the same.'

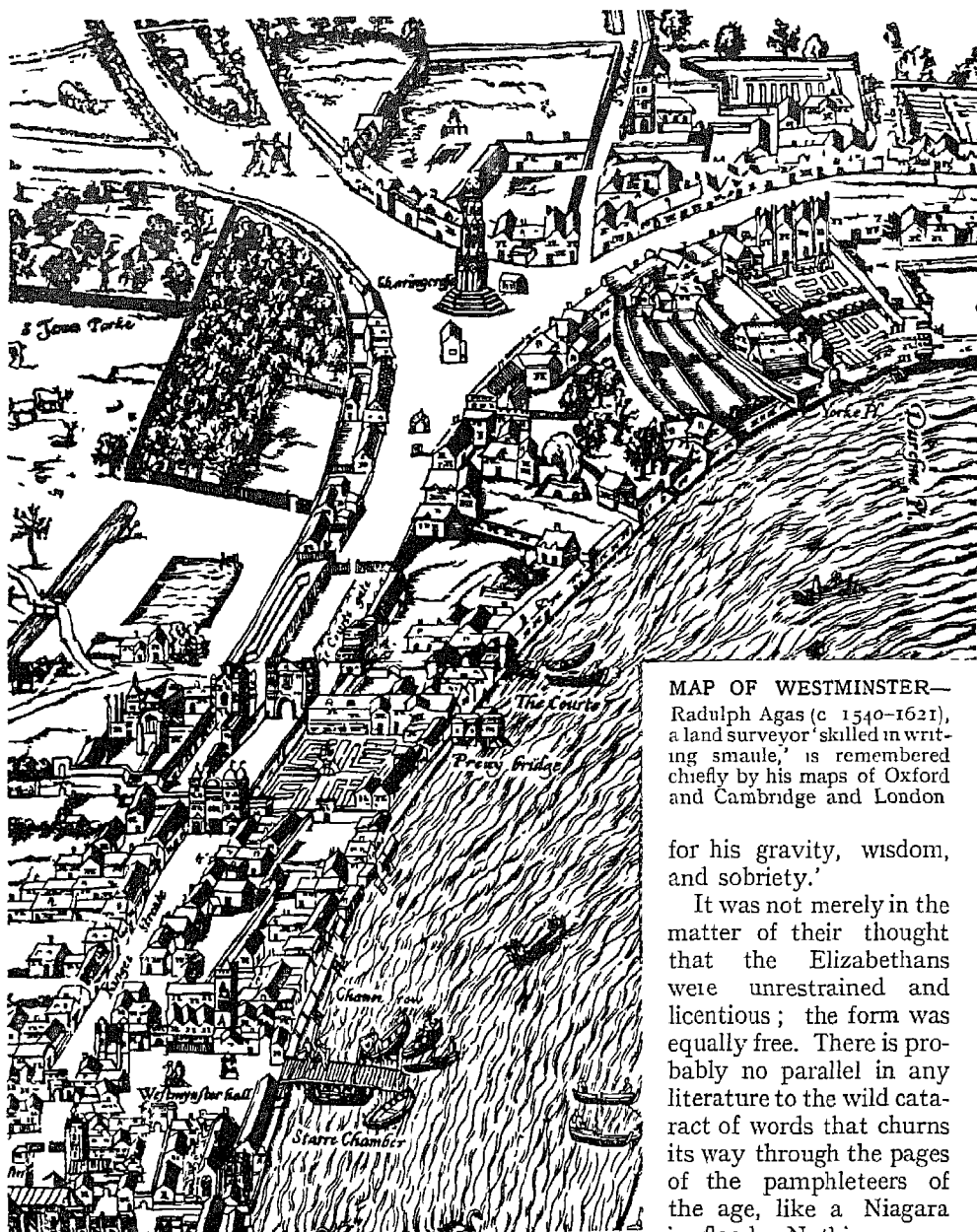
It is scarcely to be wondered at that Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick and the other fabled heroes of the Middle Ages fell into disrepute before the



HOME OF THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Great enthusiasm for the drama was a prominent feature of the Elizabethan age. This plan of the octagonal Old Swan Theatre, London, opened in 1598, is the facsimile of a drawing in the library of Utrecht University.

From Jusserand, *'The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare'*



MAP OF WESTMINSTER—

Radulph Agas (c 1540–1621), a land surveyor ‘skilled in writing smaule,’ is remembered chiefly by his maps of Oxford and Cambridge and London

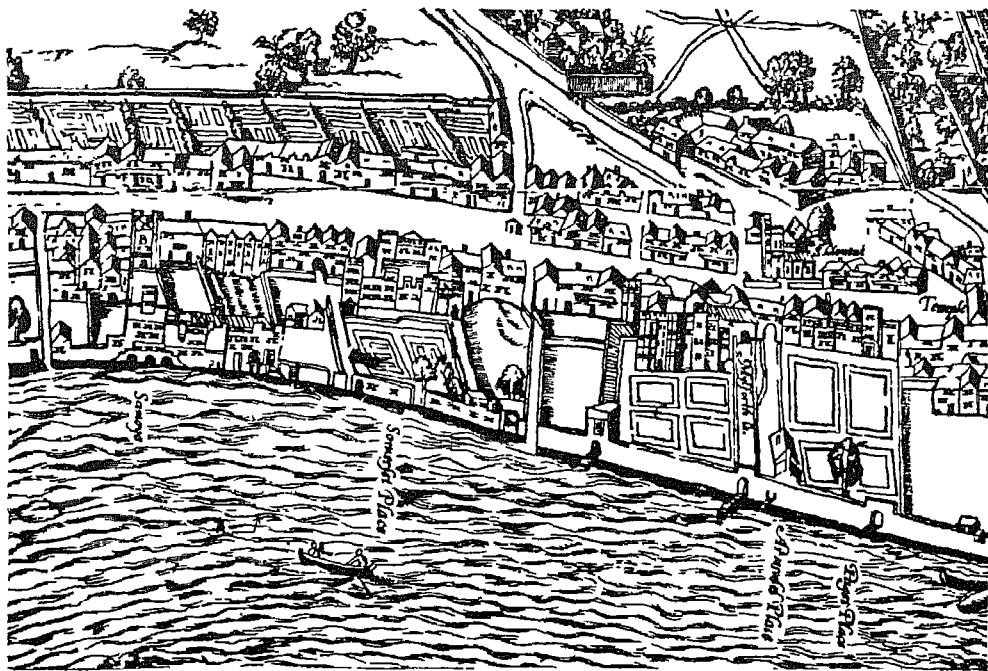
for his gravity, wisdom, and sobriety.’

It was not merely in the matter of their thought that the Elizabethans were unrestrained and licentious; the form was equally free. There is probably no parallel in any literature to the wild cataract of words that churns its way through the pages of the pamphleteers of the age, like a Niagara in flood. Nothing seems

onslaught of this flashy, realistic gallantry of contemporary Italy. Nor is it surprising that the pulpit lamented the decay of true religion—‘godly preaching heard without remorse,’ ‘fastings kept without affliction,’ ‘almsgiving without compassion,’ ‘Lent holden without discipline.’ ‘It were better to be a piper or a bawdy minstrel,’ comments one ecclesiastic, ‘than a divine; for the one is heard for his ribaldry, the other hated

to check the verbal riot in its impetuous course save the sheer exhaustion of the writer. Indeed, it would appear as if the prose writers, like a pack of sophisticated schoolboys, took a naive delight in playing with words—in marshalling them, telling them off in battalions, brigades, divisions, and flinging them with deafening clamour against real and imaginary enemies.

Frequently they lose control over the forces they have mustered, and are swept



—AND OF LONDON TOWN IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

His map of London and Westminster, of which this is a portion, was drawn between 1570 and 1590; it is more than six feet long and was printed from a number of separate wooden blocks. Only two copies are extant, one of which is in the Guildhall Library, London, the other at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Many familiar landmarks appear on this map, including Westminster Hall and S. James's Park (opposite page). Close to the former is the famous Star Chamber, long since demolished.

away on the turbid tide of their own eloquence. Some of them, finding the draught horse of prose too slow for their turbulent fancy, mounted the Pegasus of poetry and soared away into the spacious realms of pure imagination. In fact, it is seriously to be doubted whether prose was the chief medium of literary expression in the age of Elizabeth, and not poetry. But whatever the precise form may have been, it had the same lack of restraint, the same irrepressible exuberance, the same intense egoism and the same magnificent contempt for rules, conventions and standards.

The reader will understand that we are not attempting here to criticise the literary masterpieces of the age. We are concerned rather with the more commonplace literature which expressed the spirit of the times. All great literature rises above its environment and becomes a permanent possession of the race; but just in proportion as it does so, it becomes less valuable as a mirror of the conditions under which it was produced. On the

other hand, the less important literature is saturated with contemporary life.

One other general feature of the period remains to be noted. It was a time when the darkness of the unknown began rapidly to recede before the torch of the discoverer, when barriers were falling on all sides, and the horizons of human life, physical and mental, were expanding at an unprecedented rate. Science, moreover, was still slumbering in its infancy, unable to cope with one tithe of the new revelations flooding in upon the mind. Credulity reigned supreme—nothing was too startling to be believed; and the eye of the half-awakened intellect, dazed by excess of light, could only blink and wonder at the riches and variety of the world. And if the revealed part of the mystery contained such marvels as were daily retailed, what might not the unrevealed still hold?

Clearly it was in a mood of exalted expectancy, with senses whetted and alert, that the Elizabethan Englishman looked out on the world. His appetite for new experiences was insatiable; he clamoured



SUMMONER OF SPIRITS

In an age fraught with superstition Dr. John Dee (1527-1608), mathematician and necromancer, experimented in alchemy and sorcery and was frequently consulted by Elizabeth. He was thought to hold converse with the devil.

Engraving by Schenker

for the romantic and the marvellous as part of his daily food. Only on some such assumption can we explain the popularity and the unsurpassable delicacy of Shakespeare's fairy plays (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*) and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

For the same reason, also, there prevailed in Elizabethan England a widespread belief in witchcraft—that disgusting superstition which smears the record of the period with its grotesque orgies. Seen in its true light, it is simply the obverse side of the respectable current coin of wonder: the recoil of the mind before the darker possibilities of a dimly lit universe. Every sect and class, Catholic and Puritan, noble and simple, fell under its spell, and looked upon the witch as the wielder of unlawful, albeit undoubted, powers. The same is true of the sorcerer and the alchemist. Society feared them, pandered to them and persecuted them by turns.

Nevertheless the faculty for wonder, although it encouraged such unhealthy excrescences, was one of the most engaging qualities with which the Elizabethan mind was endowed. The world, now grown hoary with age, appeared in the sixteenth century as young and fresh as when it left the Creator's hands: an incitement to enjoyment and adventure.

Now it would seem that in this survey of the striking features of the Elizabethan mind, we have stumbled upon a useful clue to unlock other aspects of the period. An exuberant, mundane people, delighting in the outward things of sense, carrying self-expression to the point of licence, could not be content to live in the old hovels or wear the old-fashioned garb of the Middle Ages. The new wine had to be decanted into new bottles. Hence we find that, side by side with the intellectual renaissance, there took place a renaissance in the realms of dress, social custom and the whole material environment of life, no less wonderful than that which characterised the realm of spirit.

According to contemporary writers it was shortly after the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when the change became evident. But so completely did it accomplish its **The Renaissance** work that, within a **invades London** generation, there were virtually no traces left of the Middle Ages. London had become an Italian Renaissance city—gay, pleasure-loving, gorgeously dressed, fond of bright colours and lavish in its expenditure on all manner of luxury. Here is what an eye-witness says:

Forty years ago there were not twelve haberdashers in London who sold fancy caps, glasses, swords, daggers, girdles; and now from the Tower to Westminster Abbey every street is full of them, and their shops glitter and shine of glass, as well drinking as looking: yea all manner of vessels of the same stuff, painted cruses, gay daggers, knives, swords, and girdles, that it is able to make any temperate man gazing on them to long somewhat, though to no purpose necessary.

It was useless for the stern economist to protest against the rage for the gewgaws of fashion and to point out that the 'glitter and shine' was paid for dearly in

good coin of the realm, or by the export of valuable raw materials. It was equally futile for the puritan critics to castigate society with the moral lash. The desire to spend and the demand for the wares of the foreign merchant attained the dimensions of a pandemic. All classes were affected, from the noble and the rich merchant to the farmer, peasant and artisan.

The drama and other literature of the period are full of references to the lighter side of the human comedy; to the ploughman who discarded his old russet coat of homespun in favour of the new-fangled, tailor-made 'doublet with wide cuts,' in order 'to meet his Sis on Sunday'; to the farmer who sold his stock at Easter for a trunk of London hose; to the peasant girl, who must have her 'French hood'; and to the hundreds of would-be gallants, 'court-nolls' and 'accomplished gentlemen' who 'drowned themselves in the mercer's book' for the sake of being clad

in a pair of velvet breeches. There are references also to the darker side of the carnival—to the hapless folk who beggared themselves, or fell into the hands of the usurer and ended their days in a debtor's prison. But, on the whole, the note of comedy prevails. When the critics are not ridiculing the 'upstarts' and 'presumptuous asses' who 'do not scruple to wear on their feet what kings have worn on their heads,' they are shooting the arrows of their wit against the grotesque fashions and the amazing combinations of colour and device which the tailor turned out. Apparently nothing was too outlandish to be worn; the fashions of all nations were laid under contribution 'to piece out the pride of the Englishman.' Thus a contemporary poet writes:

Behold a most accomplished cavalier,
That the world's ape of fashion doth appear,
Walking the streets his humours to disclose,
close,



FROLIC AND FINERY AT AN ELIZABETHAN MARRIAGE FETE

Musicians and dancers at this Bermondsey wedding watch the bridal procession coming out of church while a crowd of guests, gaily clad in costumes of about 1590, prepare to make merry and actually to dance at the wedding of their friends. The Tower can be seen in the distance; and part of the land in the foreground, if, as is likely, it belongs to the manor of Sir Thomas Pope, still exists as an open recreation ground. The picture was painted by the Dutchman, Joris Hoefnagel.

Courtesy of the Rt. Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury



ECCENTRICITIES AND EXAGGERATIONS OF ELIZABETHAN FASHION

The craze for bizarre costumes which infected the men and women of Elizabethan times is abundantly indicated by the figures shown in these old woodcuts. The gallant on the left wears the ridiculous bombasted breeches then fashionable and a befeathered hat, his companion has a wired ruff and wheel farthingale. Next to her is Gabriel Harvey as caricatured by Nashe. Many of these woodcuts illustrated popular ballads, and Elizabeth (right), with ruff and hoops, was frequently represented.

From Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (New Shakespeare Society)

In the French doublet and the German hose, The muff, cloak, Spanish hat, Toledo blade, Italian ruff, a shoe right Flemish made. . .

Frequently the craze for new fashions outran even the inventive genius of the tailor, and reduced him to his wits' end to meet the demands of his customers. So much so that we have still extant an old

wood-cut representing a naked Englishman in a quandary as to how he can gratify his taste. With a pair of tailor's shears in one hand, and a roll of cloth in the other, he gives utterance to the following doggerel:

I am an Englishman and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind what raiment I shall wear:

For now I will wear this and now I will wear that,

And now I will wear I cannot tell what.



ENGLISHMAN'S QUANDARY

Fashion enslaved both the men and women of Elizabeth's day. This old woodcut caricatures the frequent changes in its depiction of a naked Englishman, armed with shears and a roll of cloth, wondering what he shall wear next.

From Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (New Shakespeare Society)

The women of Elizabethan London were naturally no less intoxicated with the 'mounting conceit' of the age than the men. The gallants may have dressed like popinjays; the feminine mind clamoured for still more wonderful and bizarre effects. Strutting about like the Venetian ladies, in the heyday of their glory, on 'chopines,' which lifted them 'a finger's breadth' above the mire of the street, the fashionable dames wore the stiff, pointed corsage and outrageously inflated skirt of the farthingale, and round their necks enormous ruffs. The general effect of the farthingale was so grotesque that a woman clad in one appeared to be 'no woman at all' but 'a puppet or mawmet of rags and clouts compact together'; or, in still more expressive phrase, 'a trussed chicken set

upon a bell.' As for the ruff, that 'stately arch' of Elizabethan pride, it enjoyed a frail and precarious existence. In fine weather it was impressive to the last degree; in a shower it hung invertebrate about the neck 'like the dishclout of a slut.'

Perhaps the most vivid description of the fantastic feminine flummery of the age occurs in *The Taming of the Shrew* where Petruchio rails at Katharine's dress:

O mercy, God! What masquing stuff is here?
 What's this? A sleeve? 'tis like a demi-cannon:
 What, up and down, carved like an apple-tart?
 Here's snip and nip and cut and slish and slash,
 Like to a censer in a barber's shop:
 Why, what, i' devil's name, tailor, call'st thou this?

What a picturesque throng must have filled the streets of Elizabethan London!

And now we come, after this consideration of the 'poetry of dress,' to the question which, no doubt, the reader has already asked himself. Did not all this effeminate attention to outward appearance betoken a softening of the fibre of the race? Many serious-minded critics of the time clearly believed it did, for they wrote melancholy jeremiads about the passing of the good old days, when simple dress and simple living proved to the world the virtue and valour of Englishmen. Thus honest William Harrison in his *England*, Philip Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses* and Robert Greene in his dialogue, *Cloth Breeches and Velvet Breeches*, severally hark back to the days of their fathers as to a golden age of uncorrupted innocence, strength and nobility. In the words of Harrison:

When our houses were built of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many



MONKEYS LAUNDERING ELIZABETHAN RUFFS

A few minutes' exposure to the rain and the stately ruff became a limp, pitiful object. The introduction of starch by a Dutch lady in 1564 solved the stiffening problem, and this satirical engraving by Crispin de Passe, a portrayal of monkeys engaged in starching ruffs, is a forcible reminder that constant labour was required to follow the all-prevailing fashion.

British Museum

through Persian delicacy crept in among us altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration.

Similarly Stubbes writes.

I have heard my father say that in his time within the compass of four or five score years, when men went clothed in black or white frieze coats, in hosen of housewife's kersey of the same colour that the sheep bore them. men were stronger than we, healthfuller, fairer complexioned, longer living, and finally ten times harder than we

Or listen to the facetious Greene:

It was a good and blessed time when King Stephen wore a pair of cloth breeches of a 'noble' a pair and thought them passing costly. Then charity flourished and young courtiers strove to excel one another in virtue, not in bravery. They caused the trumpets to sound them points of war, not poets to write them wanton elegies of love. they sought after honourable fame, not hunted after fading honour.



VELVET AND CLOTH DISPUTE

The title page to Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, represents the contrast between the conceit of contemporary times and the simplicity of the past. The upstart in velvet is shown disputing with the honest man in cloth.



DRESS OF MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN

The Elizabethan middle-class women naturally could not afford to wear such a profusion of ornament as the nobility. They were, however, earnest in following fashion. This group from a Dutch description of the British Isles shows three burgher women and a country woman clad in such costumes as Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* must have worn.

British Museum Additional MS, 28,330

Nevertheless, the critics were wrong. In spite of the lamentations there was no softening of the national fibre. Let the reader mark the fact that only a few years after Stubbes wrote the above passage the 'soft' race of whom he spoke routed the Spaniard in the greatest sea fight of the century, and raised the prestige of England to an unprecedented height.

It is remarkable that virtually every man who walked the streets of London, from the age of eighteen and upwards, bore some kind of lethal weapon by his side—a sword, a rapier, a dagger, possibly both rapier and dagger. 'Desperate cutters,' we are told, carried two daggers or two rapiers, 'wherewith in drunken fury they are known to work much mischief.' Even the poor labouring man in the country had his protective weapons by his side, except when actually working in the fields, when he laid them down in a convenient corner. Apprentices, too, had their

knives, parsons their 'hangers' and ladies their bodkins. It appears to have been the tendency for swords and daggers to grow steadily longer—the greater the gallant the bigger his ruff and the longer his weapon. So much was this so that, in 1580, the government was compelled to limit the length of swords and daggers by proclamation, and to station officials at street corners to break the weapons of those who contravened the law.

Street fighting in Elizabethan London must have been a fairly common occurrence and a serious menace to public order, for the swashbuckler of those days was prepared to throw away his life for a comparatively trivial matter. The pages of *Romeo and Juliet* show him in action. When Shakespeare makes Mercutio say to Benvolio 'Thou wilt quarrel with a man for cracking nuts, having no other reason but because thou hast hazel eyes,' he was describing, not the city of Mantua (which he had not seen), but the familiar crowded thoroughfares of Cheapside. It does not seem, then, that the fastidiousness and flummery of the Elizabethans exercised much softening effect on their characters. Life was held cheap in the sixteenth century on land as well as on the sea.

But if we would fully grasp the spirit of the period we must turn from the somewhat artificial life of the capital, and cultivate the society of that gay company of hard-bitten men whose deeds by sea and by land are immortalised in the pages of Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

Courage is a virtue to which no people can lay an exclusive claim, for every nation has its heroes and its sacred tradition of honour. But there are times when the spirit of adventure, parent of all manly virtue, seems to run riot, and risks are taken with an easy gaiety that thrills the imagination. Of such a character was the age of Elizabeth. To the men of that time as to the

Greeks and the Venetians, the sea was the pathway to glory and self-realization, the inspiration of their genius, the passionate motive of their highest endeavour. And what a goddess she was, how fickle in her favours, how exacting in her service! Drake battling with tropical tornados and 'the blind Horn's hate,' Frobisher tussling with the ice and fog of the Arctic, Gilbert braving the surge of a north Atlantic gale in the tiny *Squirrel*, or Raleigh threading his way through the primeval jungle and uncharted labyrinth of the Orinoco delta, are instances, and not the most enthralling instances, of the thousand dangers, privations and sacrifices to which the willing votaries were daily and hourly summoned.

And while we commemorate the dazzling exploits of the great, we must not forget the noble company of unnumbered heroes who missed fame only by a hair's breadth—men of Yarmouth and Devon who, when the service required it, fed on putrid penguin, drank bilge-water, and all too



GOSSIP AT THE MARKET

This market scene is part of a large woodcut ascribed to the last year of Elizabeth's reign. The whole is entitled 'Tittle Tattle, or, the Several Branches of Gossiping.' In every case a group of women is shown busily engaged in talking. Woman in this respect has changed but little throughout ensuing ages.

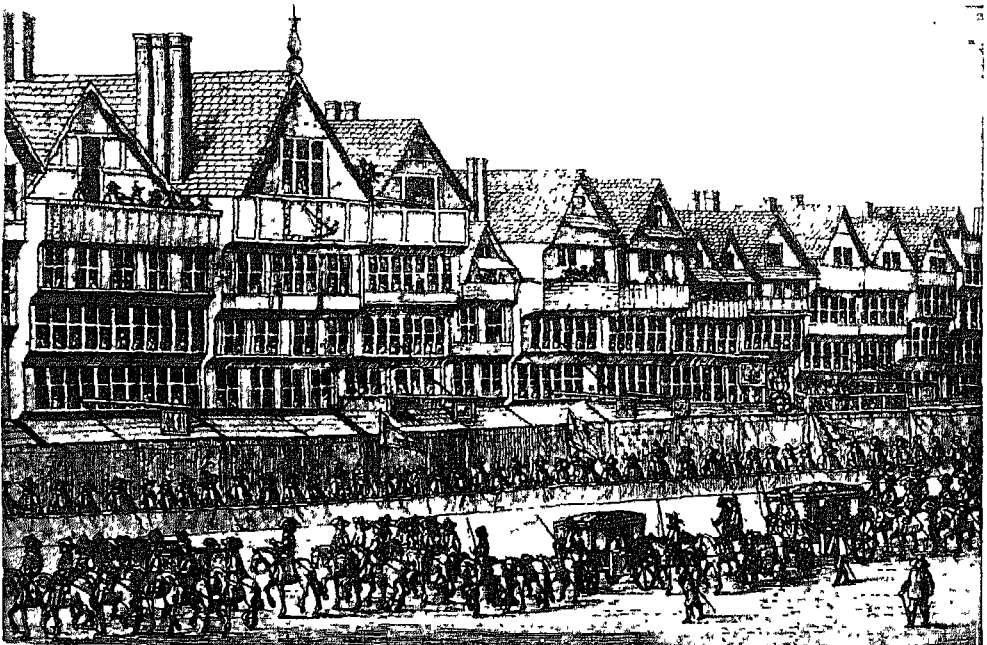
frequently left their bones to moulder in foreign parts. In Elizabeth's day, as a contemporary has it, there was 'never a slip of a rope-hauler' but aspired to be a 'tobacco-taker,' a 'man of war,' and to 'wear a silver whistle.' The sea, in fact, was a ladder to fame which every one had it in his power to scale, a true career open to talent.

Nor must we forget the travellers by land, the merchants and agents of companies, who, for the sake of commerce, ventured into the little-known Asiatic continent. They, too, had their risks, their heroisms and their martyrdoms, their successes and failures, although their object was only to find new markets and sell their goods to the heathen. Through the rigours of Russia and the deserts of Turkistan, to Persia and India, they passed with their bales of English cloth, reaping a precarious profit, of which the uncertainties of the journey and the rapacity of potentates threatened at every point to deprive them. Altogether,

an indomitable breed of men, who travelled and trafficked with arms in their hands, and were prepared when challenged to give a good account of themselves.

Lastly, the men of war, who made fighting the business of their lives and plucked fame as lightly as a bauble from the very cannon's mouth. It would require a chapter in itself to recount the epic of their exploits on the high seas and on the coasts of Spain and America. Their inexhaustible resource and swift decisions, their plunderings and burnings, their infinite daring and fine courage, were laced like a strangulating cord about the throat of the Spanish monarchy.

Great achievements, it has been said, are often the outcome of erroneous ideas, as when the alchemist in his search for elixirs unwittingly founded the science of chemistry. When the Age of Discovery began, Europeans were filled with a great fantasy of imagining and speculation concerning Asia. Visions of 'earthly Paradises' and 'fountains of eternal



LONDON AS IT MUST HAVE APPEARED IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES—

This representation of Cheapside is from a folio of 1639 by de la Serre, and illustrates the entry of Marie de' Medici into London on her visit in 1638. Although the incident took place a generation after Elizabeth's death, this picture is the best in existence of Cheapside as it probably appeared in Elizabethan times. The view shows nearly the whole of Cheapside and part of the Poultry. In front of the fine houses of wealthy merchants on the north members of City Companies line the way.

From 'Entree Royale de la Reine-mère dans Londres'—

youth '—the fruit of century-old travellers' tales and medieval dreaming—hovered vaguely in the background of the mind; while in the foreground was spread a gorgeous panorama of golden splendour, glittering gems and far-fetched spices, the wealth and beauty of the East awaiting her spoiler. All this appealed to the spirit of adventure and the longing for new experiences which characterised the period of the Renaissance.

It also appealed, in a more vivid and practical way, to the prevalent greed for gold and the desire for commercial gain. Here indeed was the dominant motive, the unifying element, the one touch of nature which established a kinship throughout the whole fraternity of adventurers. For this the Portuguese had crept southwards along the African coast to the Cape, and then across the Indian Ocean to Malabar, Ormuz, Malacca and beyond. For this, also, the Spaniards had conquered, enslaved and devastated tropical America, ransacked Mexico and Peru,

and launched across the Pacific. So rapid had been the progress that when at last, in the mid-sixteenth century, England awoke to the vastness of the issues involved, the bulk of the sharing out had taken place, and the richest lands of the earth were in the hands of the two Iberian monarchies. There remained only one area whose possibilities as an avenue to the East had still to be explored—the frozen north.

To this comparatively uninviting task English adventurers were now summoned to dedicate their lives; and they responded to the summons with an ardour no less impetuous than the Spaniard and Portuguese had shown in more equable latitudes. If the prospect was dreary, they could console themselves with the thought that Providence had assigned them a geographical position eminently favourable for its accomplishment. Moreover, it was by no means certain that the lands bordering on the northern seas of the world would prove to be less productive in windfalls such as America had given the Spaniards.



—WHEN CHEAPSIDE WAS A RENDEZVOUS OF WEALTH AND FASHION

Cheapside was a fashionable place in Elizabeth's day. It was a centre for markets and tournaments, and the strolling ground of young gallants and fair ladies. The south side of the street is cut away in the picture, but it contained at this time some of the finest houses in London. Part of the Nag's Head Inn (extreme right) appears, distinguished by its 'bush beyond its sign'; and near it the successor to the original Eleanor Cross and (actually somewhat misplaced) the 'Great Conduit' can be seen.

—Facsimile in Harrison, *'Description of England,'* edited by F. J. Furnivall



ALLEGORY OF ENGLAND'S NAVAL PROWESS

This beautiful specimen of early English engraving illustrates the veneration of English sailors for Queen Elizabeth, here shown steering her ship towards the Tower of Safety. Victory holds out a laurel wreath to the queen, and the advancing ships are protected by an angel with a flaming sword.

From John Dee Arte of Navigation 1577

It seemed reasonable, at this time, to suppose that, just as a way had been discovered to China, India and the Spice Islands by sailing south, so also there might be a route to the same goal, hitherto concealed among the northern mists, through the seas that washed the coasts of North America and Siberia. Geographers were of opinion that such a passage existed and that it was navigable. For example, Robert Thorne, who had made a study of the problem in the reign of Henry VIII, averred that by sailing 'past the Pole,' either by the north-west or by the north-east, a descent could be made, by a more expeditious way than either the Portuguese or Spanish pilots knew of, upon the coveted tropical lands. In a letter written in the year 1527 he urged his fellow countrymen to take up the new quest and gain a place for England among the famous nations of the earth. To allay the scruples of the timid and to quicken the pulse of the brave, he penned

the glowing words. 'There is no land uninhabitable nor sea innavigable.'

The discrepancy between theory and reality, always considerable, was in this case enormous, but the 'urge' was undeniable, and one cannot but be thrilled at the spectacle of so unequal a contest with nature. In tiny ships, no bigger than large-sized fishing smacks, ignorant of prevailing currents and winds, amid uncharted seas, exposed to the unheard-of perils of ice and fog, often bewildered as to their whereabouts and blinded by snow-storms, the helpless and weary mariners, exhausted by cold, starvation and constant vigils, would often have preferred to abandon their ships rather than face the terrors of the quest. Still the struggle went on, and the first stage of the journey was mapped out.

The effort to open a passage eastwards to Cathay (China) by the North Cape was begun in the reign of Mary and continued

by the Elizabethans. The first attempt, made by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor (1553), ended in Willoughby's death on the desolate Kola peninsula, the discovery of the White Sea by Chancellor, and the beginning of trade relations between England and Russia. The second expedition, under Stephen Burrough (1556), skirted the Kanin peninsula and the island of Kolguev, and reached the Bay of Petchora, Nova Zembla and the island of Vaigatz, but here it turned back owing to impenetrable ice, fog and contrary winds at the entrance to the Kara Sea.

Then came the great enterprise of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman (1580), who battled their way past Vaigatz a short distance into the Kara Sea towards the river Ob, but were eventually compelled to beat a retreat by the same obstacles that had defeated their predecessors. It was the last attempt. Clearly the north-east passage was beyond the feeble

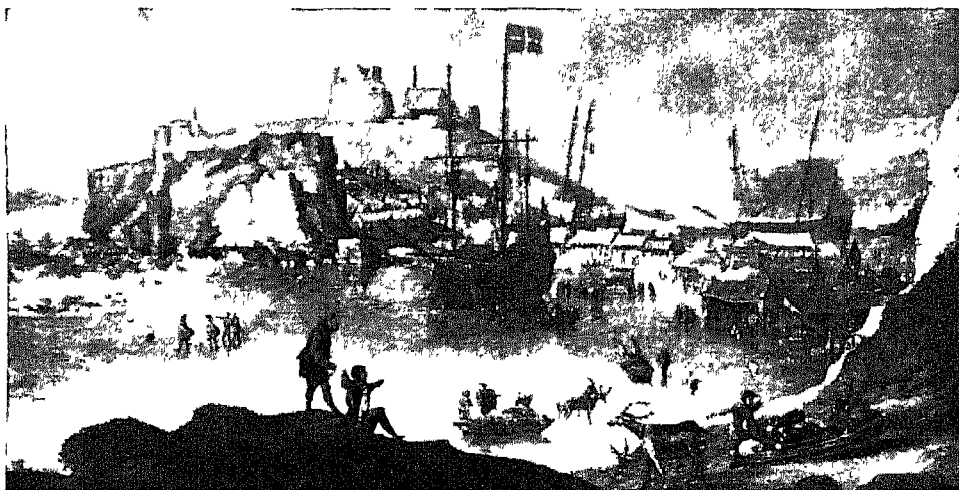
technique and defective equipment of the sixteenth century sailor. Its successful negotiation had to be left to a later generation with a more scientific knowledge.

Meanwhile the lure of the north-west, made popular by a powerful pamphlet (1574) from the pen of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had begun to draw attention to the waters north of Labrador—an area which English explorers have made peculiarly their own. Gilbert's views were scholarly, reasonable and well argued. He had mastered every aspect of the subject, and collected every scrap of information bearing upon it, in ancient as well as modern writers, and the treatise in which he divulged his ideas is a prominent landmark in the history of exploration. Suffice it to say that it was on the strength of these ideas that Martin Frobisher and John Davis ventured forth in the 'seventies and 'eighties to break the icy barrier and to plant the English flag on the barren coasts of North America and Greenland.

Frobisher's three attempts were limited in success owing to the fact that on the first expedition he believed that he had discovered a gold mine in Northumberland Inlet (formerly Frobisher's Strait)—or others believed that he had—and to the

chase of this will-o'-the-wisp he sacrificed the good work he was capable of doing in the geographical field. Fortunately the failure was to some extent redeemed by the subsequent brilliance of Davis. Sailing northward along the inhabited west coast of Greenland, this prince of Elizabethan mariners made his way in three voyages as far north as latitude 73° —the 'farthest north' of the period—and discovered the wide passage known as Davis Strait. He was frustrated, however, by pack ice when he essayed to turn westward, and eventually returned by Labrador and Newfoundland. In a letter recounting his last achievement he states that he had found 'a great sea, free, large, very salt, blue, and of unsearchable depth', in virtue of which, he solemnly comments, the 'passage is probable' and the 'execution easy'. There, however, the matter ended for the time being. Owing to the many distractions of the later years of Elizabeth's reign and the war with Spain, Davis was claimed for other fields.

And now what of the concurrent and well-sustained effort of intrepid landmen to reach India overland? The first expedition to the north-east, as we have seen, had taken place in Mary Tudor's reign, and had resulted in the opening up



ARCHANGEL, RUSSIA'S EARLIEST SEAPORT, IN THE 17th CENTURY

The modern town of Archangel dates from the visit of Richard Chancellor, the English explorer, in 1553. Soon after that date an English factory was erected on the lower Dvina, and a fort was built in 1584, around which the town grew up. For a long time Archangel was Russia's only seaport, communicating with the interior by river and canal. When the tsar Boris Godunov (1598-1605) threw trade open to all nations, the chief participants were England, Holland and Germany.

Painting by Bonaventura Peeters in the collection of Sir Polert Witt

of the Russian Empire, then almost unknown in the West, to English traders. Thus, by a happy chance, a way was discovered whereby the traveller by land could penetrate into the heart of Asia via the great rivers of Russia, the Caspian Sea and the lands beyond the Caspian. In the reign of Elizabeth, accordingly, we find intrepid and resourceful travellers like Anthony Jenkinson making their way, often at considerable risk, down the Volga to Astrakhan, thence across the treeless deserts of Turkistan, to the Oxus and Bokhara; or, in a more southerly direction, to the cities of old Persia—Tabriz, Teheran and Kasbin.

These expeditions had, of course, an immediate economic object, and their

result was a great extension of England's cloth trade, the discovery of new dye-stuffs and an increased appetite for a further share in the lucrative traffic that fattened the purses of Portuguese and Venetian merchants. But the crowning adventure into the East by land was to come in 1583. In that year a small company of Englishmen, led by John Newberie and Ralph Fitch, made their way to Joppa by sea, crossed the Lebanon mountains to Aleppo, the great market of the Near East, and joined a caravan setting out for the Euphrates. Down this river they sailed in primitive goat-skin boats, past Bagdad and the ruins of Babylon to Basra, the Persian Gulf and Ormuz. Their experiences are recorded



EXPLORERS WHO TYPIFY THE ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT OF ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

Neither Sir Hugh Willoughby (left) nor Sir Martin Frobisher (right) was successful in achieving his main objects, but both exemplify the courage and love of adventure that characterised the Elizabethan mariners. Willoughby sought to discover a north-east passage to Cathay (China); he failed, but the voyage led to trade with Russia. Frobisher, unsuccessful in his quest for a north-west passage, is remembered for the gallant part he played in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Wollaton Hall, courtesy of Lord Middleton, and Bodleian Library, Oxford



JENKINSON'S MAP OF RUSSIA IN THE TIME OF IVAN THE TERRIBLE

The failure of sixteenth-century explorers to discover a north-east passage was the means of opening up trading communications between England and the Russian empire, then practically unknown in the west. This map of Russia in 1562 shows Ivan the Terrible in the left-hand top corner. Many strange Russian customs are illustrated and described in Latin, most remarkable of all being that of the Kirgessi (right), whose habit it was not to bury their dead but to hang the bodies on trees.

British Museum, King's Library

by Hakluyt and read like an excerpt from the pages of the Arabian Nights.

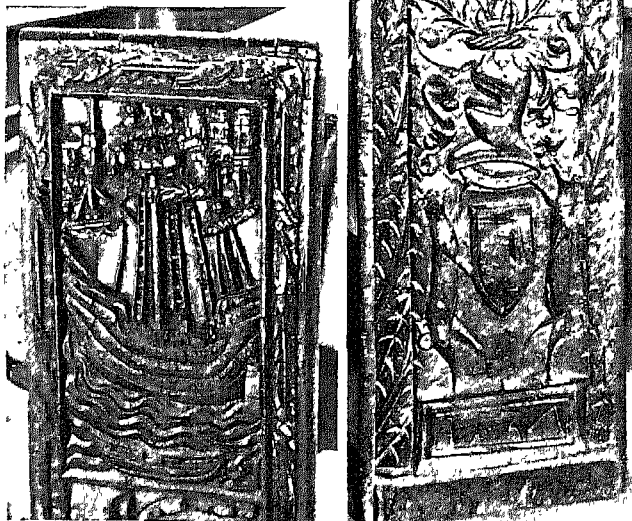
From Ormuz they made their way, on a Portuguese vessel, to Goa, where the viceroy of the Portuguese Indies resided, and there they were thrown into prison as spies. Escaping through the good offices of an English Jesuit, they picked their way across India to Golconda and, finally, reached the court of the Great Mogul at Agra, where Newberie presented a letter of credence which he bore from Queen Elizabeth. The prime object of the mission was now accomplished, and the little party broke up and dispersed. The leader set out on a perilous journey through the Punjab to Constantinople, promising to return in two years' time with a ship

to Bengal. A second member of the expedition remained in Agra as a servant of the emperor. And a third, Fitch, whose appetite for adventure seems to have been merely whetted by his experiences, pursued his way alone down the Jumna and the Ganges to Bengal, from Bengal to Pegu (Burma), and from Pegu to Malacca.

Eventually he returned to Bengal, and after waiting in vain for Newberie, whose fate is unknown, took ship for Goa; and so, after nine years of wandering in the East, arrived back in England by approximately the same route as that by which he had set out. From many points of view he had accomplished the most remarkable journey of the epoch. Above all, he had opened up communications

with the Far East and set up a landmark in the evolution of England's relations with India

Of the gentlemen adventurers of the age much might be said. We shall bring this record of exploit to a close with a brief reference to the careers of the two best known and most widely famous. As soldiers, explorers, promoters of colonies, as theorists and dreamers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, stand in the very forefront of their time, and touch their world at all points. A restless imagination, backed by a boundless ambition and the 'will to achieve,' whatever the cost, hounded both on to conceiving the most daring schemes; and at the same time a strange wilfulness of temper, irritability and impatience dogged their enterprises and turned them into tragic failures. Yet, in spite of the incompleteness and futility, time has invested their careers with a glamour which few others possess. They are remembered not so much for what they did or failed to do, as for the spirit in which they did it. Above all, if they lacked the secret of success in life, they knew how to die.



RELICS OF THE RALEIGH FAMILY

The pew end on the left belongs to the Raleigh pew in the church of East Budleigh, Devonshire. Right: the Raleigh coat of arms. Joan Drake, first wife of Sir Walter's father, is buried in the nave of the church. Sir Walter himself was born at Hayes Barton about a mile away.

Photos, B. C. Clayton

Gilbert is famous, as we have seen, for his spirited championship of the search for a north-west passage: he gave purpose and intensity to the onslaught on the Arctic. But he is more famous because he was the first Elizabethan to crystallise the floating schemes for planting colonies in America, and to put the matter to the proof of practical experiment. Fortified by a royal charter and a grant of the most extensive privileges in the event of success, he set out in 1583 to extend English sovereignty over the American seaboard, and to organize the first English overseas dependency.

For a time all went well. The flag was unfurled in Newfoundland, the limits were traced of a vigorous and flourishing community, and the country was explored and charted. But there the success ended and disaster began. When he left Newfoundland to carry out the second part of the enterprise, which involved the carving out of similar settlements along the coast between Nova Scotia and Florida,

he got no farther than Sable Island (off Cape Breton). Here he lost his principal ship, the *Delight*, together with all his maps and plans, and the minerals he had collected as a basis for future operations, and was compelled to turn homeward, a broken-hearted man. The episode of his death in mid-Atlantic is one of those rare epitaphs which occasionally show the moral triumph of a great character over the brutal realities of a pitiless universe.

Refusing to avail himself of the greater security of the *Golden Hind*, though pressed to do so by his captains, Gilbert obstinately remained aboard his tiny ten-ton frigate, the *Squirrel*. 'I will not,' he said, 'forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.' When the gale



FAMOUS ELIZABETHAN SEAMAN

Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1552–1618), explorer, poet and historian, was at one time court favourite of Queen Elizabeth. He was enthusiastic in promoting English ventures in colonisation and was the life-long enemy of Spain.

Engraving by Houbraken from the painting at Knole

burst upon them, north of the Azores, and 'outrageous' seas, 'breaking short and pyramid-wise,' threatened to 'overtake the poop,' Gilbert manifested the courage of a Viking. The narrative of Captain Edward Hayes of the Golden Hind runs thus :

Monday the ninth of September in the afternoon, the Frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered : and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approach within hearing), We are as near to heaven by sea as by land. The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the Frigate being ahead of us in the Golden Hind, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried, the General was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea.

So died Gilbert, and death placed his memory beyond the corrosions of time and space.

The ambitions and hopes that drove

him forth on this last adventure, moreover, were not buried with him ; they descended like a mantle upon the ample shoulders of Raleigh. It was he, rather than Gilbert, who plotted out the ground where the future colony of Virginia took root and flourished in the days of the Stuarts. If success did not attend his efforts immediately, if in fact the two attempts he made to 'plant' Virginia ended disastrously, it was not altogether due to the lack of vigour in the promoter. Rather we must blame the spirit of the age. A race of adventurers who regarded the world as 'an oyster to be opened by the sword' was slow to discipline itself to the hard task of pioneering in a virgin country, or to realize that gold obtained from the exploitation of natural resources is a surer way to the amassing of wealth than gold filched from mines or the lockers of Spanish galleons. The collapse of the experimental colony of Virginia was one of those inevitable disasters that accompany the launching of a great idea into the world of practical affairs.

So far as Raleigh was concerned, the great adventure was simply the least striking of his many failures. He passed



DARING NAVIGATOR

Sir Humphrey Gilbert (c. 1539–1583) embodies the gallant spirit that secured Britain's triumph at sea. He landed at S. John's, Newfoundland, in 1583, and founded the first English colony in America, but perished on the return voyage.

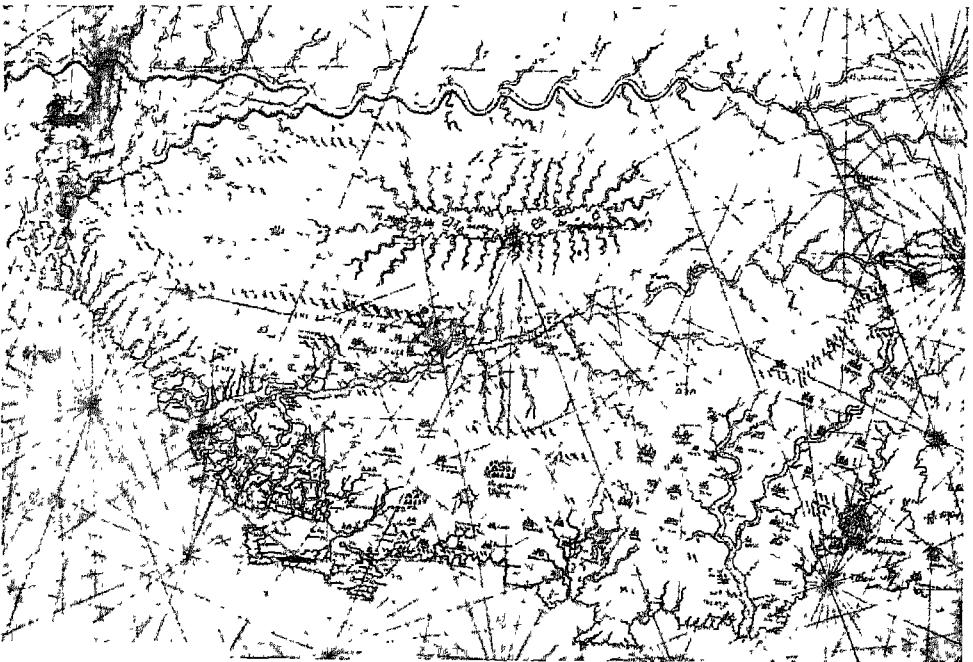
From Holland, 'Herologia'

on to meet his fate in a more grandiloquent fashion and in a different field. For years he had brooded over the fantastic tales of an Eldorado hidden away among the inaccessible swamps and forests of Guiana—tales which were currently believed by the Spaniards, and were well fitted to capture an imagination so sensitive as Raleigh's. His idea appears to have been to seize this treasure and lay it under contribution for the overthrow of Spain. With a clarity of vision born of intense conviction, he argued that no defeat of the Spanish sea power could be final until a source of wealth as great as the Spaniard possessed, if not greater, was placed at the disposal of the English crown. 'It is his Indian gold,' he commented, 'that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe.'

From dreaming and theorising Raleigh proceeded to action, and in 1595 he led an exploratory expedition up the Orinoco. Forcing his way in open wherry boats through the labyrinth of the delta, he

reached the frontiers of the mystical kingdom, and collected sufficient proofs, as he thought, to justify a second attempt. The results of this amazing episode are contained in his pamphlet, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*. But the effort to convert the queen, or to command any influential body of opinion in favour of the enterprise, was without result. Only after years of waiting, and a period of incarceration in the Tower, was he permitted at last to renew the scheme. But by this time the Spaniard was forewarned and ready for him on the Orinoco: conflict was unavoidable; and Raleigh, after the loss of his son in a skirmish with the Spaniards, reluctantly withdrew. When he returned to England the pusillanimous King James I sacrificed him to his enemies. Raleigh expiated his ambitions and his dreams on the scaffold; and with him perished the last vestiges of the Elizabethan spirit.

We have long since discarded the notion that the golden age of the world lies in



RALEIGH'S MAP OF EL DORADO, FABULOUS CITY OF GOLD

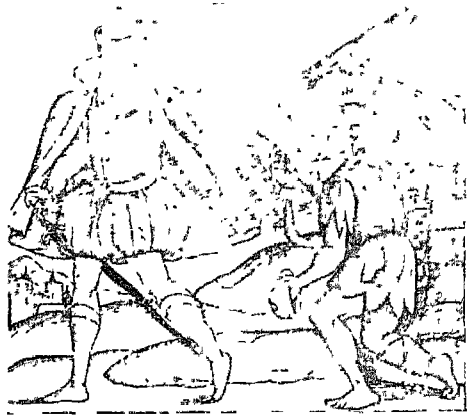
Desire for the extension of his sovereign's wealth and power led Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1595, to seek the golden city of Manoa, called by the Spaniards El Dorado, of which the rumour ran that it was richer than Mexico or Peru. This reproduction of the original map drawn by Raleigh himself shows Guiana, the fabulous lake Manoa in which the city stood, and the Orinoco coast. Like many older maps, this chart is drawn upside down, with the east on the left and the south at the top.

British Museum, Additional MS. 17,940A

the past: if we place it anywhere, it is in the distant and problematic future.

For all its intellectual and imaginative brilliance, its pomp and circumstance, its heroic enterprise, the age of Elizabeth was certainly no golden age. The beauty and culture we so much admire in it flourished, like some exotic plant, over a vast morass of social misery and suffering. Apart from the crowds of sturdy rogues and vagabonds who shambled along the roads, robbing and murdering, and were trussed up by the law or whipped 'till bloody,' and placed in 'houses of correction,' there were thousands of impotent poor whose sufferings the rough-handed sympathy of the law could with difficulty alleviate. Of these unfortunates the contemporary critics speak with compassion, and with bitter comment on the callousness of the well-to-do, who could, but would not, help. 'A poor man,' says Greene, 'will as soon break his neck as his fast at a rich man's door.' 'They lie in the streets,' writes Stubbes of the poor of London, 'upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that, or else in the dirt, as commonly it is seen, having neither house to put their heads in, covering to keep them from the cold nor to hide their shame withal . . . but are permitted to die in the streets like dogs or beasts without any mercy or compassion showed to them at all.'

The age was a hard and cruel one, and human life was cheaply held on land and sea. Even the men who fought



RICH MAN AND POOR MAN

This satire on class distinctions in Bateman's pamphlet (page 3500), shows the rich man proud and careless of the welfare of others. The poor man represents general poverty 'whose petitions of such are not heard nor once relieved'

the battles of their country received but a poor and niggardly recompense. Is it to be wondered at that the pauper met with severity? Perhaps the root of the trouble lay in the fact that the old medieval idea of charity had perished with the monasteries, while the modern idea of state alleviation of poverty was still in the experimental stage. In any case the facts show that the Elizabethan Englishman cannot be credited with a soft or discerning heart towards his less fortunate brethren. The poor were a nuisance and poverty a disease, for which, in the inscrutable providence of God, he was not responsible.



ELIZABETHAN VICES PERPETUATED IN CHURCH CARVINGS

Beyond the fine rood screen of the beautiful Church of S. Laurence at Ludlow are thirty collegiate stalls bearing exquisite carvings. Weirly distorted figures, carved on the under sides of the misericord seats, are satirical allusions to the vices of the age. These two figures emphasise the love of drinking manifest in the Elizabethans. The individual on the left is eagerly drawing beer from a cask and the attitude of the figure on the right suggests gluttony and self-indulgence.

Photo, B. C. Clayton

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXV

- 1599 Peace of Vervins; Edict of Nantes.
Philip II d.; acc. Philip III.
- 1599 India: Akbar in the Deccan.
- 1600 Henry IV. m. Marie de' Medici.
Charter of London East India Company.
- 1603 Elizabeth d.; acc. James I (and VI). Union of
English and Scottish crowns.
Spinola in command of Spaniards in Netherlands.
Japan: Iyeyasu shogun; founding of the Takugawa
Shogunate.
- 1604 Sweden: Sixsmund deposed; Charles IX crowned.
Peace between England and Spain.
- 1605 India: Akbar d.; acc. Jehangir.
Don Quixote published.
- 1608 Rudolf transfers Hungary and Austria to Matthias.
America: English settlement under Virginia
charter; Champlain at Quebec.
- 1609 Netherlands: Dutch and Spaniards make twelve
years' truce; Dutch independence de facto, but
still unacknowledged.
Cleves succession question; German Protestant
Union; Henry IV's league.
Bohemia extorts Charter of Majesty from Rudolf.
- 1610 Henry IV assassinated; acc. Louis XIII; regency
of Marie de' Medici; renewed factions, and
revival of the Huguenot conflicts.
Henry IV's league dissolved. Maximilian of
Bavaria forms German Catholic League to
counteract the Protestant Union.
- 1611 Englishmen favoured in Japan (Will Adams).
Sweden: Charles IX d.; acc. Gustavus Adolphus.
- 1612 Rudolf II d.; acc. Matthias.
- 1613 Russian 'interregnum' ended by election of Michael
Romanov, founding Romanov dynasty.
- 1613 Elizabeth, dr. of James I, m. Frederick, elector
palatine.
- 1614 France: States-General called; not again sum-
moned for 175 years.
Japan: Iyeyasu expels (Catholic) Christians.
- 1615 India: English embassy of Sir T. Roe to Jehangir.
- 1616 China: the Manchus having mastered the north,
Nurbachu proclaims himself emperor; official
beginning of Manchu dynasty.
Japan: Iyeyasu d.; Hidetada shogun.
- 1617 Bohemian diet acknowledges succession of Fer-
dinand or Carinthia, cousin and heir of Matthias.
- 1618 'Defenestration' of Ferdinand's ministers at
Prague; begins the Thirty Years' War.
The elector of Brandenburg inherits Polish duchy
of East Prussia.
- 1619 Matthias d.; Ferdinand II elected emperor.
Frederick, elected k. of Bohemia, accepts the
crown.
- 1620 Bohemian War, German Protestants standing aloof.
Maximilian brings in the League army, under
Tilly's command; defeat of Frederick at the
White Mountain.
- 1621 Voyage of the Mayflower; the 'Pilgrim Fathers.'
Philip III d.; acc. Philip IV.
Protestantism stamped out in Bohemia.
Spaniards from Netherlands in Lower Palatinate.
Dutch War renewed on expiry of truce.
- 1622 Maximilian in Upper Palatinate. Mansfeld and
Christian of Brunswick (or Halberstadt) com-
mand for Frederick.
Japan: Shogunate of Iyemitsu.
- 1623 Palatinate and electorship conferred on Maxi-
milian. Breach between England and Spain.
- 1624 Richelieu at head of Louis XIII's ministry.
James I negotiates with France, Sweden and Den-
mark for intervention.
- 1625 Futile English expedition to Netherlands. James
I d.; acc. Charles I.
Christian IV of Denmark heads Protestant coalition;
Saxony and Brandenburg standing aside.
Maurice of Nassau d.; Frederick Henry stadtholder.
Gustavus and Sigismund at war.
- 1626 Wallenstein raises an independent army for the
emperor. Mansfeld d. Christian IV defeated
by Tilly at Lutter.
- 1627 Continued progress of imperialists.
Richelieu lays siege to Huguenots in La Rochelle;
futile relief expedition of Buckingham.
India: Shah Jehan succeeds Jehangir.
- 1628 Fall of La Rochelle; Buckingham assassinated.
Wallenstein fails to take Stralsund.
China: Acc. Chung Cheng, last Ming emperor.
- 1629 Denmark retires; Peace of Lübeck; Ferdinand,
urged by Maximilian, issues edict of Resti-
tution, in spite of Wallenstein's protests.
Richelieu ends Huguenot conflict by treaty of
Alais, and helps to negotiate treaty of Altmarm
between Poland and Sweden.
England takes no further part in the war.
- 1630 Landing of Gustavus at Usedom; dismissal of
Wallenstein; neutrality of Brandenburg and
Saxony.
- 1631 Fall and sack of Magdeburg; Saxony and Branden-
burg join Gustavus, who defeats Tilly at
Breitenfeld. His triumphant progress necessi-
tates recall of Wallenstein.
- 1632 Lützen; d. of Gustavus, retreat of Wallenstein;
Christina q. of Sweden; Oxenstierna rules.
- 1633 League of Heilbronn, led by Bernard of Saxe-
Weimar.
- 1634 Wallenstein assassinated; defeat of Bernard at
Nördlingen.
- 1635 Ferdinand II d.; Ferdinand III acc. Peace of
Prague. Saxony and Brandenburg join im-
perialists. France declares war on Spain.
Japan: Iyemitsu, having completed constitutional
reforms, closes Japan to Europeans.
- 1638 Louis XIV b. Bernard conquers Alsace.
- 1639 Bernard d. France retains Alsace.
Fort St. George (Madras) granted to E.I.C.
- 1640 Frederick William, the 'Great Elector,' succeeds
George William in Brandenburg. He makes
peace with Swedes and begins reconstruction.
England: the Long Parliament meets.
Portugal revolts from Spain, proclaiming John of
Braganza king. War of independence.
- 1642 Richelieu d.
English Civil War begins.
Galileo d. Isaac Newton b.
- 1643 Louis XIII d.; acc. Louis XIV. Anne of Austria
regent; Mazarin first minister.
- 1644 China: Chung Cheng, the last Ming, d. Manchu or
Ching dynasty established.
Christina assumes control in Sweden.
Descartes' Principia.
- 1645 War of Candia (Turkey and Venice) begins.
Russia: Michael Romanov d.; acc. Alexis.
England: decisive defeat of Royalists at Naseby.
Turenne in Bavaria.
- 1647 Treaty of Munster; Dutch independence.
- 1648 Treaties of Westphalia end Thirty Years' War.
Franco-Spanish war continues.
Civil war of the Fronde begins in France.
Masaniello's revolt at Naples.
William II of Orange stadtholder.
Denmark: Acc. Frederick III.
- 1649 England: Commonwealth; Charles I beheaded.
Poland: Acc. John Casimir.
- 1650 William II d. William III and Marlborough b.
- 1652 Two years' naval war between England and Holland.
- 1653 End of the Fronde. Mazarin supreme in France.
Cromwell Lord Protector in England.
- 1654 Sweden: Christina abdicates; acc. Charles X.
Holland: John de Witt Grand Pensionary. House
of Orange excluded from stadtholdership.
- 1655 Cromwell attacks Spain in West Indies.
- 1656 Mohammed Kiuprili grand wazir; vigorous
Turkish reorganization for aggression.
- 1657 Pascal's Lettres Provinciales.
Brandenburg acquires Prussia in full sovereignty.
Ferdinand III d.; acc. Leopold I.
Anglo-French alliance.
Charles X invades Denmark.
- 1658 Cromwell's troops with Turenne in Netherlands.
Cromwell d. Break up of Commonwealth govern-
ment.
Truce between Sweden and Denmark.
India: Aurangzib deposes Shah Jehan. Rise of
the Maratha leader Sivaji.
- 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees ends Franco-Spanish war.
Charles X d.; acc. Charles XI. Sweden under
control of an oligarchy. Frederick III estab-
lishes absolutism in Denmark.
- 1660 Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen end Baltic war.
Mazarin retires; Louis XIV m. Maria Teresa
(Spanish infanta) and assumes personal control
of French government.
England recalls Charles II; the Restoration.

Chronicle XXV

THE AGE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR: 1598-1660

FOR forty-two years the sombre figure of Philip II of Spain had overshadowed Europe. From the beginning of his reign to the end of it there was no prince who could claim to rival his power on the Continent, at least after the death of Henry II of France; and for thirty years no one outside England supposed that any power, unless it were that of the Turk, could successfully challenge Spain's supremacy on the seas, while the Turkish fleet itself had been shattered at Lepanto before half that time had passed.

He came to the throne ambitious to dominate an enfeebled and divided Europe and to wipe out heresy; he had at his disposal vast fleets, the armies of Spain, the wealth of the Netherlands, the riches of America, the commerce (after his annexation of the Portuguese crown) of the East Indies. He was enormously self-confident, infinitely laborious, hampered by no inconvenient scruples of honour, generosity or even natural affection. But he died with every one of his ambitions defeated, the might of Spain hopelessly sapped, her fleets at the mercy of the northern maritime powers, her trade monopolies collapsing, the United Provinces of the Netherlands irretrievably lost, though their independence was not yet acknowledged, and Protestantism, wherever it had taken root, more firmly established than before. When Philip died, Spain was no longer the dominant power. The part she was to play in the future was, at best, secondary.

Decline of Spain and Rise of France

IN the sixty-two years which are covered in this Chronicle it was only the shrewdest of statesmen that realized that the menace of a European domination centred not in Madrid but in a Hapsburg consolidation with its focus at Vienna. The progressive weakening of Spain, the failure of the Austrian Hapsburgs to

unify the Empire, and the rise of France to the position of the premier power, together with the establishment of the Dutch and English maritime supremacy, are the features of the period in relation to the dominant international problem of Europe, the 'balance of power.' Superficially, the Thirty Years' War, which occupied half the period and generally gives it its title, was a war of religion; but its effect on the religious question was only to show, at a hideous cost, that religion was not in truth an international issue and could not be decided by international conflicts. Its fundamental importance lay in the fact that it decisively prevented the unification of Germany, and enabled France to achieve that ascendancy which for the next century and a half she dreamed of transforming into a universal domination.

An Era of great Men

OUR main interest, then, will be concentrated upon France and Germany, with Germany as the stage, but with Sweden intervening in a very remarkable episode during which her king became the central figure of the European drama. Great Britain was for the most part too deeply engaged on a drama of her own to intervene with effect in Continental affairs. It is an era in which great figures stand out: Henry IV and Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, and in the twelve last years Oliver Cromwell; but Henry disappears in 1610, Richelieu is on the stage only between 1625 and 1642, Gustavus and Wallenstein for less than ten years, all falling within the Richelieu period; bigger men all of them than Philip, but none of them pivotal, as he had been. And none save Henry's pupil, Richelieu, achieved the aim with which he had set out.

It is Great Britain, however, that demands our first attention, because her development at this period, though im-



FIRST KING OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The accession to the throne of England in 1603 of James of Scotland united the two countries under one crown. The full-length portrait in the royal collection, after which this was engraved by J. Smith, was painted by Van Dyck during his visit to England, 1620-1621, when the king was about 55.

British Museum

mediately it distracted her from European politics, vitally affected her future influence. The death of the great Queen Elizabeth in 1603 called to the throne of England the Scots king, James VI, in virtue of his descent from the elder daughter of Henry VII, who had married James IV of Scotland just one hundred years before. The crowns of two kingdoms which had been intermittently hostile and never on terms of solid friendship for centuries were united, never again to be separated, though for some time their separation was a possibility in the background. The two countries remained separate kingdoms with separate legislatures and administrations, but while they remained under one crown they could not go to war with each other, nor take opposite sides in foreign wars, nor make antagonistic treaties.

The accession in England of the king of Scots had a further powerful effect on the constitutional development of both countries, though another century was to pass before the incorporating union. The Scots parliament possessed no such powers as the English parliament, and the Scots king wholly misunderstood the relations between the latter and his Tudor predecessors. Since he claimed that the English parliament enjoyed such powers and privileges as it possessed entirely by the king's grace, friction arose, especially as to the royal rights of taxation and control of religion. Also, both king and country still believed in the power of Spain, but to the king she was a power to be conciliated, to the country she was an irreconcilable foe to England and to Protestantism, to be fought at every available opportunity.

The antagonism between crown and parliament only became more acute when in 1625 the easily-frightened James was succeeded by his

obstinate son, Charles I. Neither side would abate its claims; the king, unable to obtain supplies from parliament, could take no part in foreign complications when he tried to rule without calling a parliament (1629-40). In 1642 the great civil war broke out. After three years Charles was decisively defeated; in 1648 the army which had defeated him resolved that he must die, and in the following January he was beheaded. What remained, by leave of the army, of the parliament which had been sitting since 1642 put down rebellions against its authority and reorganized the navy; but when it attempted to convert itself into a permanent oligarchy, Cromwell, with the army behind him, ejected it and became in effect a military dictator for five years (1653-58).

The Age of the Thirty Years' War

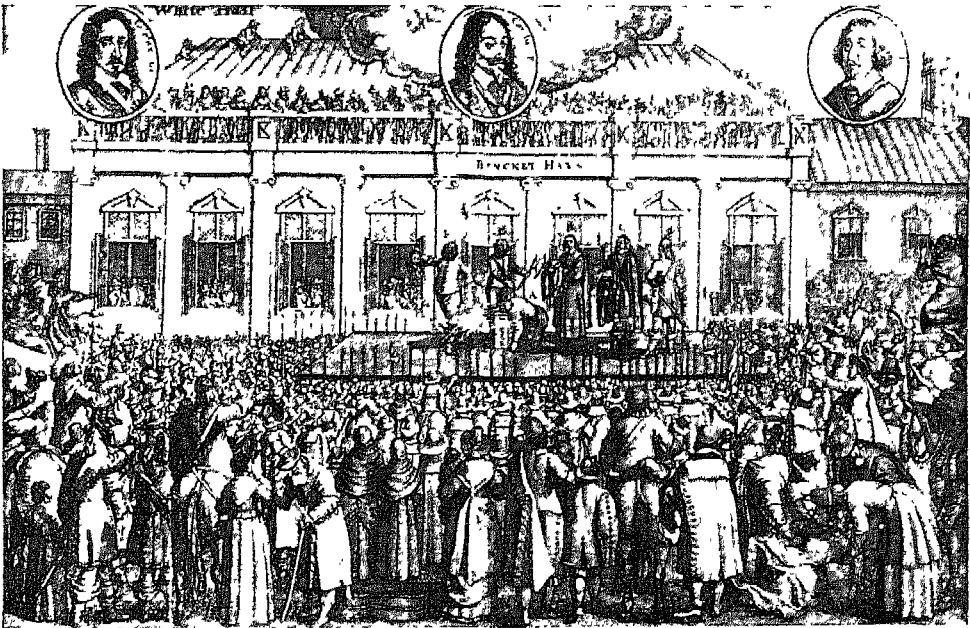
The chaos that followed his death was ended only by the restoration of Charles II in 1660 on terms which definitely fixed the income of the crown at a figure very far short of the amount required for the government's normal peace expenditure. All additional expenditure must be met by taxation, which could only be imposed with the express consent of parliament.

FOR twelve years after the making of peace with Spain at the treaty of Vervins and of the religious peace in France by the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon kings, was reorganizing the government of France on the lines which were to make his grandson Louis XIV the most absolute of monarchs and France herself the leader of Europe. By the Edict, France remained a Catholic state but gave toleration to the Huguenots. They enjoyed freedom of worship, and equal freedom with the Catholics for employment in the public services; certain cities and fortresses



DEATH MASK OF CHARLES I

This plaster cast of the face of Charles I was taken from the original cast made from his head after the execution in 1649. A small number of these casts were distributed among his intimate personal friends
London Museum



EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES I AT WHITEHALL

This nearly contemporary engraving by Sebastian Furck depicts the decapitation of Charles I in front of the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall, January 30, 1649. Bishop Juxon attended the king, and upon the scaffold besides the executioner and his assistant were Colonels Hacker and Tomlinson. 'The blow I saw given,' Philip Henry, an eye-witness, wrote, 'at the instant whereof there was such a grone by the Thousands present as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again.'

British Museum

Chronicle XXV. 1598-1660

were under Huguenot control and were garrisoned by Huguenots, so that a turn of the wheel could not bring them under Catholic domination; and Henry's principal minister, Sully, was himself a Huguenot. And though the national religion was Catholic, France had taken exception to certain of the decrees of the Council of Trent, so that the Gallican church still claimed a degree of independence of the papal authority, coupled with dependence on the crown.

The French settlement was unique because the position of the two religions in France was unique. Almost everywhere else princes and kings had been able to persuade or compel their subjects to adhere to the form of religion laid down by the ruler, except where Protestantism had taken so strong and general a hold that it



A TOLERANT MONARCH

Henry IV, first of the Bourbon line in France, granted toleration to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes (1598). He began the reorganization of the French government and the anti-Hapsburg policy later pursued by Richelieu.

Painting by Pourbus, the Louvre; photo, Giraudon



GREAT FRENCH MINISTER

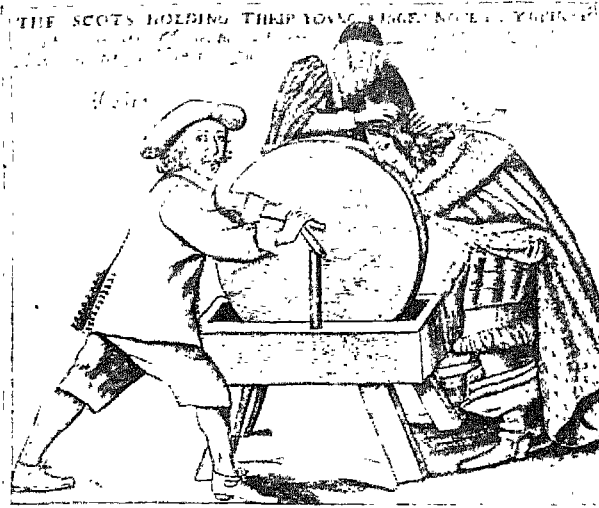
Sully (1560-1641), appointed superintendent of finances of France in 1597, was Henry IV's principal adviser. He reformed financial abuses, lightened taxes, maintained the country's defences and fostered agriculture.

Drawing by Monstier, the Louvre; photo Giraudon

won complete victory in spite of the ruler, as in the northern Netherlands and in Scotland. In France its grip was only on a minority, but was so strong that it defied suppression, and the country had long been divided into two armed and hostile factions, neither of which could crush the other. Both must live and let live if the internecine conflict was to end. But the Huguenots were so much the fewer that their security required the material guarantees they received under the Edict. The guarantees, however, themselves generated a new danger, which did not make itself felt as long as the disposition of the government was evidently friendly to the Huguenots; they were able to form a highly organized political community which could be brought into play for purposes quite other than the defence of religious liberty, while their leaders included some of the most powerful of the nobility.

After such a long period of something like chronic civil war, a king who had been obliged to fight hard for the crown which was legitimately his necessarily made it a first object to gather power into his own hands. Like the ablest of his predecessors, Henry employed in administrative offices, wherever possible, not powerful nobles but

The Age of the Thirty Years' War



PRINCE CHARLES AT THE GRINDSTONE

This broadside of 1651 satirises the conditions exacted from young Prince Charles by the Scottish Presbyterians, before they offered him the crown in 1650. Presbyterianism, so strong a force in Scotland, is personified holding the young king's nose to the grindstone, while 'Jockie' turns the handle.

middle-class officials with a professional training whose interest was to serve him faithfully and win his favour and confidence. In England the obstacle to the concentration of power in the hands of the king lay in the claims of the commons to control supply; in France it lay in the privileges of the higher nobility. By employing commoners, Henry placed no powers in the hands of the commons as a body, while he withdrew power from the nobles as individual magnates with common class interests.

The second need—the religious question being settled—was for financial reorganization, with the double object of developing the national wealth and refilling a treasury depleted by the drain of the recent wars and by continuous maladministration. This was mainly the work of Sully, who was Henry's right-hand man. He found himself faced at the outset with a huge debt, a huge annual expenditure, a crushing burden of taxation from which the nobles were exempt, borne exclusively by the wealth-producing classes, and a very scanty revenue because most of what was collected disappeared on its way to the treasury. A rigid economy, a rigorous supervision, a strict selection of agents who could be trusted and realized that

dishonesty would be dangerous, the development of industries and the partial removal of the tolls which fettered internal trade, enabled Sully to pay off the debt in twelve years and, in spite of diminished taxation, to raise an annual revenue exceeding the annual expenditure in normal times.

Henry was probably the one statesman of the day who realized the actual weakness of Spain and the potential power of a Germany united under the Austrian Hapsburgs and allied with the Spanish Hapsburg. If such a combination should be brought about, France, facing Germany on the east and Spain on the south, would be between the

upper and the nether millstones. A primary condition, however, of such a Hapsburg consolidation would be the suppression of German Protestantism.



EMPEROR RUDOLF II

Rudolf II (1552–1612), though an ardent Catholic, was compelled by superior forces to grant religious toleration to the Bohemians in 1609. This bust of him, done in 1609, a bronze in high relief, is the work of Adrian Fries.

Victoria and Albert Museum

Chronicle XXV. 1598-1660

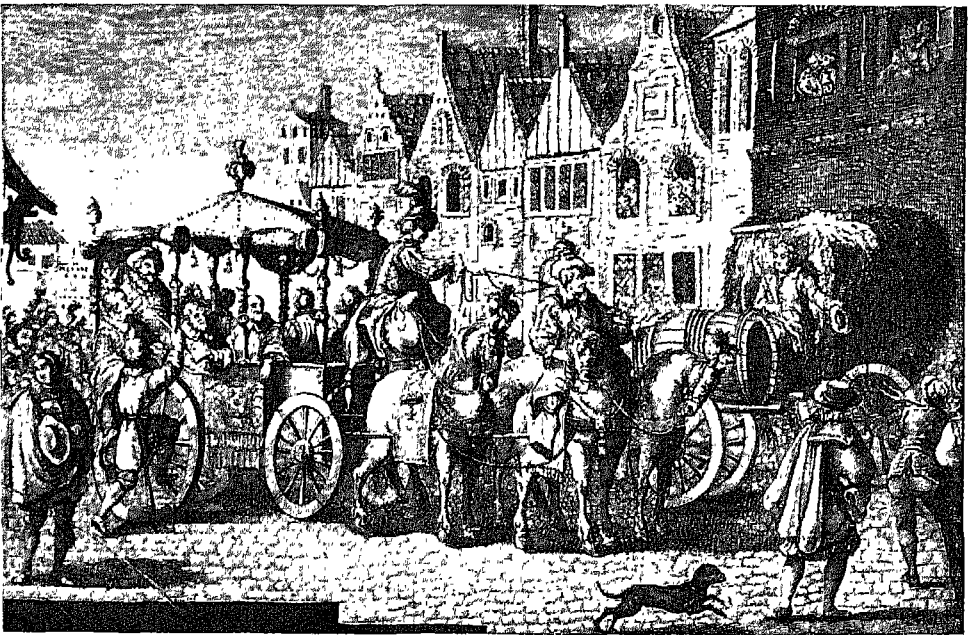
Ferdinand I and Maximilian II had maintained a steady toleration in their own principalities and strict imperial neutrality in matters of religion; but Rudolf II and his nephew Ferdinand of Carinthia, who was expected in course of time to enter on the whole Hapsburg inheritance, both displayed a marked inclination to come out as zealous Catholics.

It was therefore Henry's policy to foster, in German Protestant states particularly, a fear of the revival of aggressive Hapsburg Catholicism, and to persuade them to look to Catholic but tolerant France as the champion of toleration. A league of Protestant powers with Catholic France at its head could not be aggressively Protestant, and would be a guarantee of European peace—besides being very useful to France as a check on the Hapsburgs and as increasing her own international influence.

Henry's diplomacy was working to bring about the league of his vision when Rudolf helped him by a palpable attempt

to get the succession to Juliers, Cleves and other western principalities into his own hands. It was just such an opportunity as Henry wanted; his plans were formed, and he was on the very verge of armed intervention when he was assassinated by the fanatic Ravaillac (1610). The whole scheme collapsed, the newly formed confederacy crumbled, and France was left to the regency of his queen, Marie de' Medici, the mother of the new nine-year-old king, Louis XIII.

For the next fifteen years France counted in Europe no more than England under the 'Scottish Solomon,' who suffered from an ineradicable conviction that his neighbours would listen to reason when they had arms in their hands and he had none. The promptitude of a Catholic faction, supported by the Paris Parlement, secured the French regency to the queen mother, Henry having made no arrangements to ensure the continuity of his policy when he should not be there to direct it. Marie was a Catholic partisan in the hands of



ASSASSINATION IN PARIS OF HENRY IV BY FRANÇOIS RAVAILLAC

On May 14, 1610, Henry IV of France set out in an open coach to visit Sully at the Arsenal. In the rue de la Ferronnerie the coach was brought to a stop by an obstructing hay wagon, and François Ravaillac, a visionary fanatic, seized the opportunity to spring at the king, who was reading a letter, and stab him just above the heart, severing the aorta. The assassination, which excited profound grief throughout France, is graphically depicted in this contemporary print.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from 'Histoire de France,' Hachette

The Age of the Thirty Years' War



LOUIS XIII IN BOYHOOD

From a spoiled child Louis XIII of France (1601-43) developed into a weak, though not uncourageous man. He was a puppet in the hands of his mother during her regency, and in later years was eclipsed by Richelieu.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

Catholic partisans; Sully in despair retired from public life; Protestant alliances were the last thing desired by the regent, for whom Henry's conception of the Hapsburg menace meant nothing, and France was once more the prey of factions. The protests of the Paris Parlement, the guardian of the constitution, were ignored; the States-General were called in 1614, only to be dismissed after accomplishing nothing, and not to meet again till 1789.

As the young king grew up he tried to get the reins out of his mother's hands into his own; it was not till 1622 that he succeeded, and in taking over the government took over also the services of the mighty minister Richelieu, the bishop of Luçon, who had very recently joined the queen. This was not a desertion on

Richelieu's part. He had no concern with factions; his policy was the policy of Henry—to suppress factions, establish toleration, strengthen the crown and make France the first power in Europe. To that end he had joined the de facto government of Marie, and to that end he remained in the new de facto government of the king. But effective intervention in Europe, plunged by this time into the Thirty Years' War, was impossible until the domestic troubles of France should be brought under control.

SPAIN's maritime war with England continued after the death of Philip II, mainly in the form of the raids of English adventurers on Spanish commerce, until the accession of James I in England, when peace was made; the new king making it his business to conciliate the power which he still dreaded. The United Provinces continued their struggle for independence under the leadership of William the Silent's son Maurice of Nassau, whose brilliant abilities were taxed to the uttermost by



MARIE DE' MÈDICIS

Rubens painted this portrait of Marie de' Medici, who became regent for her son, Louis XIII, in 1610. She reversed her husband's anti-Hapsburg policy and arranged a marriage for Louis XIII with Anne of Austria.

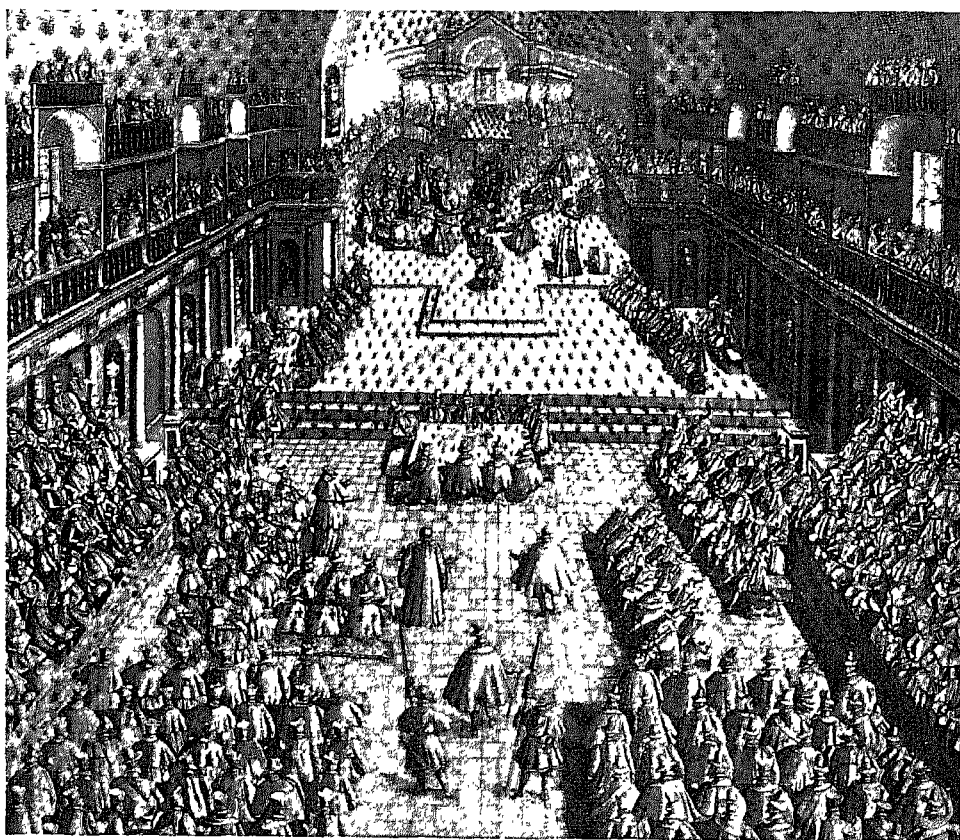
Prado, Madrid; photo, Anderson

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the skill of the Spanish general Spinola. The southern provinces of the Netherlands did not make common cause with the Protestant provinces of the north; but the Netherlands were now practically cut off from Spain, and in 1609 Philip III (1598-1621) made with the United Provinces a truce for eleven years. Although their independence was not therein formally recognized, and after the truce lapsed the attempt at reconquest was renewed, yet the Dutch Republic was from that time a sovereign state, ruled by Maurice as 'stadtholder' till his death in 1625, when he was succeeded in that office by his brother Frederick Henry (1625-47).

During these years Sweden, Poland and Russia were engaged in constant conflicts.

Sigismund, king of Poland and Sweden, having vainly tried to recover Sweden for Catholicism, had in 1598 to leave the country in the hands of his uncle, who seized the Swedish crown as Charles IX in 1604, having the nation behind him. Charles was succeeded by Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32), the 'Lion of the North,' Sigismund also dying in 1632. In Russia the last ruler of the house of Rurik, Feodor, the son of Ivan the Terrible, had died in 1598, when the crown was seized by his brother-in-law Boris Godunov. Sigismund, hoping to gain ascendancy in Russia, had supported a pretender to the Russian throne, Dmitri, who by his aid overturned Boris in 1605. Next year a rival pretender displaced Dmitri by the



THE STATES-GENERAL OF FRANCE IN PLENARY SESSION

Marie de' Medici summoned the States-General in 1614. It held its meetings in the great hall of the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, as shown in this contemporary print, the opening session taking place on October 14. The convocation was barren of results, for although the clergy were reasonably accommodating, the differences between the nobility and the third estate proved irreconcilable. The three estates presented their memorials to the king on February 23, 1615, and the Assembly was dismissed.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse 'Histoire de France illustrée'

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aid of Charles of Sweden, who had no mind to see Sigismund dominating Russia. In 1610 he in turn was displaced, and Sigismund made his own son tsar, while Charles put up his own younger son as a rival candidate. Then Charles died, his successor Gustavus was involved in a war with Denmark, and the Russian nobles, sick of foreign claimants, elected Michael I, the first tsar of the house of Romanov (1613), though it was only by making considerable territorial concessions both to Sweden and to Poland that he was able to procure his own recognition, and peace with both countries, in 1617. (See further in Chap 149.)

Since Sigismund still regarded Gustavus as a usurper, war again broke out between the two in 1620 for the possession of Esthonia and Livonia, continuing till Richelieu's diplomacy brought it to an end by the treaty of Altmärk in 1629, which released Gustavus to play his brilliant and brief part in the Thirty Years' War.

Here also we may note an event the importance of which was not immediately obvious. Prussia had until 1525 been in possession of the Order of Teutonic Knights. In that year the last grand master, Albert of Hohenzollern, received the duchy of East Prussia as a fief held of the Polish monarchy; his son succeeded him as duke and lived till 1618; he had no male issue, but his eldest daughter was the wife of the head of the house of Hohenzollern, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg; and the Polish duchy of East Prussia, lying outside the Empire altogether, passed to the Brandenburg electors, who took the title of king of Prussia in 1701.

The actual storm centre of Europe was the Empire, which had been only on the fringe of the main political movements among the western powers since the death



ARCHITECT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

The main aim of Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), here painted by Philippe de Champaigne, was the aggrandisement of France. His diplomacy was successful in crushing the nobles and Huguenots who threatened the monarchy, and he intervened with effect on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War.

The Louvre; photo, Mansell

of Charles V. The pacification of Passau and the treaty of Augsburg (1555) had provided a *modus vivendi* for the still hostile religions, and the emperors had abstained from aggressive attempts to gather increased authority into their own hands. The many princes, lay or ecclesiastical, were practically independent rulers in their own lands, raising their own troops and levying their own taxes. For administrative purposes the principalities were grouped in 'circles,' but the common affairs of the Empire were decided in the imperial diets, practically by the 'chamber of princes,' though the imperial elections were in the hands of the 'chamber of electors' — Saxony, Brandenburg, the



'THE LION OF THE NORTH'

This portrait is from the original painting by Van Dyck of Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) of Sweden, Protestant leader in the Thirty Years' War. One of the greatest captains of history, he died in the hour of victory at Lutzen.
Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Bruckmann A.G.

Palatine elector and the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, with the king of Bohemia, whether the last was or was not the emperor himself; for three successive generations, however, the emperors had worn the Bohemian crown. The third chamber, of 'free cities,' had no effective voice in the decisions of the diet. On the other hand, the emperors had developed the practice of referring disputes between the princes to the arbitration of a sort of privy council whose members were appointed by the emperor, known as the Aulic Council.

The pacification held as a *modus vivendi*, because Protestants and Catholics were fairly equal in the chamber of princes, and apart from Bohemia there were three Protestant lay electors and three Catholic ecclesiastical electors. But the balance would obviously be upset by changes of religion among the princes. The Catholics had a safeguard in the terms which required an ecclesiastical prince to resign if he went over to Protestantism; but the Protestants claimed that when this took place a Protestant lay bishop or administrator might be appointed, who was

entitled to the privileges of the prince. A diet predominantly Protestant would admit such administrators, one predominantly Catholic would not. The Protestant position was further weakened by the antagonism between Lutherans and Calvinists, whose rights were not recognized in the terms of the pacification. One thing was perfectly clear: if the Hapsburgs deserted the attitude of neutrality and became partisans on either side, trouble was certain to ensue.

Antecedents of the Thirty Years' War

Now, when the seventeenth century opened, the emperor Rudolf and his nephew Ferdinand of Carinthia both very clearly intended to repress Protestantism within their own dominions. The emperor's brother Matthias, on the other hand, as yet stood for the former Hapsburg policy of toleration. Ferdinand was successful; Rudolf failed both in Hungary and Bohemia, which were outside the Empire and did not come under the pacification. The Bohemians were the descendants of the Hussites, and Protestantism had taken strong root in Hungary. In 1606 Hungary revolted against Rudolf, Matthias associated himself with the rebels, and in 1608 Rudolf had to make over Hungary to his brother, who established complete toleration. At the same time the Bohemian estates took the opportunity of Rudolf's embarrassments to extort from him the 'Charter of Majesty' which secured freedom of worship, and at the same time forbade the erection of new churches or religious establishments without leave of the local magnate. Rudolf proving restive, Matthias was crowned in his place. Next year (1612) Rudolf died, and Matthias was elected emperor. It appeared that there would be an imperial reversion to the policy of toleration.

The Hungarian and Bohemian troubles had arisen at the moment when Rudolf had involved himself in complications in the western parts of the Empire. In 1608 Christian of Anhalt had drawn together the union of the Rhineland Protestants, mostly Calvinist, headed by the elector palatine, primarily for defence against aggression, which there was reason enough to anticipate, on the part of Rudolf and

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the zealous Catholic Maximilian of Bavaria, who countered by drawing together a Catholic League for the protection of Catholic rights, in 1610. Meanwhile the succession to Cleves and Juliers was contested between the Protestant houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg; and Rudolf's intervention with the obvious intention of getting those principalities under Catholic control enabled Henry IV to form that wide Protestant league under his own leadership, whose armies he was on the point of heading when he was struck down by Ravallac, with the



MAXIMILIAN OF BAVARIA

Maximilian I (1573-1651), elector and duke of Bavaria, played an important part in the foundation of the Catholic League in 1610. This portrait is from an engraving by Wolfgang Kihan dated 1620, showing him at the age of 47.

results we have already seen. Ultimately Juliers went to Neuburg, who turned Catholic, and Cleves to John Sigismund of Brandenburg, who passed from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

In 1612, then, Matthias was king of Bohemia, king of Hungary (though Transylvania was ruled independently by the Calvinist Bethlen Gabor, and half the country owned the sovereignty not of the Hapsburg but of the Turk), and emperor. He had, as we have seen, a record as a tolerationist, and he did not openly depart from it. But he was advanced in years, he and



EMPEROR RUDOLF II CEDING THE CROWN OF HUNGARY TO MATTHIAS

Protestantism had taken strong root in Hungary and dissatisfaction with the emperor Rudolf II's anti-Protestant policy led to his more tolerant brother Matthias taking over the control of affairs there in 1605. His general policy was displeasing to the emperor, but Matthias secured the support of the national party, gathered an army, and in 1608 compelled Rudolf to cede the crown of Hungary to him. Its ceremonial transfer is thus depicted in Gottfried's Historical Chronicle, 1657.

British Museum

Chronicle XXV. 1598=1660

his surviving brothers were childless, and he desired the entire Hapsburg inheritance to pass intact to the one representative of the house in the next generation, his nephew Ferdinand. As concerned the German provinces, the agreement of his brothers was easily secured. Hungary acquiescently elected Ferdinand.

The difficulty was in Bohemia. Matthias himself was accused of evading the Charter of Majesty; the rigour with which Ferdinand had suppressed Protestantism in his own dominions was notorious. Left to themselves, the Bohemians would certainly claim the right of electing Matthias' successor, and would elect not the aggressive Catholic Ferdinand but someone definitely Protestant, possibly the young elector palatine Frederick, whose wife was the lovely daughter of the king of England. So the emperor's agents startled the Hungarian diet in 1617 by announcing that the Bohemian succession was not elective

but hereditary; Matthias himself had succeeded without formal election. The diet, having no answer ready for this unlooked-for proposition, was tricked or coerced into assenting, and Ferdinand as the hereditary successor of the reigning king was at once acknowledged and crowned.

Ferdinand swore to observe the Charter, but left the administration in the hands of a regency. When it was too late, the opposition nobles, headed by Count Thurn, protested against the whole of the proceedings. Matthias ignored the protest, and on May 23, 1618, Thurn and his friends entered Prague in arms, hunted out the regents, and pitched them out of a top-storey window into the dry moat seventy feet below. One of them cried out to the Virgin. 'Now,' quoth the murderer, 'let his Virgin save him.' By God, she has! The victims were alive and were crawling away.



CRIME THAT PRECIPITATED WAR: THE 'DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE'

War between Bohemia and the emperor Matthias in 1618 was precipitated by the incident depicted in this almost contemporary engraving by M. Merian in Gottfried's Historical Chronicle. Indignant with the emperor's increasingly ultramontane policy the Bohemian Protestant leaders, headed by Count Thurn, proceeded to the Hradčany palace at Prague, and on May 23 denounced the emperor's most trusted councillors Martinic and Slavata, and hurled them out of the window.

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FERDINAND II

This illustration from an engraving by Wolfgang Kilian shows Ferdinand II in state robes. He is wearing the reputed crown of Charlemagne, illustrated in page 2419, and the cope of the Holy Roman Empire, illustrated in page 2837.

British Museum

On the face of it, the outrage and the success or punishment of its perpetrators were the affair of the king who had been defied and the subjects who, with or without justification, had defied him. The Switzers and the Netherlanders had delivered themselves from the Hapsburg yoke when the promise of success had been far less. But they had been carried through by an indomitable spirit of heroic self-sacrifice for the cause. If the Bohemian nobles and people had faced Ferdinand in that spirit, the few half-hearted troops ready to take the field in the king's service could have done little enough against them; but they had no plans, no organization and no inclination for self-sacrifice. They would have collapsed if they had not been reinforced by troops under the adventurer Count Mansfeld, released from his service by Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who hoped to deal a blow to the Haps-

burgs without himself taking the stage. Mansfeld was supposed to be in the service of the elector palatine, to whom the Bohemian nobles were about to offer their crown. Frederick, however, promised the rebels the support of the Protestant Union if Bavaria or other princes should come to the support of Ferdinand.

No one else moved. John George of Saxony would not countenance war, at least so long as the terms of the pacification were not manifestly trampled upon. George William of Brandenburg, who succeeded John Sigismund in 1619, was only anxious to keep clear of trouble; after all, Bohemia was not the concern of Germany. Maximilian of Bavaria meant to intervene if necessary, but at his own time and on his own terms. But Frederick's ambitions were aroused by the prospect of gaining the Bohemian crown, which was offered to him by the rebels. The idea was repugnant to the Lutheran princes, for it would raise a Calvinist to the position of the most powerful among them, with a double vote in the electoral chamber. Acceptance might be regarded as a breach of the



BOHEMIA'S WINTER KING

Frederick V (1596-1632), elector palatine of the Rhine and a Protestant leader, was chosen king of Bohemia in 1619. Defeated near Prague by Ferdinand II, he fled to the Netherlands, and was derisively nicknamed the 'Winter King.'

Painting by M. Miereveld, National Portrait Gallery, London

Chronicle XXV. 1598-1660

imperial constitution. His father-in-law in England had nothing but condemnation for the project.

In March, 1619, Matthias died. No alternative candidate could be agreed upon, and on August 28 Ferdinand was unanimously elected emperor. The day before, Frederick had been formally elected king of Bohemia. A month later he accepted the election and in November was crowned in state at Prague. No one would move in his support. Bethlen Gabor, of Transylvania, who had at first joined himself with the Bohemians, found that he could extract more satisfactory terms from Ferdinand than from his allies, and made his peace. Just twelve months after his coronation, the 'Winter King's' forces were shattered by the imperial general Tilly at the White Hill close to Prague, and Frederick and his wife were seeking an asylum with Maurice of Nassau at The Hague.

Maximilian of Bavaria intervenes

WHEN Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown and took up arms against the emperor, the war became not merely a Bohemian but an imperial war. It was time for Maximilian of Bavaria to intervene. He brought the forces of his Catholic League into action; Tilly was the League's officer, and the troops at the White Hill were mainly the League's troops. The Protestant Union armed itself, but otherwise it awaited events. Frederick's rash action drove the zealous constitutionalist John George to the emperor's side; Frederick, as King James also held, was manifestly in the wrong. Spain, however, had already joined with Ferdinand, and Spanish troops from the Netherlands were overrunning the Lower or Rhenish Palatinate, which was separated widely from the Upper Palatinate bordering on Bavaria. Maximilian meant to have the Upper Palatinate for himself, with the electoral honours transferred from the Palatinate to Bavaria.

Frederick was put to the 'ban of the empire,' in other words, outlawed for treason. Maximilian occupied the Palatinate, while the Bohemian rebels were relentlessly crushed, their estates forfeited,

and their leaders put to death. The eleven years' truce between Spain and the Dutch lapsed, and the renewal of the Dutch war withdrew Spanish troops to the Netherlands. The cause of Frederick was defended only by the adventurers Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt (see also page 3628), with their mercenaries, who maintained themselves by plundering friends as ruthlessly as foes.

The imperialists then were sweeping the board, and their success was alarming, going far beyond the legitimate suppression of the Bohemian revolt and the adequate penalisation of Frederick. When Maximilian in 1623 was formally given the electoral dignity and the administration of the Palatinate, the German balance was entirely upset. Protestant onlookers outside Germany became nervous, and King James set about forming a league, which might have been most effective if he had possessed efficient ministers and money. Having broken with Spain, he got the promise of support from France, where Richelieu was just beginning to exercise the supreme influence. His offers to Gustavus were not sufficiently attractive; but he brought in Christian of Denmark, who, as duke of Holstein, was a prince of the Empire, as well as some of the Lutherans of North Germany—Saxony and Brandenburg still refused to budge.

Emergence of Wallenstein

THE French intervention was never intended to be active, and the English intervention was a mere fiasco. James died at the beginning of 1625, and Charles I was immediately involved in a paralysing conflict with a parliament which was willing enough for a Spanish war, but took no interest in the restoration of the king's brother-in-law in the Palatinate, and would vote no supplies so long as Charles's favourite Buckingham remained in power. France was too deeply engaged with domestic troubles for a militant foreign policy. Christian of Denmark put up a fairly creditable fight for two years. But the determining factor was the appearance of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein (see also page 3629) was a Bohemian noble who had fought on the

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imperial side in the Bohemian war. He had acquired vast wealth by marriage. He offered to raise a volunteer army under his own command, and that offer Ferdinand accepted. His volunteer army was an army of mercenaries who were ready to sell their swords to any captain and any cause, to serve with entire fidelity according to the established mercenary code of honour, and to change sides without compunction the instant that the agreed period of service was at an end. The method of pay was unprecedented; Wallenstein must have the imperial authority to exact contributions, instead of letting his mercenaries live at free quarters on the population. Such an army, organized and led by such a general, was an instrument of war more formidable in the field and hardly less desolating in its movements than any which had yet made its appearance (see further in Chap. 140).

In 1627 Christian was driven off the field; next year Wallenstein made his one serious failure before Stralsund, which could not be blockaded on the sea side and defied storming on the land side. In 1629 this phase of the war ended with the treaty of Lubeck, which appeared to satisfy the claims of those Lutherans and Calvinists who had abstained from active hostilities. Yet even at the moment when the peace was made its whole value was shattered by a colossal blunder on the part of Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of Maximilian, issued the fatal Edict of Restitution, requiring the restoration to the Church of all lands secularised since 1552, when the previous secularisations had been confirmed by the Passau pacification. A fresh outbreak was inevitable; no one was ready to surrender secularised lands.

In fact, the real question of the moment in Germany was whether Maximilian and



PLAN OF LA ROCHELLE HARBOUR DURING THE SIEGE OF 1628

This is a portion of an engraving published in Paris in 1649 illustrating the siege of La Rochelle by Cardinal Richelieu in 1628. The city held out for a year, but despite some assistance from English troops under Buckingham and the vigour of the mayor Guion, starvation eventually drove the people to surrender. It is interesting to compare this view of La Rochelle harbour with the fifteenth-century plan of the fortifications contained in page 3465.

From Valdor, 'Ludovicus justus XIII monumenta'



LOUIS XIII IN HIS PRIME

This fine bronze statue by Simon Guillain presents all the more attractive qualities of Louis XIII. Physically he was an active man, fond of field sports and violent exercises, and played a soldierly part in the siege of La Rochelle.

The Louvre; photo, Graudon

his League or Wallenstein was to hold the ascendancy with Ferdinand. Maximilian and Ferdinand were both bent on the suppression of Protestantism. Wallenstein's aim was purely political; he was indifferent on the religions—there were almost as many Protestants as Catholics in his armies—but he meant to create a supreme army owing allegiance to no one but the emperor and the emperor's general and right-hand man, Albert of Wallenstein. Thus would the central imperial authority be firmly established, but only on the basis of toleration, not on the domination of one group. What the next stage might be was another matter.

The League could not possibly reconcile itself to his aims, which meant the subordination of the princes to the emperor and

the abandonment of their own primary aim. Ferdinand had to choose between the imperial project and the religious project; he could not get both, and when he followed the lead of Maximilian he definitely alienated Wallenstein. A year after Lübeck, Wallenstein was dismissed, to await the day when the emperor should be forced to recall him. A month before his dismissal Gustavus of Sweden landed at Usedom on the Baltic.

Influence of Cardinal Richelieu

THE intervention of Gustavus as the Protestant hero of the day was largely the work of a statesman who certainly was not a Protestant hero, Cardinal Richelieu. Since 1624 he had been all-powerful with King Louis. In one of its aspects, the faction fighting in France of the previous years had resolved itself into a conflict between the always Catholic government and the Huguenot nobles, the latter striving not so much for religious liberty as for political independence. Their defeat in 1623 deprived them of certain of the fortresses which the Nantes Edict had placed in their hands. Nevertheless they were in arms again in 1625, when they were again defeated, and once more in 1627. The centre of their resistance to the government forces was La Rochelle, which heroically endured a long siege, but was at last starved into surrender by the completeness of the blockade, in contrast to the failure of Wallenstein before Stralsund in the same year (October, 1628). The Huguenots continued the struggle in the south, but it had now become hopeless. They surrendered in the following year. But Richelieu's policy was the policy of Henry IV. The terms of the treaty of Alais (1629) deprived them of their fortresses, and therewith of the temptation to armed rebellion, but otherwise in effect confirmed the rights and privileges conferred on them by the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots as Huguenots ceased to be a danger to the royal government.

But when the Huguenots were not taking the stage, there were ceaseless intrigues among the other nobles, eager to recover the ancient feudal independence which was incompatible with a strong

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central government, against the influence of Richelieu, which was directed to the strengthening of the crown. Louis stood loyally by the great minister, not because he loved but because he trusted him. It was still long, however, before Richelieu had mastered his enemies, and long therefore before he could throw France fully into the European struggle.

But Richelieu all through had a definite policy—to keep Germany from consolidation, to extend France to her 'natural' boundary, the Rhine, at the expense of Spain and of the Empire, and to establish a footing in North Italy. He had encouraged the entry of Denmark into the war in 1624. He recognized the menace in Wallenstein's imperial policy, and his agents worked hard and successfully for the great man's dismissal in 1630; but he did not intend Maximilian's policy to attain success, and when Christian of Denmark was beaten he set about substituting Gustavus for him as leader of the Protestants. Working always by diplomacy, it was he more than anyone else who brought about the pacification with Sigismund which set the Swedish king free for his task in Germany. He would have wished to make Gustavus his own tool, but such hopes were doomed to disappointment, and Gustavus took up his work entirely his own master. French help might be desirable, but it must be given only on his own terms.

Now, it was only quite a small section of Protestant Germany that had hitherto taken active part in the conflict. The Lutherans had always tried to persuade themselves that if they maintained a strictly constitutional attitude their rights would be respected. Even now they hoped that they would be able to get the Edict of Restitution withdrawn, and they showed no readiness to be rescued by a foreign champion. On the other hand, the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of most of his army paralysed the action of the imperialists. Gustavus organized his position in Pomerania, and struck his bargain with Richelieu. Magdeburg openly revolted, and called for aid, which he could not give, because Brandenburg, stubbornly inert, lay between; and no German princes joined him.

The Sack of Magdeburg

IN March, 1631, Tilly opened an attack which was foiled, and fell back to lay siege to Magdeburg. Still Brandenburg and Saxony blocked the way, and in May Magdeburg fell and was put to the sack with an accompaniment of horrors which has become proverbial (see page 3625). Thereupon John George was ordered to dismiss the forces held in readiness in case of accidents; he refused, and Tilly invaded Saxony. That ended the neutrality of both Saxony and Brandenburg. With his new allies Gustavus marched



VICTORIOUS ENTRY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS INTO MUNICH

After wintering at Mainz, Gustavus Adolphus at the head of his Swedish-Saxon army pursued Tilly through Bavaria to Ingolstadt, where Tilly died of wounds, garrisoned Augsburg and Ulm, and on May 16, 1632, arrived before Munich. On May 18, as recorded in the contemporary broadsheet containing this illustration, the citizens surrendered the keys to him and he made a triumphal entry into the town, followed by the king of Bohemia, the elector of Saxony and other princes.

From O. Jüger, 'Weltgeschichte,' Velhagen & Klasing



POWERFUL SWEDISH STATESMAN

The organizing genius of his chancellor, Count Oxenstierna, was an important factor in the success of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. This is an engraving after a painting of the count by Michiel van Miereveld.

against Tilly and shattered his army at Breitenfeld in September.

For fourteen months triumph followed triumph. (For a detailed account of Gustavus and his methods, see Chap. 140.) By marching on the Rhine he secured all North Germany, which no longer held back from joining him. He rejected overtures from Wallenstein—one or the other might head a united or a Protestant Germany, but to share the headship was impossible. From the west he turned to Nuremburg; thence he advanced on Munich, defeating and killing Tilly on the way. Ferdinand found no hope, save in recalling Wallenstein on his own terms. The disbanded army sprang to life again. Wallenstein marched on Nuremburg; Gustavus tried in vain to storm his entrenchments and then to entice him into a pitched battle by a withdrawal. Wallenstein, instead of pursuing him, threw himself on Saxony; Gustavus pursued him, caught him up before he had formed his entrenched camp, and won at Lützen what would have been

the decisive battle had he not been himself slain in the hour of victory.

The death of Gustavus again changed the whole character of the war, as his entry had changed it. Without him, it had neither lofty purpose nor an inspiring personality. Whatever Wallenstein's intentions might be, they did not include a second retirement or the occupation of any secondary place. Thenceforth everyone concerned was striving to win whatever could be snatched out of the welter. The Lutherans had committed themselves at last, and must fight out their own salvation. The League could by no possibility compromise with Wallenstein; Ferdinand could hardly hope that Wallenstein's victory would leave to himself anything more than a shadow of power. The Swedish government, now under the youthful Queen Christina, was guided by Gustavus' very able minister Oxenstierna, who intended to have at least the whole of the provinces on the Baltic; he drew together the western Germans, who were bound to support him, in the League of Heilbronn under the captaincy of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar (see also page 3629).

Richelieu's Position strengthened

WALLENSTEIN then was playing his own hand in his own way. In 1634 Ferdinand took the decisive step of again dismissing him. Wallenstein ignored the order, and marched to hold a conference with Bernard, when he was assassinated by a band of his own mercenaries who had made up their minds that their faith was pledged not to him but to the emperor. Six months later Bernard and the Swedish general Horn were heavily defeated at Nordlingen; but the effect was to drive the Heilbronn League into the arms of Richelieu, who had now so completely mastered the opposition in France that he was ready to take a more direct part in the war. Also he had been strengthening his position in the Rhineland and in Italy, where he had secured an entry through Savoy and blocked communication with Germany through the Valtelline.

So in 1635 Ferdinand made with John George, who had refused to join

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the Heilbronn league, the peace of Prague, which brought Saxony and Brandenburg to his side, practically returning to the peace of Lübeck without the Restitution Edict. The Heilbronn league would have been forced to submit but for its foreign allies, France and Sweden—and, immediately preceding the peace of Prague, France declared war on Ferdinand's ally, Spain. France, Sweden and the Heilbronn league maintained the struggle, which, on the part of France and Sweden, was simply for territorial gain.

France brought four armies into the field, at first with little enough success. But in 1637 Ferdinand II was succeeded by Ferdinand III, a much feebler personality; next year Bernard practically made himself master of Alsace. His death in 1639 averted the serious quarrel between him and Richelieu which was imminent, and the conquered province was held for France. In 1640 Catalonia revolted against Spain, and Portugal followed suit, proclaiming John of Braganza king, the legitimate claim of his house having been simply pushed aside when Philip II usurped the Portuguese throne in 1580. Saxony had so far been on the imperial side, embarrassing the Swedes and suffering at their hands; but in 1640 George William of Brandenburg died, and the new elector, Frederick William, at once sought an accommodation

with the Swedes, and retired from the war, an example followed three years later by John George.

When Richelieu died in 1642 his aims were all but attained. He had crushed the disintegrating forces in France; he had secured Alsace; he had secured Roussillon, a secular bone of contention with Spain, to which it gave the entry. Savoy was under a friendly regent, the mother of the young duke, who owed her position to France; the Valtelline was held by friendly Switzers. The Wallenstein scheme for a consolidated military German empire was past resuscitation till it materialised again in the days of Bismarck.

Louis died six months after Richelieu. His son and successor, Louis XIV, was four years old, and the regency was secured by the parlement for the queen mother, Anne of Austria, who chose for her minister the supple Italian cardinal, Mazarin. Troublous times were in store, but the position was stabilised by the young Condé's dramatic victory over the Spaniards at Rocroy. The interest of the continued fighting is purely military, Condé achieving an immense reputation, while Turenne was proving himself to be one of the greatest soldiers the world has known. Germany was utterly exhausted, and fought on only to escape the surrender of German soil to Swedes or French, who

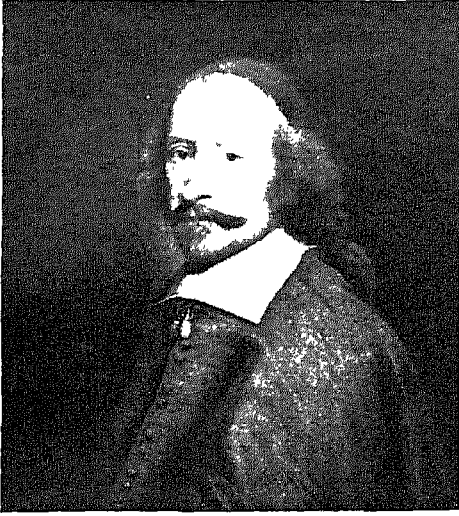


MURDER OF WALLENSTEIN AND HIS ASSOCIATES BY MERCENARIES

These engravings by Matthew Merian show the scenes that took place on the night of February 25, 1634, at Eger. Left: A band of mercenaries broke into the house whither Wallenstein's supporters had been treacherously decoyed, and murdered them. Right: They then went to the house where Wallenstein was staying and pursued him to his bedroom, where he was slain by a thrust from Captain Devereux's partisan. The crime was generally understood to have the emperor's approval.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'

Chronicle XXV. 1598-1660



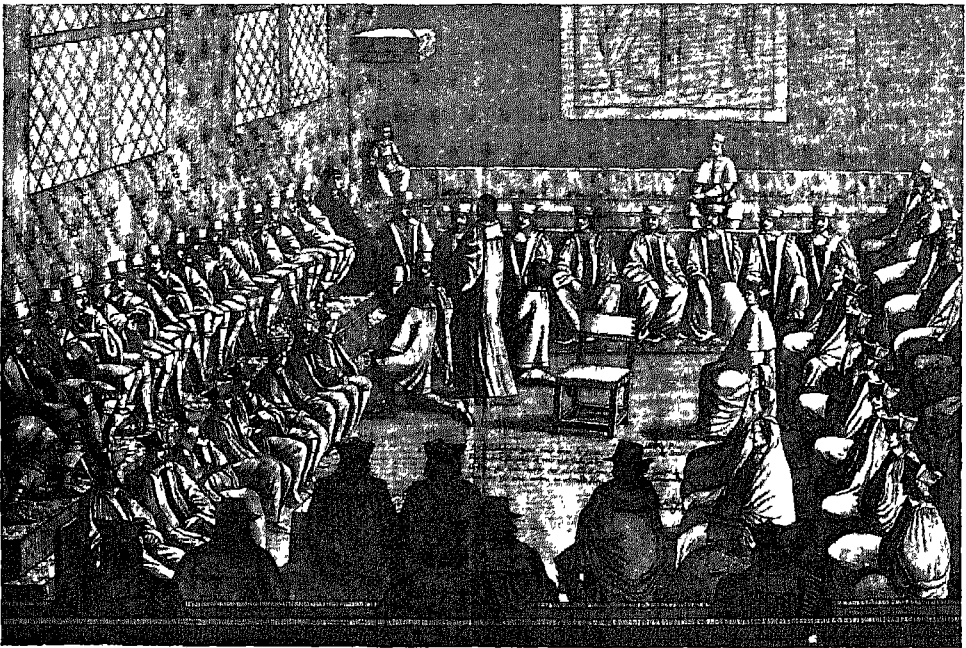
DISCIPLE OF RICHELIEU

Cardinal Mazarin (1602-61), chosen by Richelieu as his successor, continued his patron's policy of centralising monarchical power. His Italian gift for intrigue procured his triumph in the Fronde Wars and peace with Spain in 1659.

Painting by Mignard, Musée de Chantilly photo Giraudon

fought on because each wanted to snatch more. The final battle was fought at Zusmarshausen in 1648 (May).

Negotiations had long been floating on all sides. In October the long agony was brought to an end by the peace of Westphalia (see also page 3631), largely because the young queen of Sweden, Christina, who had a very strong will of her own, insisted on moderating the demands of her ministers. France retained Alsace, except Strassburg, which remained a free city of the Empire. Pomerania was divided between Sweden and Brandenburg. The Lower or Rhenish Palatinate, with the old electoral dignity, was restored to the eldest son of Frederick, who was a Catholic; Bavaria kept the Upper Palatinate and her new electoral dignity, so that there were now eight electors. Also, the treaty for the first time recognized both Holland and Switzerland as independent sovereign states. But the war between France and Spain, begun in 1635, was not affected by the treaty, and dragged on for



ANNE OF AUSTRIA PRESIDING OVER THE PARIS PARLEMENT

Louis XIV was not five years old when he became king of France on May 14, 1643. By the terms of Louis XIII's will, Anne of Austria was nominated regent, and four days after her son's accession she summoned the Parlement of Paris and secured their ratification of her appointment. This contemporary engraving shows the Parlement in session, with the boy-king seated under a canopy of state and the queen-regent, wearing widow's weeds, beside him.

From Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'



FRONDEURS AND MAZARINS IN THE BATTLE OF S. ANTOINE

This old print illustrates a particularly dramatic engagement in the Fronde. Conde marching on Paris was overtaken on July 2, 1652, by the royal troops under Turenne and hemmed in in the Faubourg S. Antoine with the Porte S. Antoine closed at his back. The Frondeurs were on the point of being annihilated when the duchess of Montpensier persuaded the citizens to open the gate and admit them, and herself turned the guns of the Bastille upon Turenne's forces and routed them.

Cabinet des Estampes Paris from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'

eleven years longer. In Germany the independence of every prince, Lutheran or Calvinist, in matters of religion was recognized. The wars of religion, in the international sense, were over.

At the moment when the Thirty Years' War was ending, the Paris Parliament was attempting to assert constitutional rights bearing a close resemblance to those which the English parliament had claimed for centuries. The absolutism established by Richelieu was being exercised by a Spanish regent and an Italian minister, and this body of lawyers sought to bring some check on it, in the absence of any other body endowed with legal powers. Some of the nobles associated themselves with the movement, with the object of strengthening not the lawyers but their own licence of action. The party became known as the Fronde, and what had started as a constitutional movement degenerated into a struggle between the court party and the nobles of the Fronde, who were headed by Condé.

This civil war of the Fronde went on with startling changes of fortune till



GREAT FRENCH MARSHAL

This pastel portrait of Turenne marshal of France, is one of the masterpieces of Robert Nanteuil, and was painted in 1665 when the great general was 54. Turenne was a prominent figure in the Thirty Years' War.

The Louvre photo Gsraudon

Chronicle XXV. 1598=1660

Turenne finally joined the court party, suppressed the Frondeurs, and drove Condé to exile in Spain, which was glad enough to employ his military talents against his own countrymen, in 1652. The Spanish war had been in progress all the time, but, fortunately for France, the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal, diversified by a democratic revolt in Naples under a leader known as Masaniello, had prevented Spain from making adequate use of her opportunity, though she had gained ground in what were to be known as the Spanish Netherlands. Condé had turned the patriotic tide against himself in France by associating himself with the national enemy.

Attitude of the Commonwealth

MEANWHILE England had beheaded her king three months after Westphalia; Charles II was an exile; the Commonwealth had crushed revolt in Ireland and subjugated Scotland, had embarked on a naval war with the Dutch, and was on the point of passing under the rule of Cromwell's military dictatorship. The Dutch Republic was under the rule of an oligarchy headed by John de Witt, the infant

William of Orange being held under close tutelage. Both Spain and France were soon considering the possibility of attracting England to an alliance; while Cromwell's ideas on foreign policy were those of an Elizabethan Protestant who still regarded Protestantism as at stake and Spain as presumably the enemy. In no case would he ally with a power which he counted hostile to Protestantism. He was still suspicious of France—though he closed down the Dutch war readily in 1654—when he opened an attack on Spain in the West Indies in 1655.

So far nothing decisive had taken place in the Franco-Spanish war, but next year Mazarin satisfied Cromwell by intervening in Savoy to stop the persecution of the Protestant Vaudois, and in 1657 Cromwell sent his Ironsides to join Turenne's army in the Netherlands, with decisive effect on the campaign in that quarter. The scale having once turned thoroughly in favour of France, it was convenient for Mazarin that Cromwell died (Sept., 1658) and chaos again beset the government in England, so that Mazarin was able to end the Spanish war by the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, unhampered by English



CHARLES II LANDING AT DOVER AT THE RESTORATION

This animated print corroborates Samuel Pepys' well known account of the enthusiastic scenes at Dover when, on May 26, 1660, King Charles II set foot on English soil after his long exile. 'Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. . . . He talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town towards Canterbury . . . The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination.'

British Museum

The Age of the Thirty Years' War

demands France, besides all that she held at the peace of Westphalia, had secured a right of way through Lorraine, a foothold in the Netherlands, and beyond the Rhine a group of practically dependent German principalities and the assured friendship of the Dutch Republic.

In 1660 Mazarin retired surrendering the reins of government not to a new minister but into the hands of the young king Louis XIV himself, at the moment when his cousin Charles II was recalled to England amid the rejoicings of the entire population. Two years earlier the still younger Leopold I succeeded Ferdinand III as emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary. The marriages of Louis in 1660 and Leopold in 1665, each a son of a sister of Philip IV of Spain, to Philip's elder and younger daughters respectively (see page 3755), were fraught with grave consequences to the future peace of Europe.

We turn now to the three Baltic kingdoms, Poland, Sweden and Denmark, to which must be added Brandenburg, since its acquisition of eastern Pomerania with a Baltic seaboard at the treaty of Westphalia. The exceedingly competent Frederick William, known as the Great Elector, took the place of his inefficient father, George William, in 1640, and devoted his first years to the recuperation of which his dominion stood in sore need. It became his ambition and his business to raise Brandenburg to the position of the strongest state in North Germany, and the leader of the Protestants. She was at last in possession of a seaboard on the Baltic, but he wanted not half but the whole of Pomerania. She had her outpost in the west, in Cleves; and she had her duchy of East Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown, but between East Prussia and Pomerania lay West Prussia; to consolidate his



FREDERICK WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR

Succeeding his father as elector of Brandenburg in 1640, Frederick William (1620-88) greatly extended his dominions, founded the Brandenburg-Prussian army and the Prussian navy, and established Prussia as an independent duchy. This engraving is after the painting by Govaert Flinck, c. 1660.

British Museum

dominion and make it territorially continuous, he wanted West Prussia also, and he wanted both in independent sovereignty, not as a noble of Poland.

Queen Christina in Sweden enjoyed a brief and brilliant reign. But the daughter of Gustavus turned Catholic; she had no doubt that the ruler of Sweden ought to be a Lutheran, and in 1654, at the age of twenty-eight, she abdicated in favour of her cousin, Charles X. John Casimir of Poland, whose father Sigismund had once been king of Sweden, refused to recognize Charles's title. Charles, a brilliant soldier, like so many others of the house of Vasa, flung himself on Poland, marching through East Pomerania, where he extorted a free passage from Frederick William, routed John Casimir, and then, doubting the elector's fidelity, marched into East Prussia and required him to acknowledge his own suzerainty in place of John Casimir's.

But Poland was not conquered ; Denmark, alarmed by his successes, was threatening an attack ; and he had to return to Sweden, thinking that he had secured Brandenburg by ceding East Prussia in full sovereignty.

But in 1657 he was fighting the Danes, and Frederick William went over to John Casimir, who bought him by confirming on his own account the cession made by Charles. Charles completely defeated Frederick III of Denmark in an amazing winter campaign, marching his forces over the frozen sea, extorted from him the treaty of Roeskilde, and, not content with that, renewed the war in 1659, thereby bringing both Holland and Brandenburg to the aid of Denmark. His death in February, 1660, ended the war ; and the treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen, the counterpart in the north of the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, retained for Sweden what she had actually won from Denmark, and left Frederick William his East Prussian duchy in full sovereignty, while John Casimir abandoned his claim to the Swedish crown, now worn by the infant Charles XI.



CHARLES GUSTAVUS X

Charles X of Sweden (1622-60) was cousin to Queen Christina and their marriage was strongly urged by Oxenstierna. Christina, however, disliking masculine control, appointed him her successor and he was crowned on her abdication.

British Museum



QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN

Christina (1626-89) succeeded Gustavus Adolphus on the throne of Sweden in 1632 and assumed power in 1644. She was an exceptionally brilliant woman, but extravagant and impulsive, and in the year 1654 she abdicated.

Portrait by Sebastian Bourdon, Versailles Gallery

MINOUS for the West was the revival of aggressive energy in the Turkish empire at this time under the great wazir Mohammed Kiuprili. Since the death of Suleiman the Magnificent and the battle of Lepanto, the Turks had sunk into torpor, till in 1645 Sultan Ibrahim roused himself to attack the Venetians in Crete. Venice, however, more than held her own under the captaincy of Mocenigo, till the sultan was deposed and the mother of the new sultan, Mohammed III, appointed wazir Kiuprili—an Albanian—old but energetic. He at once set about a vigorous and drastic reorganization, defeated and killed Mocenigo, laid resolute siege to Candia, and turned to make the sovereign power of the Porte felt in Transylvania, where at the moment of his death in 1661 the party of independence was led by Kemenyi, who had just appealed to the emperor Leopold for support.

In the Far West during this century English colonists had established themselves in two groups of colonies, the planters in the south and the farmers and traders

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of New England in the north, along the North American seaboard, while Frenchmen were pioneering and planting themselves in the basin of the St. Lawrence, the Dutch occupied on the Hudson a wedge between the two English groups, and all three were occupying West Indian islands not in actual occupation by Spaniards. From the Spaniards themselves Cromwell appropriated the great island of Jamaica—developments already studied in Chapter 137.

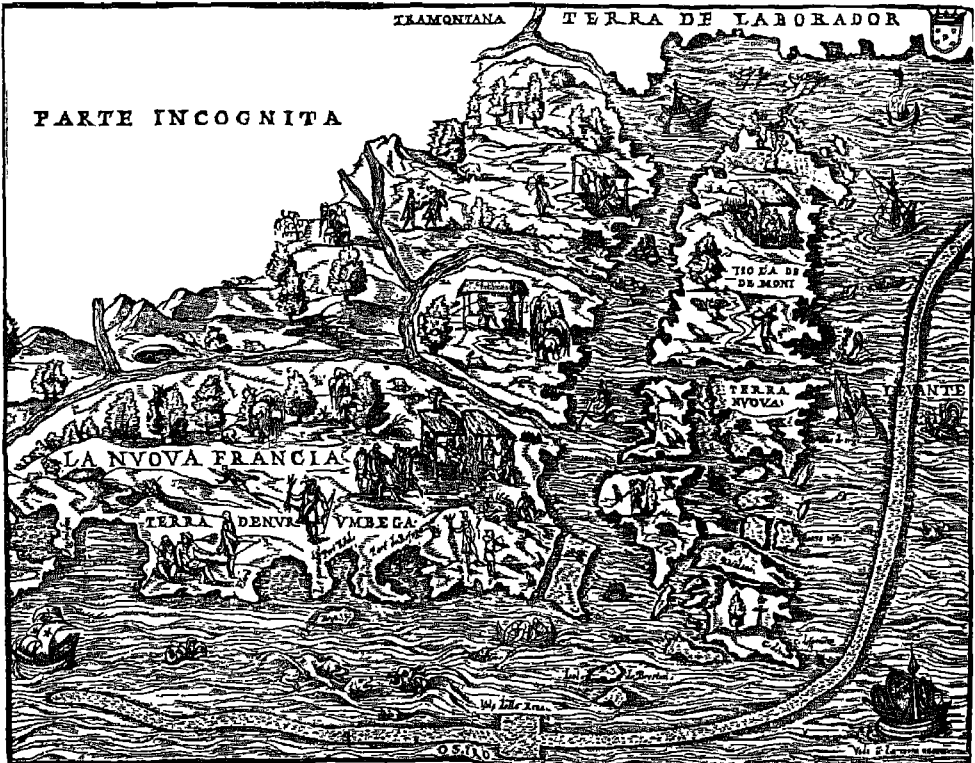
To turn from the Far West to the Far East. India was ruled by Jehangir and Shah Jehan, the son and grandson of Akbar, till the latter was finally deposed in 1658 by his son Aurangzib. This was the most splendid period of the Mogul empire (see Chapter 145), during which, incidentally, the London East India Com-



GREATEST OF JAPAN'S SHOGUNS

Tokugawa Iyeyasu (1542–1616) belonged to the Minamoto family and in 1603, mainly through the agency of Hideyoshi, obtained the title of shogun, which remained in his family until the abolition of the Shogunate in 1868.

pany was allowed to establish depots known as factories at Surat, at Madras



MAP OF NEW FRANCE, WITH NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Following Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, Jacques Cartier in 1534 sailed down the straits of Belle Isle, already known to Breton fishermen, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and secured a large tract of land thereabouts for France. Above is part of Giacomo di Gastaldi's map of the region, dating from c. 1550. Terra Nuova and the islands south of it together represent Newfoundland; the serpentine line is a sand bank, the then agreed limit of fishing.

From Winsor, 'Narrative and Critical History of America'

and on the Hooghli, the remote beginnings of the British Indian Empire.

China saw the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, by the hosts of the Manchus, whose dynasty was still reigning in the twentieth century. At the same time Japan entered on a new phase. Nobunaga (see page 3483) had re-created a central government; the genius of Hideyoshi, despite his humble birth, had established it, and under his dictatorship Japan had seemed on the point of a great imperial expansion at the expense of China, whose collapse before the Manchus suggests that his ambitions, for such a man, were well within reason, though out of range for anyone smaller than he. Moreover, on his death in 1598 there was no one on whom his mantle could fall with a double portion of his spirit, and his son was still a child.

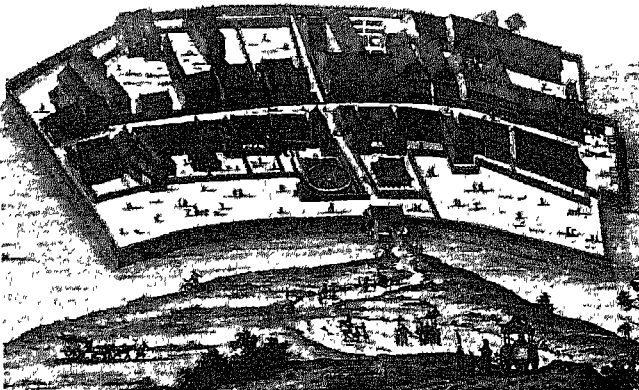
The conduct of the government was vested in councils, who prudently and promptly withdrew from the Korean adventure. The Octavian for this Julius was Hideyoshi's old colleague Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who was no longer a young man. By 1603 he had overcome his most serious rivals and procured from the mikado his official appointment as shogun, an office which he made hereditary by initiating the practice of appointing his

son to the Shogunate during his own lifetime while keeping the actual control in his own hands—as western emperors procured the election of their sons as king of the Romans.

IYEYASU admitted English and Dutch traders and shipwrights, and at first Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans; but, coming to the conclusion, not without evidence, that the latter must be regarded as agents for an aggressive king of Spain, he closed the gates of Japan to all Roman Catholic priests. Christianity, or at least the Catholic Christianity of the missionaries, was, it appeared, politically subversive, and under Iyeyasu's successors in the Shogunate it was penalised out of existence. Even the English and Dutch traders, towards whom the government showed no direct enmity, were discouraged by hampering regulations, since it seemed that where Europeans came to trade the traders were apt to be precursors of cannon. Europe in the throes of the Thirty Years' War did not strike Japanese observers as a happy model for imitation.

The system now established in Japan provided a strong centralised government, with checks upon the nominal ruler, the mikado, on one side and on the military organization of the daimyo—the

greater nobles—on the other, which gave security against either absolutism or a return to feudal anarchy. The English traders had shut down their factories. In 1636 the shogun Iyemitsu made a decree forbidding any Japanese to leave the islands, and in 1641 all Europeans were excluded, except the Dutch, who were allowed to remain on a tiny island, and to send no more than ten ships annually to the port of Nagasaki. Deliberately Japan isolated herself from the rest of the world, and persisted in her isolation for two hundred years.



ISLAND PALE FOR DUTCH TRADERS IN JAPAN

Japanese suspicion of Christianity and of Western methods generally led in 1641 to the exclusion of all foreigners. The only exception made was in favour of the Dutch traders, and they were confined to this small island of Deshima off Nagasaki, and only permitted to send ten ships annually to that port.

NATIONALISM AND DESPOTISM

A Study of the Growth of National Spirit and the
Part played therein by the Establishment of Autocracies

By Sir JOHN MARRIOTT

Sometime Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford ; Author of the *European Commonwealth*, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, etc.

EVERYONE has a sufficiently accurate idea of what is meant by 'autocracy' or 'despotism.' Most people, at one stage or another of their lives, have had personal experience of its operation. 'Nationalism,' on the contrary, if it does not actually defy definition, is a singularly elusive term. For the purposes of this chapter, however, we may take it to mean the sentiment which binds together a body of people who have certain things in common, and not infrequently induces antagonism between one body of persons so connected and another. Community of creed, of race, of language, of historical tradition or of territory—all these may evidently contribute to the sense of nationality, yet it is questionable whether any one of them is an indispensable ingredient. According to a French writer of distinction the only essential element in the idea is the fact of 'collective consciousness,' a 'will-to-live in a community.' Professor A. E. Zimmern substantially agrees, but the corporate sentiment must, in his view, be related to a 'definite home country.'

But what then shall we say of the Jews ? It is indisputable that throughout the many centuries of their dispersion they preserved a sense of nationality, a collective consciousness, yet until the Treaty of Versailles provided them with a 'national home' in Palestine they had no foot of territory which they could call their own. Nevertheless, exile did not eradicate, nor even attenuate, their national spirit. A long and proud historical tradition combined with a common creed and pronounced racial characteristics to nurture and sustain it. Yet Zimmern is not to be denied. In addition to a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and

dignity, nationality also involves if not a defined territory at least 'instinctive attachment' to a home-land—a country, an actual strip of land associated with the nationality, a territorial centre where the flame of nationality is kept alive at the hearth-fire of home. 'When I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.' The contention certainly has much force.

In the Poles we have another illustration of the same truth. In this case also it is indisputable that, despite the partition of their territory among the Great Powers which surrounded them, the Poles preserved **Nationalism and a territorial centre** their sense of nationality. Their period of probation was, it is true, relatively brief compared with that of the Jews, but not all the efforts of the partitioners, extending over a period of more than a century, availed to convert the Poles into Russians, Austrians and, least of all, into Prussians. Lord Acton, in his famous essay on Freedom, attributes great significance to the partition of Poland for another reason. The partition of Poland, which he regards as 'the most revolutionary act of the old absolutism,' awakened, he says, 'the theory of nationality in Europe, converting a dormant right into an aspiration and a sentiment into a political claim. . . . Thenceforward there was a nation demanding to be united in a state—a soul, as it were, wandering in search of a body in which to begin life over again ; and for the first time a cry was heard that the arrangement of states was unjust—that their limits were unnatural, and that a whole people was deprived of its right to constitute an independent community.'

If we are to think of the doctrine of nationality as a popular cry, a political formula, Lord Acton was doubtless right. As a political force nationality is pre-eminently the product of the modern world. But the modern world must be dated, not as some would date it from the French Revolution, but from that series of changes, geographical, ecclesiastical, intellectual, scientific and political, which in the aggregate we designate as the Renaissance and the Reformation.

The limits of that great movement must not be too rigidly defined. 'Centuries' are apt, for purposes of historical convenience, to be stretched in both directions. If then we may date the sixteenth century as beginning about 1453, it would be roughly accurate to say that nationalism as a political factor came to the birth in the sixteenth century.

For a thousand years after the fall of the Roman Empire the known world was dominated by the legacy bequeathed to it by Rome. That legacy was two-fold: the idea of a universal Empire and a universal, or Catholic, church. The Europe of to-day consists of a congeries of twenty-eight nation states, sovereign and independent. The Middle Ages took little account of nation states; there was no Germany, or Greece, or Spain, or Italy, or Holland, or Belgium. The spirit of medieval Europe was not, in fine, nationalistic but oecumenical.

However little of substance the Holy Roman Empire may have had behind it in its later period, that curious institution did in medieval times correspond to the dominant idea of the age.

Much more of substance lay behind the claims of the Papacy. The pope, like the emperor, inherited the legacy of Rome. But there was this difference between them: the obedience which the pope demanded was not generally withheld. Between emperor and pope, occupiers according to the medieval theory of a joint throne, there was indeed constant rivalry, and not infrequently conflict. Yet uneasy as was in fact the joint occupation, the theory which lay behind it was imposing and influential,

and not until the Empire had manifestly ceased to be in any sense 'imperial,' not until the claims of the Papacy to universal dominion were definitely and successfully challenged, could nationalism emerge and assume a place among the political forces of the world.

If the Church and the Empire excluded the claims or obstructed the development of nationalism from above, the feudal system was equally potent in its effects upon the internal economy of potential states. While Church and Empire exercised a centralising influence and drew the thoughts of the peoples towards Rome, the influence of feudalism was centrifugal and disruptive. Between the claims of the pope on the one side and the feudal lord on the other, the king—or, if we anticipate a modern term, the state—could obtain but a feeble and intermittent hold upon the allegiance of the individual.

The precocious sense of national unity in England was, as will be shown presently, due in large measure to the resistance offered by her kings to the oecumenical authority of the emperor and even of the pope, and to the tight hold which they kept on the disintegrating influences of feudalism. In Europe as a whole feudalism as a political force was palpably crumbling in the fourteenth century. The Papacy could no longer command the unquestioning obedience which had been paid to great popes like Hildebrand, Innocent III and Boniface VIII in the preceding centuries.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was indeed the product of many forces; but it will not be denied that among them that of self-conscious nationalism was one of the most potent. John Morley, in his *Politics and History*, spoke of it as 'one of the main keys of Luther's Reformation.' Bishop Creighton assigned to it an even larger significance. Writing of the extraordinary change which manifested itself in the mental attitude of mankind in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the difficulty of analysing and accounting for that change, and 'after marshalling all the forces and ideas which were at work to produce it,' he says that the student 'still feels that there

was behind all these an animating spirit which he cannot but most imperfectly catch, whose power blended all else together and gave a sudden cohesion to the whole.' If that animating spirit cannot be described simply as the spirit of nationality there can be no question that nationalism contributed to it an important if not indispensable ingredient.

Bishop Creighton is, however, careful to point out that this growth of national feeling and its recognition as the dominant force in human affairs was in no sense antagonistic to the development of the individual. On the contrary, 'the strength of national life depended upon the force of the individuals of whom the nation was composed. . . . Hence, the two main features of modern history are the development of nationalities and the growth of individual freedom.'

It is with the former, nationalism, that this chapter is concerned, and our first business must be to analyse the forces which contributed to the rapid development of national feeling in the latter part of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries. We must note, however, at the outset, that in this respect, England was in an exceptional, if not a unique, position.

National self-consciousness was developed in England at an unusually early stage in her political evolution. Clearly indicated as early as 1215 in more than one clause

of Magna Carta, it was further consolidated, before the century closed, by the institution of a truly national parliament. For this precocious sense of national unity in England several reasons may be assigned. Her geographical position, insular, detached, remote, undoubtedly fostered it; the physical configuration of the country (sharply contrasted, for example, with that of Greece or Spain) made for unity; so did the great power attained by the monarchy at a relatively early stage in her national history. Norman and Angevin kings gave England an administrative system which, radiating from the crown itself, held effectively in check the disruptive tendencies of the feudal baronage, and made the authority of the king known and respected through-

out the length and breadth of the land. The result of this administrative centralisation was that feudalism, in the political as opposed to the tenurial sense, never got any real grip upon England. The king was not merely the 'lord,' but the actual ruler of his people, the law was the king's law, and was administered in the king's courts by the king's

judges. Elsewhere, notably in Germany and France, it was the feudal noble who exercised real power; the courts were his, the coinage was his; the crown enjoyed rights of suzerainty, but exercised few if any of the rights of sovereignty. In England, on the contrary, the feudal baron found himself checked on the one side by the far-reaching hand of the king; on the other by the survival of a system of local government, popular in origin and anti-feudal in tendency, and for that reason sedulously encouraged by the crown.

The English king, 'national' in relation to his own subjects, was nationally independent also in the face of external authorities, like the pope and the emperor. The kings of England never admitted the superiority of the Holy Roman Emperor. They themselves claimed 'imperial' sovereignty and regularly assumed the imperial title.

And as with emperors so with popes. Even William I, who fought at Senlac under a banner blessed by the pope, would never admit, without qualification and limitation, the claim of the Hildebrandine Papacy. All the strongest of his successors took a similar line. The Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome (1533) only recalled, therefore, an historical claim when it asserted England's independence of both Empire and Papacy.

All this powerfully contributed to precocity in national self-consciousness. So did the Hundred Years' War with France. Professor Trevelyan has pointed out that that war was 'perhaps the first European war that can be called national,' and that the efficiency of the English armies which won the resounding victories at Crécy and Agincourt was 'the outcome of a national organization and a national spirit.' The war against France was at

bottom, he adds, not the result of dynastic ambitions on the part of successive kings, but of 'national, popular and parliamentary institutions.'

As the Hundred Years' War was the outcome of English nationalism, and as the early victories testify to the strength of the national spirit in England, so the humiliating defeat in which it ended was evidence of the tardy but effective awakening of a national spirit in France.

In the realization of national unity and national identity, France was, therefore, some two or three centuries behind

England, but nowhere is the connexion between France's course to nationhood nationalism and auto-

cracy demonstrated more indisputably or on a more imposing scale. In France feudal government was developed to its full logical extent. In this respect also the history of France affords a sharp contrast to that of England. After the famous Partition of the Carolingian Empire at Verdun (843) France became a prey to feudal anarchy. In the year 987 Louis V, the last direct descendant of Charlemagne, died, and in his place the great nobles elected as their king Hugh Capet, duke of the Franks. Hugh Capet was, however, only one of the many great nobles into whose hands power had fallen under the weak rule of the later Carolingians, and his sovereignty extended over little more than two of the modern departments of France. Yet Hugh Capet had his compensations. He was no longer a vassal but a king. Immediate lord only of the circumscribed duchy of France, he was a feudal overlord of all the lands that stretched from Flanders to beyond the Pyrenees, from the Atlantic to the Jura. Over the great western duchy of Brittany Hugh Capet and his successors exercised only the most shadowy superiority. The immediate allegiance of the dukes of Brittany was owed and paid to the powerful Northmen who had established themselves in the duchy of Normandy. Of the immediate vassals of the French crown the most powerful were the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine, the counts of Anjou, Flanders, Toulouse and Champagne.

The history of France during the five hundred years which followed the election of Hugh Capet is the history of the absorption of these great feudal principalities into the kingdom of France. The absorption of those principalities was the making of the French nation, the dawn of the realization of national self-consciousness among the people.

By what means was this task, essential to the making of France, to her territorial unification and to the realization of political self-consciousness, actually accomplished? The question can be answered in a sentence: it was accomplished by the development of the royal power. The monarchy made France. Out of a loosely compacted bundle of feudal duchies and counties the crown created a compact, coherent and centralised state. It did more: it brought to the birth the French nation. But if the strengthening of the monarchy made France, the making of France increased and consolidated the authority of the monarch. The two processes act and react on one another.

The crown owed its victory over the disruptive force of feudalism to several concurrent causes.

Not the least important was the fact that Great tenants of the French Throne in the course of three centuries the house of Capet produced a succession of great rulers; three of them, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), Louis IX (S. Louis, 1226-70) and Philip IV ('le Bel,' 1285-1314) may claim to rank among the most sagacious statesmen of the Middle Ages. And these Capetian kings had an enormous advantage alike over the preceding dynasty in France and over the contemporary kings of Germany. The crown of France at last became hereditary, and before the end of the twelfth century it was deemed superfluous to continue the practice of getting the heir elected and crowned during the lifetime of his predecessor.

Another reason for the steady growth in the power of the crown may be found in its alliance with the Church. This alliance operated in several ways. The establishment of a 'truce of God' did something to abate the prevalence of

private wars; the institution of the orders of chivalry effected a sensible amelioration in the manners and customs of feudal society, while the Crusades did more perhaps than anything else to drain the strength of the feudal nobility. They diverted, on the one hand, the energies of the great vassals into distant fields of wars and encouraged them to a wholesale sacrifice of life and fortune; on the other hand, by the introduction of new ideas, by necessitating new methods of taxation and bringing new classes into prominence they undermined the foundations upon which the whole superstructure of feudalism rested. Scholars and merchants alike sought the protection of the king, and in the growth of learning, in the development of commerce and in the rise of towns the crown found fresh allies against the feudal nobility.

The increased readiness to accept the maxims of the Roman law, induced by the experience of the crusaders at Constantinople, tended in the

Roman Law used in France

same direction. S. Louis had the Justinian code translated into French, and by the application of the maxims of Roman law and the adoption of improved methods of judicial procedure he dealt a series of subtle blows at feudal principles and practice. He limited the right of private war, abolished the privilege of private coinage, imposed non-feudal taxation and raised a non-feudal army. Thus he exchanged suzerainty for sovereignty; he became sovereign in jurisdiction, sovereign in taxation, sovereign in legislation, and each step in the development of sovereignty meant a step towards the nationhood of France.

To the development of the royal power and the evolution of French nationalism two new institutions powerfully contributed; the first was the Parlement of Paris; the second was the States-General of France. Englishmen must remember that the 'parlement' of Paris was not a 'parliament' in the English sense, but a law-court, the supreme court of justice. The judges, however, became an hereditary body, and formed an important element in the social and administrative hierarchy of France, as

the 'noblesse de la robe.' Later on, in the seventeenth century, the parlement of Paris aspired to a political rôle and attempted, though ineffectually, to impose some restraint upon the omnipotence of the crown. But from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and throughout the two succeeding centuries, the parlement of Paris contributed to the building up of the absolute monarchy.

That the States-General, which roughly corresponded to the English Parliament, should have exercised a like influence will seem to States-General Englishmen, and to those who are familiar only with

the history of parliamentary institutions in England, a strange paradox. But the English parliament was successful in restraining the power of the crown mainly because in England the nobles and the burgesses were drawn and held together by the connecting link of the county representatives, the knights of the shire. France has never possessed a class corresponding to the English squirearchy. In France the younger sons and younger brothers of nobles were not, as in England, commoners, but themselves members of the noble caste; the burgesses were by tradition and by instinct the allies of the crown, and allowed themselves to be made the instruments of the crown in destroying the power of the feudal oligarchy. That oligarchy not only threatened the authority of the crown, but was fatal to the political unification or nationalisation of France itself.

Feudalism is essentially disruptive. Had the feudal principle been ultimately allowed to triumph in France, France, like Germany, would have consisted of a number of virtually independent states. The victory of the crown was the victory of France; it meant the gradual formation of a compact, centralised and unified state.

The first step to this end was territorial unification. The counties of Amiens and Vermandois were added to the royal domain in 1183, and the county of Valois in 1185. For a short time Artois also was absorbed. But a great obstacle to unification was presented by the French possessions of the English crown. In his own right, Henry II of England was also duke

of Normandy and count of Anjou and Maine. By his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France, he succeeded to the great duchy of Aquitaine and to rights, not indeed uncontested, over the county of Toulouse. The marriage of his son Geoffrey with the heiress of Brittany brought that duchy also into his grasp. Thus was France split in twain, and the actual dominion of the French king was reduced to a narrow and ill-situated strip. Henry of England exercised continuous lordship from the Grampians to the Pyrenees, and the whole Atlantic seaboard from the Solway Firth to the Bay of Biscay was in his hands. The power of his suzerain, the French king, was reduced to a shadow.

But the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) altered the situation. Men-

tion has been already made of his annexations **English Fiefs** lost to France in the north. By a convenient process of law all the fiefs held by John 'Lackland' were declared forfeit to the crown of France, and so Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine were annexed to France. Formal surrender of these territories was made by Henry III of England to Louis IX in 1258. Narbonne passed to the crown in 1229, the great county of Toulouse in 1270; and, nearly a century later, the incorporation of Champagne brought the kingdom of France for the first time into immediate contact with Lorraine.

By that time, however, France had become involved in her hundred years' contest with England.

Its first effect was summarily to arrest all those centralising processes which we have seen in operation during the preceding century and a half. Between 1180 and the accession of the Valois dynasty in 1328 France had been transformed from a loose aggregation of feudal principalities into a compact homogeneous national monarchy. There were still, it is true, two gaping wounds in her side. The great duchy of Brittany was still virtually independent; the greater duchy of Aquitaine was still united to the crown of England. Nevertheless, the consolidation of the French kingdom

had, in a territorial sense, advanced apace. The political advance was not less conspicuous. The royal authority was firmly established on the broad base of permanent institutions. Between the monarchy of Philip the Fair and that of Louis XIV there seemed, in logic, but a single step. In time there was an interval of three centuries and a half. The accession of the Valois kings initiated a reaction which lasted for a full century, and not until the accession of Charles VII (1422-61) is it possible to pick up again the broken threads of national development.

The interval was largely occupied by the Hundred Years' War, which ultimately did much to consolidate France politically, socially and territorially, and to create a French nation. The final expulsion of the English from France (1453) permitted the incorporation of the great duchy of Aquitaine, but the territorial gains were far outweighed by the political. Of all those gains the crown was the residuary legatee. Every class and interest was damaged alike in fortune and prestige by the long-drawn-out war. The nobles never recovered from the blows which at Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt were inflicted by the English yeomen upon the chivalry of France.

The towns suffered both in political liberty and in trade the Church, the judges of the Parliament, the University of Paris, merchants and lawyers, scholars

Effects of the Hundred Years' War

and peasants—all were involved in a common ruin, and the monarchy alone emerged from the welter politically strengthened by the destruction of domestic rivals and territorially augmented by the absorption of feudal fiefs and by conquests from the foreigner. The process of unification was not quite complete, but on the death of Charles the Rash the duchy of Burgundy was finally reunited to France and in 1491 the marriage of Anne duchess of Brittany to the young King Charles VIII of France brought into the crown the last of the great feudal principalities. It should be added that the southern part of the old kingdom of Burgundy (or Arles)—Provence—was gradually absorbed into the kingdom of France during the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries, but the Free County (Franche Comté) or County Palatine of Burgundy was only conquered from the Hapsburgs by Louis XIV in 1674.

Thus did France attain to complete territorial nationhood, and the attainment was in part the result, in part the cause, of the rapid increase in the power of the crown. Later on other causes contributed to a similar result. Among them one of the most important was the victory won in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the absolute monarchy over the Huguenots.

During the ecclesiastical struggles of the sixteenth century the French nobles got the chance of winning back some of the ground they had lost. Nor did they neglect it. French Protestantism, like French feudalism was essentially disruptive, anti-monarchical and anti-

**Disruptive tendency
of the Huguenots**

In the name of religion both Protestants and Catholics entered upon negotia-

tions with foreign powers. If successful they must inevitably have again broken up the newly won unity of France. Thus the crown was fighting not only on behalf of the principle of autocracy, but on behalf of French nationalism. The triumph of the Huguenots, like the triumph of the feudal nobility in an earlier period, must have meant the indefinite postponement of the unity of France. The famous Edict of Nantes, by establishing the Huguenots as a state within a state, did, in fact, very gravely compromise the political unity of the kingdom.

In France, it should be emphasised, the situation was very different from that existing in England. In the England of the sixteenth century the cause of Protestantism was in truth the cause of patriotism. That individual Catholics could be as patriotic as Protestants was proved in the Armada fight, and not there only. Yet the defeat of Protestantism in England would have meant the elimination of a force that made for national self-consciousness and national independence. It was otherwise in France. French Protestantism was, in the sixteenth century, disruptive, disloyal, reckless and reactionary. Cardinal Richelieu was no bigot, but he clearly

perceived the dangers which lurked in the Edict of Nantes, and the fatal consequences to be apprehended from the political triumph of the Huguenots. Their religious opinions he respected; their civil rights he protected; but he crushed with relentless severity their separatist ambitions.

The great cardinal dealt with the Huguenots as with the recalcitrant remnants of the feudal oligarchy. With the social privileges of the French nobility Richelieu had no desire

to interfere. All their rights and exemptions he allowed them,

**Richelieu paves the
way for Despotism**

wisely or unwisely, to retain; but he was resolved that never again should they have the chance of dividing, still less of dismembering, France. No longer were they even permitted to act as governors of provinces; their fortified castles were destroyed; private wars and even duels were prohibited. All administrative functions were concentrated in the hands of the crown and of royal officers. Functionaries known as intendants—nominees and agents of the central government—were appointed to superintend local administration, in place of the deposed aristocracy. Thus did the great cardinal complete the task at which during preceding centuries the most capable of French kings had been steadily working; thus did he, with them, prepare the way for the final triumph of autocracy and nationalism under Le Roi Soleil—Louis XIV.

Under Louis XIV the meridian of the absolute monarchy was reached and passed. By his incessant wars he involved his people in much needless suffering, and bequeathed to his successor a bankrupt treasury; by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the policy of the 'dragonnades' he overstepped the wise limits imposed upon himself by Richelieu, he drove into exile some of the most industrious of his subjects and deprived France of a strain she could ill afford to lose. Nevertheless he still stands out in French history as 'le grand monarque,' and Frenchmen of all parties look back to his reign as the period when France touched the zenith of her greatness.

Nor is the national instinct wholly at fault. The latter half of the seventeenth

century is rightly known in the history not of France only, but of Europe, as 'The Age of Louis XIV.' Never again (unless we except the brief meridian of the Napoleonic Empire) was France so dominant in Europe as she was under Louis XIV.

That dominance was the external expression of domestic autocracy and national unity. Administrative centralisation went

hand in hand with Louis XIV; his foreign aggression, and 'L'état c'est moi' so high a point did centralisation reach that

Louis XIV could say, with literal truth, 'L'état c'est moi.' The wars of the Fronde marked (in one respect) the expiring effort of French feudalism; the States-General was never summoned; the Parlement of Paris was deprived of all semblance of political authority; the Huguenots were crushed or exiled; even the Catholic Church in France, if not actually reduced to the level of a state department, imbibed something of the spirit of nationalism and bowed before the triumph of royal autocracy.

Not, however, until the last remnants of that regime were swept away by the Revolution of 1789 was the work of national unification finally completed. Mirabeau was quick to perceive this aspect of the Revolution. 'Several years of absolute government,' he said, 'could not have done so much for royal authority as this one year of Revolution. Is it nothing to be without parlements, without the Pays d'Etats, without a body of clergy, without a privileged class, without a nobility? The idea of having only one class of citizens would have pleased Richelieu, this equal surface facilitates the exercise of power.' Burke emphasised the same truth, and as far back as 1790 predicted with singular prescience that owing to the removal of all those indirect restraints which mitigate despotism, there might well emerge, as a result of the Revolution, 'the most completely arbitrary power that ever appeared on earth.'

The advent of Napoleon marked the fulfilment of his prediction. More than that, it marked the zenith of French autocracy and French nationalism.

Modern France is not wholly the creation of the Revolution, nor heir only to

the Napoleonic Empire. Modern France, intense in nationalistic self-consciousness, distinguished by ardent devotion to 'la patrie,' the outstanding exemplification of administrative centralisation, is the product not of one century but of all the centuries that have gone before.

The political unification of Spain was almost coincident with that of France. Charles I (afterwards the emperor Charles V) was the first Spanish monarch to succeed (1516) to a united kingdom, or to represent the leadership of a united people. Hitherto there had been kingdoms in Spain, but no Spanish kingdom, and only very gradually had there evolved in Spain a sense of nationality. Yet the frontiers of Spain are exceptionally well defined, and Forming of the it might have been an- Spanish nation ticipated that national evolution would have been, if not so precocious as in England, insular and remote, at any rate early and rapid. It was, however, retarded by two main causes. The first is physiographical, the second is to be found in the central fact of Spanish history—the conquest of the land by the Mahomedans in the eighth century and its gradual and slow reconquest during the course of seven centuries that followed.

Physiography has stamped upon the face of Spain its most characteristic feature. Provincialism, not nationalism, is, and always has been, the outstanding characteristic of her institutions and her people, and a glance at a physical map of Spain at once reveals the explanation. The greater part of the Iberian peninsula consists of a high plateau intersected by a series of mountain ridges which extend in a north-easterly direction, almost continuously from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Shorter ranges run transversely to these great ridges and further subdivide the land.

Partly owing to the looseness of Mahomedan administration and its comparative lenity in Spain, and much more owing to the disunion and weakness of the Spanish peoples, the reconquest of the land was a slow and painful process which has left an ineffaceable impression upon Spanish nationality. One by one the modern kingdoms of Christian Spain

emerged : Asturia and Cantabria (developing into the kingdom of Leon), Navarre, Castile, Aragon and Portugal. But these were the larger aggregates. A 'Spaniard' even of the eighteenth century thought of himself as a Galician or a Catalan, as Andalusian or Valencian. Before the end of the thirteenth century the Mahomedan power had been confined to the little kingdom of Granada, while the rest of the peninsula was unequally divided between the four Christian states of Castile (with Leon), Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. Of these Castile and Leon was so much the most imposing that its sovereign was frequently known to foreigners as king of Spain.

The end of the long crusade against the Moslem came with the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada in 1492.

the union of Castile and Aragon, anticipated by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, was formally effected in 1504; Navarre, south of the Pyrenees, was conquered in 1513, and from 1580 to 1640 Portugal was incorporated in what had now become 'Spain.'

In Spain, as elsewhere, nationalism was the complement and the consequence of autocracy. Parliamentary and municipal institutions were of greater antiquity in the Spanish kingdoms even than in England. Aragon had its Cortes in 1133, Castile in 1169—a good century before there was anything corresponding to a 'cortes' in England. The first municipal charter to an English town dates from the twelfth century, while Leon obtained its charter of liberties as early as 1020, and most of the Spanish towns were enfranchised during the course of the eleventh century. Yet, before the end of the fourteenth century, parliamentary institutions were already in a state of decline; by the end of the fifteenth they were almost extinct; early in the sixteenth they were finally overthrown, not to be revived until the nineteenth.

How are we to account for the failure of parliamentary government, despite its early development, to establish itself in Spain? No doubt the form and organization of the Cortes which corresponded, like the French States-General, to social

and economic divisions was partly responsible, but an even more important reason is to be found in the imperfect development of Spanish nationalism and the survival of provincialism.

Nationalism was indeed a plant of very slow and very tender growth in Spain, and even now

there is not much Provincialism still at work in Spain community of sentiment between Castilian

and Catalan, nor complete identity of interest between Barcelona and Madrid.

In the seventeenth century the great minister Olivarez attempted to emulate the success by imitating the methods of his French rival Richelieu. The royal power was exalted and local privileges were curtailed, but the only result was to drive the Catalans into the arms of France, to arouse discontent in other provinces, and to set the seal upon the independence of Portugal. The failure of Olivarez precipitated the decadence of Spain, which was only arrested by the accession of the Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the following century. But before Philip V could establish himself upon the throne of Spain he too had to contend against the obstinate provincialism of his subjects. In the War of Succession (1702-13), though Castile adhered to Philip of Anjou, Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia acknowledged the Austrian archduke as king.

The greatness of Spain revived somewhat in the eighteenth century, but the nineteenth proved that the spirit of provincialism was still strong. Napoleon's attempt to incorporate Spain in the new Empire of the West proved, indeed, his undoing, and the Peninsular War provided one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of modern Europe. The Spanish people, slothful and decadent as they seemed, sunk in political inertia, hide-bound in superstition, economic and ecclesiastical, devoid of all the instincts of political liberty or social independence—this people raised the standard of national insurrection and, with all the pride of an ancient race, spurned the Bonapartist usurper and lighted the flame of that nationalist reaction which, with the stout backing of England, shattered the

structure of the Napoleonic Empire and liberated not only Spain but Europe from the yoke of the new Charlemagne.

Nor is the secret of the Spanish triumph far to seek. Sir John Seeley discerned it and analysed it in his *Life of Stein* :

Spain was Spain, but those Italian and German states were not Italy and Germany, but only in Italy and Germany It was evident that the one thing needful was found and a new idea took possession of the mind of Europe. That idea was not democracy or liberty; it was nationality. It was the idea of the nation as distinguished from the state: the union by blood as distinguished from the union by interest

That is true; but it is essential to bear in mind that in Spain the spirit of nationalism was infused and sustained—if the paradox be permitted—by the spirit of provincialism. Of the latter spirit the guerilla warfare by which Napoleon was confronted and harassed in Spain was the natural military expression.

Is autocracy indispensable as the pedagogue of nationalism? The instances hitherto cited in this chapter would seem to suggest an affirmative answer. The success of the Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns in England; of Capets, Valois and Bourbons in France; the lack of a similarly sustained discipline in Spain, lend colour to the suggestion.

The history of nationalism in Germany also tends to support the generalisation.

Reference has already been made to the influence of the Papacy and Empire in retarding the growth of the national spirit in Europe as a whole. But nowhere was the influence of the Holy Roman Empire so clearly demonstrated as in Germany. The close connexion between the revived Empire and the German kingship—a connexion which ultimately issued in complete fusion—rendered this inevitable. For Germany, as apart from the states in Germany, this was a grave disaster. The development of the German monarchy, and therefore of the German nation (since in the infancy of nations the two are inseparable) was sacrificed to the dream of a universal empire. The imperial crown might rest on the brows of Hohenstaufen or of Hapsburg or other German kings,

but the reality of power remained with the territorial princes, with the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the pfalzgraf of the Rhine, the margrave of Brandenburg, the prince-bishops of Trier, Mainz and Cologne, and the rest. Thus Germany, instead of being gradually united into one powerful nation state, was split up into more than three hundred sovereign states.

The Lutheran Reformation added to the political disintegration of Germany, and so matters continued until the outbreak of the Revolution in

France. Then came the Napoleon's part in German History

Napoleon's armies passed like a great steam-roller over the country and flattened its surface. The successive phases of Bonaparte's policy in Germany are irrelevant to our present purpose, and all that need be said is that the settlement of 1815 left Germany with twenty-eight states instead of over three hundred, while among them Prussia and Austria stood out conspicuous rivals, with no peers among their fellow German sovereigns.

The Restoration of 1815 brought in its train reaction, and reaction led to revolution. In 1848 a great effort was made by the Frankfort parliament to obtain constitutional liberties for the several states and to achieve national unity for Germany as a whole. But Frederick William IV of Prussia, to whom the imperial crown of Germany was offered, shrank from a contest with the Hapsburg Empire, and so German nationalism was set back for another quarter of a century.

One man rejoiced at the delay. Bismarck was no believer in parliaments, parchment and protocols. German nationalism would have to be achieved, so he believed, 'by blood and iron.' He fulfilled his own prophecy. An army reorganized and re-armed by von Roon and von Moltke gave Bismarck the instrument he sought. The Danish duchies were annexed to Prussia; Austria, defeated at Sadowa, was expelled from Germany; a North German Confederation was formed under the presidency of Prussia, only to be transformed, after the German victory over France (1870-71), into a German Empire inclusive of the whole of Germany,

except the German part of the composite Empire of the Hapsburgs. Thus did Germany at last achieve national unity, and she achieved it by the methods appropriate to autocracy.

If the development of German nationalism was particularly affected by the survival of the Holy Roman Empire, the realization of Italian nationality was in unique degree retarded by the temporal power of the Papacy. Other factors operated in a similar direction. At no period after the fall of the Roman Empire until the Risorgimento of the nineteenth century could

Late growth of Italy be described as Italian nationhood a nation. Split up as it was into city republics and petty princedoms, with the states of the church interposed as a solid barrier between north and south, Italy not only failed during long centuries to realize a sense of nationality, but afforded a convenient arena for the contests between her rival parties and powerful neighbours Guelph and Ghibelline in the Middle Ages, Bourbon and Hapsburg in a later age, and in modern times Napoleon and the European coalition fought their battles on the soil of Italy.

Italy itself was not yet : but Napoleon, as even Mazzini was fain to confess, contributed powerfully to its advent. Napoleon it was who for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire brought about something like unity in the peninsula. He pulled the petty princes off their thrones ; he erased local divisions ; he built bridges and made roads ; above all, he taught Lombard and Neapolitan citizens of Florence, Genoa and Venice to think of themselves as Italians, and to fight under the banner of a king of Italy. So Napoleon, autocrat as he was, did a great service to the cause of Italian nationality and Italian unity.

His nephew, Napoleon III, carried on the work when, in 1859, he unsheathed his sword in the war of Italian liberation and announced his intention of liberating Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But between the fall of the first Napoleonic Empire and the advent of the second much had happened in Italy. Mazzini had preached to his countrymen the

gospel of national unity, and had founded his famous association of Young Italy. Garibaldi had come home from his adventures in South America to support the lofty idealism of Mazzini with his own practical, though at times embarrassing, knight errantry. The risings of 1830 and 1848, though they issued for the time in failure, kept alive the spirit of liberty, and pointed the need for unity. Above all, Cavour and his master, Victor Emmanuel, had adventured the whole future of Sardinia and of Italy upon the hazard of the expedition to the Crimea

It was Sardinia's participation in the Crimean War that gave Cavour his claim to a place in the peace congress at Paris, and enabled him in the council chamber of Europe to plead the cause of his oppressed and divided country. The emperor Napoleon gave ear to him ; the pact of Plombières was signed, and in the following year (1859) Austria learnt to her chagrin that Napoleon III meant to espouse the cause of Italian liberty. But after his expensive victories at Solferino and Magenta the French emperor stayed his hand, and the armistice of Villafranca left **Italians united his work but half com- under Sardinia** pleted. But much had been achieved, the Austrian power in Italy was irretrievably shaken ; northern and central Italy were united under the House of Savoy, and the way was prepared for the crowning work of Garibaldi and Cavour. The union of north and south, achieved by the intrepidity of Garibaldi and the coolness of Cavour, the expulsion (with Bismarck's help) of the Austrians from Venice, the abolition of the temporal power of the Papacy and the entry of the Italians into Rome (facilitated by the German attack on France in 1870), completed the work of Italian unity and enabled Italy, at long last, to realize her nationality.

Not only among the greater powers had the spirit of nationalism been working during these latter centuries. Nor has autocracy been its only abettor. In defiance of Spanish despotism did the United Provinces achieve independence in the last years of the sixteenth century, and under the bracing influence of independence

the inhabitants of those provinces not only achieved unity, but quickly evolved a distinctive Dutch nationality. Not, however, until 1830 did the rest of the 'Spanish' Netherlands attain nationhood, when, after their brief union (1815-1830) with Holland, they emerged as the kingdom of Belgium.

Modern Switzerland affords a remarkable example of the achievement of nationhood in the face of obstacles which might well have appeared insuperable. Compounded of elements diverse in race, in creed, in language and in tradition, the inhabitants of the Helvetic Republic have worked out, in the course of the ages, a distinctive nationality, and Germans, Italians and Frenchmen, Roman Catholics and Protestants, are now indissolubly united in the 'Swiss' nation. Except in the application of external pressure autocracy has played no part in the evolution of Swiss nationality.

Nor except in a negative sense has it played any in Poland. Reference was made at the beginning of this chapter to the persistence of Polish nationality, in spite of political partition. It is now pertinent to add that the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795 were facilitated, perhaps rendered inevitable, by the lack of the autocratic hand which brought to the birth English, French and Spanish nationality in earlier days, and German nationality but recently. Poland affords, indeed, an outstanding example of the centrifugal influence of an all-powerful aristocracy, and the fatal absence, in the critical stage of a nation's evolution, of monarchical absolutism. The gradual decadence and ultimate disintegration of the once-powerful kingdom of Poland were due, of course, to many causes operating in combination: the absence of definable and defensible frontiers; a proverbially ridiculous constitution; the lack of a commercial middle class; the paralysing privilege of a small, proud but politically ineffective aristocracy. But several of these disadvantages would have been neutralised and indeed removed could a really strong monarchy have once emerged. The principle of election applied

to kingship is, however, fatal to autocracy, and Poland paid the price of adherence to a political superstition. As a state she ceased to exist.

The Polish nation, nevertheless, survived. France would have rescued the Polish state from the claws of Prussia, Austria and Russia in the eighteenth century had her strength been adequate to the task. But France herself was decadent. As far back as 1815, however, Talleyrand recognized the importance to the European equilibrium of an independent Poland. One of the first declarations of French war-aims in August, 1914, contained a promise of its restoration. 'Poland,' said Clemenceau, 'shall live again. By the will of Tsar Nicholas II supported by France and England an end will be put to one of the greatest crimes in history.'

The Peace Conference of 1919 witnessed the fulfilment of Clemenceau's pledge. But the restoration of Poland, though due, primarily, to the adherence of France to her old political traditions, and the anxiety of the allied nations to secure European equilibrium, was rendered possible only by the persistent and intense nationalism of the Poles themselves. 'A century and a half ago, the living flesh of Poland was torn asunder, but her soul did not die. She lived in hope that there would come an hour for the resurrection of the Polish nation and for sisterly reconciliation with Russia.' So ran the Russian proclamation of August, 1914. The hour of resurrection struck in 1918.

If Poland illustrates the unifying effect of the principle of nationalism, the history of the Hapsburg Empire affords proof of its disintegrating effects.

For four centuries the Hapsburg Empire occupied a unique place in the European polity. Consisting of diverse and even antagonistic nationalities, it embraced Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Rumanians, Slavs, Slovaks, Italians, Croats and Ruthenians. These peoples were held together only by the autocratic but not untactful hand of the Hapsburg emperor. But the national principle was not to be permanently denied, and 1918 sounded the death knell of an empire which,

'ramshackle' though it was, had nevertheless been for centuries a conspicuous political convenience. The nationalistic tide was running too strongly for its continuance, and from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire a number of nation states have emerged. The little Republic of Austria with some 6,000,000 Germans, and Hungary with some 8,000,000 Magyars, represent the core of the old Empire. The ancient kingdom of Bohemia, enlarged by the addition of Moravia and Ruthenian territory to the south of the Carpathians, has now taken its place among nation states as the republic of Czechoslovakia. The triune kingdom of Jugo-Slavia represents the triumphant vindication of Southern Slav nationality, but it embraces also some non-national minorities. So does the greatly enlarged Rumania, though the nucleus of the kingdom is furnished by the people who claim proud descent from Trajan's Roman colonists. The two latter kingdoms, with Greece and Bulgaria, illustrate the disintegrating force of nationality operating in an empire which, like that of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, was founded, and for more than four centuries was maintained, on the negation of that principle. In the Balkans autocracy was not the sponsor but very plainly the foe of nationalism; nationalism represented the revolt against autocracy.

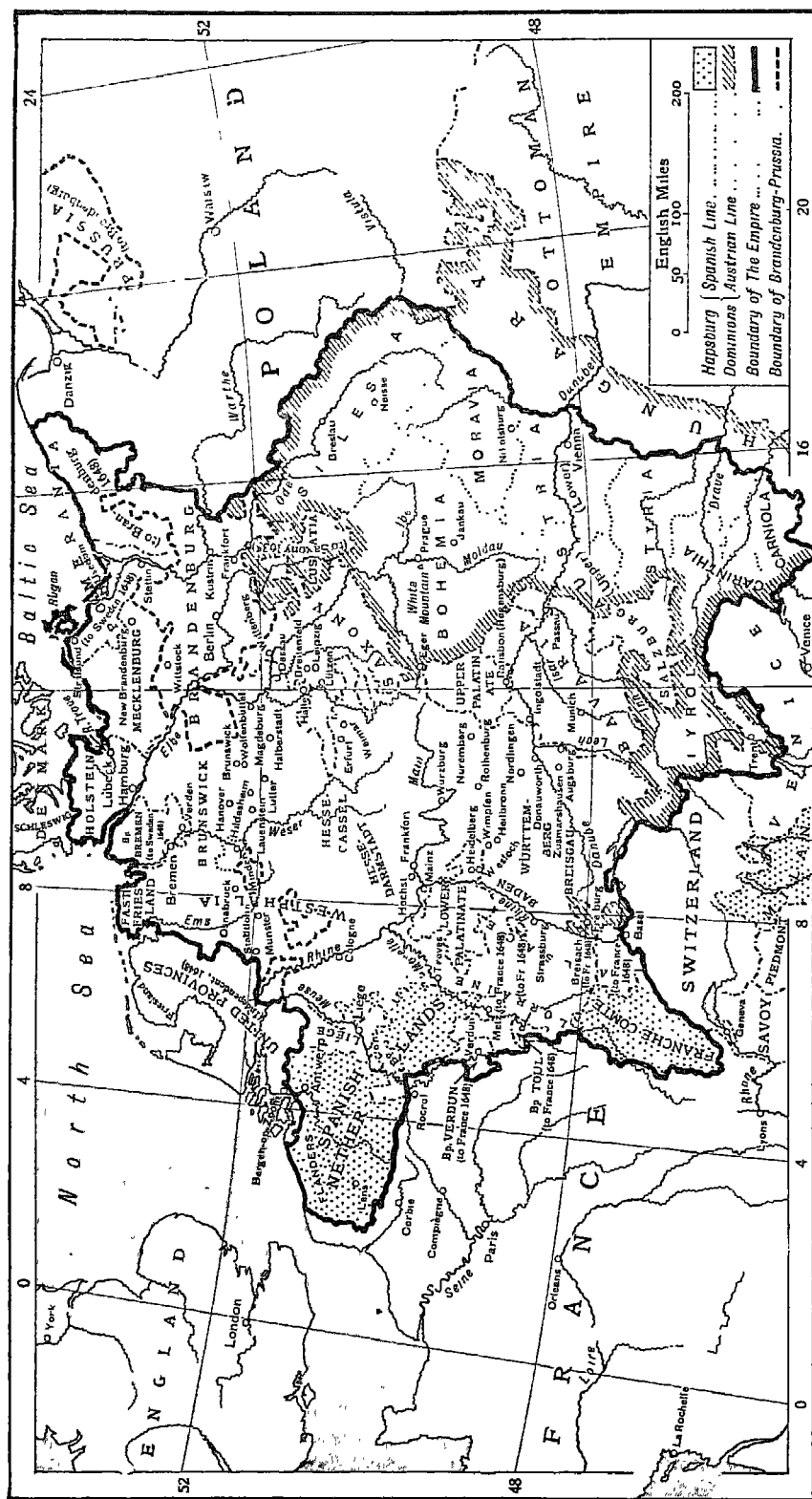
From this survey one or two conclusions seem to emerge. In the infancy of nations, as in that of individuals, a strong guiding hand may be drawn is indispensable. The early, perhaps precocious, development of English nationalism is evidently attributed to the exceptional strength of the royal power under Norman and Plantagenet kings.

French and Spanish nationalism was a somewhat later growth, but it was tended and encouraged (especially in the former case) by a remarkable succession of great kings and autocratic statesmen. Russian nationalism, so far as it ever existed at all, owed everything to strong rulers like Peter the Great and the tsaritsa Catherine. Dutch, Swiss and Polish nationalism was the product of other forces, as was that of Italy, the Balkan nations and the succes-

sion states which have emerged from the welter of the Great War and the overthrow of the Hapsburg Empire. The final stages in the evolution of German nationalism were attained, very tardily, under the guidance of a great statesman and accomplished soldiers supported by an irresistible army.

During the course of the last century and a half several nation states have come to the birth on the American continent, both in the North and in the South. No one, however, would suggest that the United States of America owes anything of its nationhood to the principle of autocracy, as commonly understood, though it owes much to the statesmanlike guidance of individuals like Washington, Hamilton and Lincoln.

One further observation must be made. The preceding pages record the disciplinary process through which the nation Nationalism shaped states of Europe have by Autocracy passed on their way from feudal disintegration to centralised bureaucracy, from tribal organization to self-conscious nationalism. The intermediate stage is marked, not universally but so frequently as to afford a basis for generalisation, by this development of royal autocracy. The self-conscious nation state is the product of evolution and of discipline. Autocracy is commonly the pedagogue that leads a people to nationhood. The disciplinary process has not always been continuous; continuity has been interrupted by revolution and revolution has been followed by reaction; reaction in turn issuing in revolution has often been succeeded by a period of apparent stagnation. Politicians are generally in a hurry: consequently they are impatient to register results. Historical study should serve to correct this tendency. It should also conduce, especially if pursued by the comparative method, to political tolerance and sympathy. The European nations belong to a family into which the Ottoman Turk was for many centuries the only alien intruder. The rest of the nations, though widely apart in age, nevertheless acknowledged common ancestors, and were united in ties of political consanguinity.



AREA COVERED IN THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The whole of Central Europe was involved in the religious and political struggle that broke out in Bohemia in 1618. In the course of the ensuing hostilities Silesia and Moravia were ravaged by the Poles. In the north the Swedes overran Livonia and Prussia with the object of securing Pomerania and the Baltic coast. The imperialists under Tilly and Wallenstein devastated the whole region between the Rhine and the Main. On the west trouble between France and Spain broke into flame in the Rhine valley. The redistributions of territory effected by the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the war in 1648, are marked on the map.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Devastation of Central Europe in the Wars of
1618 to 1648 with their Effects on Military Tactics

W. ALISON PHILLIPS and Col. J. F. C. FULLER

I. CAUSES AND RESULTS

By W. Alison Phillips

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THE outbreak of the Thirty Years' War is dated from the memorable 'defenestration of Prague' on May 23, 1618 (see page 3590); but this was no more the cause of the war than the murder of the archduke Francis Ferdinand was the cause of the Great War which broke out in 1914. Like the crime of Serajevo, it was but the spark that set fire to a mass of explosive materials which had long been accumulating in Europe. In order, then, to understand the meaning of the war, it is necessary to know something of the conditions in Europe which caused it and determined its character.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Roman emperor still retained much of the unique lustre with which the imagination of the Middle Ages had surrounded him. He was still accorded a pre-eminence as the symbol, if not the effective centre, of political unity, and as the God-appointed defender of the Church. The virtual lien of the mighty house of Hapsburg on the imperial crown, elective though it was, had given alarming substance to its shadowy claims. Charles V, whose power bestrode both hemispheres, had seemed to come near to realizing the medieval dream of world dominion; and though his inheritance had been divided after his abdication, the close understanding between the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs remained, reinforcing the imperial prestige and power.

In Germany itself, where the national kingship was merged in the Empire, the kaiser was still in a real sense supreme. He alone had the right to send ambassadors abroad to represent the Germanic Empire. From him the princes held their fiefs, though these had become hereditary, and

to him they had to take an oath of fealty. He alone could launch the ban of the Empire; and, while the 'estates' of the Empire—the princes, great territorial magnates and free cities—might be punished for treason against him, he alone could do no wrong. Lastly, he was the sole fount of honour, which meant much in an age when a step upward in the feudal hierarchy meant an increase in wealth and power. The mystic pre-eminence of the Roman Empire was thus sustained, in Germany itself, not only by a traditional reverence, but by the hopes and fears of the feudatories and a lingering sentiment of loyalty which was occasionally to play its part even in that struggle of all against all—the Thirty Years' War.

But if the Empire had its elements of strength, it had also its elements of weakness, partly due to its elective character—which for centuries past had enabled the prince-electors to bargain for fresh 'liberties' with each successive candidate for the crown—partly developed out of the Renaissance and the Reformation. In the Italy of the Renaissance had been born the idea of the modern state, as a territorial entity, sovereign and irresponsible, in contradistinction to the medieval idea of 'estates' with defined liberties, responsible to a feudal superior who might or might not be alien and remote. In most European countries, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the idea of the sovereign state led to the centralisation of authority in the hands of the monarch. In Germany, however, where the great feudatories had succeeded in establishing a *de facto* sovereignty, it had the opposite effect.

**Weakness of
the Empire**

The princes, in short, began to regard their territories as states rather than as estates, and to forget their dependence on the emperor in the contemplation of a sovereignty conferred on them by the grace of God alone. To this process the Reformation powerfully contributed, by breaking the uniformity, if not the unity, of an empire which had a spiritual as well as a temporal aspect. Protestantism, wherever it was victorious, reorganized the Church on a territorial basis. Each territorial ruler set up

Religion and territorial States his own model—whether Lutheran or 'Reformed'—and assumed in religious matters a sovereignty which not only subordinated the Church to the authority of the state, but inevitably excluded the claims of the emperor as the Church's defender. The struggle which raged round this question in the sixteenth century had ended in a compromise. By the Religious Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, Roman Catholics and adherents of the Augsburg Confession, later called Lutherans, were placed on a footing of equality, and it was agreed that each secular prince had the right to eject from his territory all those who did not accept the religion established by him.

The Lutherans, moreover, were allowed to keep all the Church property seized by them before the Treaty of Passau (1552); but a fateful clause was added, known as the 'ecclesiastical reservation,' under which any spiritual prince who should in the future accept the Confession of Augsburg was to forfeit his principality. The validity of this clause was disputed by the Lutherans; and, to the intense indignation of the Catholics, several prelates subsequently turned Protestant and continued to hold their sees as secular principalities. Most important of all, this treaty applied only to the Lutherans. The Calvinists, who included some of the most powerful princes in the Empire, were deliberately excluded from it.

Clearly this settlement, which still held good at the beginning of the seventeenth century, contained the seeds of future trouble. The Calvinist princes were conscious that their reformed religion and their possession of the confiscated

Church lands were safe only so long as the emperor was weak—if, that is to say, he continued to be a Catholic Hapsburg. Nor could the Lutheran princes feel much more secure. Many of them held Church lands secularised since 1552, which were thus unprotected by the treaty.

Moreover, the treaty itself was now being called in question. Rome argued that the terms of the Peace of Augsburg were provisional, valid only so long as the religious controversy within the Church remained unsettled, and that this had been definitely determined by the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1564, which had therefore nullified the Augsburg agreement. A revival of Catholicism, then, threatened the Protestant princes not only in their faith, but in their power and their pockets. Thus, in order to explain the outbreak of the last and greatest of the wars of religion, and to provide one of the guiding threads through its labyrinthine history, some idea must be given of the condition of morals and religion in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It was a coarse and cruel age, for manners and morals had alike deteriorated to an almost incredible degree during the troubled sixteenth century. Crime was rife, highway robbery and murder the order of the day; but while savage penalties were imposed for minor offences, homicide was lightly regarded. These results may be illustrated by a single extract from a contemporary newspaper, Number 49 of the *Strassburger Zeitung* (1609). 'It is very unsafe at night in the alleys,' wrote a correspondent from Prague, 'where people are held up, plundered and some murdered, and their bodies thrown into the Moldau, from which yesterday seven corpses were recovered below the bridges.' The dissoluteness of morals, the cruelty and the contempt for human life, were not the results of the war; they were rather among its causes. The war was characterised by unspeakable atrocities from its very outset.

The age, then, was cruel and coarse, but it was also an age of faith. Neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation had done anything to remove the terrors with which

the medieval imagination had surrounded men's lives; for the humanists had their familiar spirits and dabbled in the black arts, and the Reformers found plentiful support in the Bible for their belief in the omnipresent activity of evil spirits

and the unholy compacts of wizards and witches with them. Science was scarce as yet born. Men walked the world surrounded not only by visible perils, but by a cloud of unseen terrors, devils and what not, which none but the proper formula would exorcise, and by the awful presence of God, who heralded his 'visitations'—wars, plagues and famines—by comets and eclipses. The Thirty Years' War, according to the Chronik of Pastor Minck, was such a visitation, heralded by the great comet of September, 1618.

The fear of devils led to a two-fold development. On the one hand, men and women found a dreadful fascination in a fancied intercourse with them, much as nowadays people dabble in spiritualism; and the black arts became almost fashionable, being largely practised at the smaller German courts. On the other hand, the terror inspired by these unholy traffickings led to the witch persecutions (see Chap. 128), which reached an unexampled height during the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1627–28 the bishop of Würzburg is reported to have condemned nine thousand witches and wizards to the stake; and in 1640–41 one thousand were burnt alive in the small Silesian principality of Neisse alone.

The state of mind which made this possible may be illustrated by a single instance. In 1611 three nuns in Flanders were tried for witchcraft by a commission consisting of Count Destarre, finance minister to the archdukes, a prominent French Dominican and a doctor of Theology. The wretched women were convicted, on their own confession, of having attended a witches' sabbath near Paris and there assisted at the baptism

of Antichrist, the son of a Jewess by an incubus, to whom Beelzebub and Leviathan stood sponsors. The farrago of half-witted nonsense which passed for evidence at this trial was published at Paris in 1623, in a book dedicated to Louis XIII, as proof that Antichrist was in the world and about to manifest himself.

In such an atmosphere there was clearly no room for toleration; it was obviously of the utmost importance, both for prince and people, to have a perfect shield of faith against the malevolence of devils and the wrath of God. So, while men would shift from one faith to another, they would not tolerate the presence of any faith but their own. Protestantism did not mean religious liberty; for the Protestant prince who assumed the part of 'supreme bishop' in his own territory was every whit as inquisitorial in his methods as Rome. 'The wooden yoke of the Papacy,' said the jurist Thomasius later, 'has been replaced by the iron yoke of Luther.'

Since, too, so much stress was laid on the importance of doctrinal orthodoxy, religious debates were carried on with a bitterness and a wealth of vulgar invective amazing to our indifferent age. In this there was little to choose between the creeds. If the Jesuits taught their pupils to avoid all Protestants as they would the pestilence, the Lutheran divines



'CALVINIST DEVILS' IN VISIBLE FORM

This broadside, published after 1621, shows the Protestant princes aided by devils, attacking the stronghold of the Catholic faith, whose towers are the Papacy, the emperor, Spain and Bavaria. An inscription observes that 'what the educated learn from the written word is taught to the ignorant by pictures.'

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'



APOSTLE OF MYSTICISM

In a cruel age Jakob Bohme (1575-1624), the German mystic, stands out as a gentle soul whose aim it was to lead men to a belief in the divine immanence. His speculations aroused ecclesiastical hostility, but his influence survives.

From Bechstein, 'Deutsche M  nne'

denounced the Calvinists as devil-worshippers or as devotees of 'a wanton, capricious and blood-thirsty Moloch,' and Calvinistic divines retaliated by accusing the Lutherans of clinging to the rags of popery and partaking of meats offered to Roman idols. All three combined to persecute the unhappy sectaries who agreed with none of them. Only here and there were to be found gentle spirits who, like Jakob B  hme, the great apostle of mysticism, or Julius Arndt, a father of Pietism, still taught that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' For the rest, in the year 1617, the centenary of the Reformation and the eve of the Thirty Years' War, what was being preached from the pulpits of Germany was the gospel of hate, not of love.

In the spreading of this gospel the Society of Jesus (see Chap. 142) was now playing a leading part. Jesuits were everywhere, and everywhere they carried with them their admirable zeal, their rigid discipline, their trained intelligence, their ruthless methods and their fixed determination to restore the universal monarchy

of the pope. They were established at the courts of the Catholic princes as confessors and political advisers, and in all Catholic countries the education of the young was being placed in their hands. Already, under their influence, the tide of Protestantism, which had submerged nearly all Germany, had begun to recede; and the ebb might well cause alarm to the princes of the reformed religion, since the Jesuits taught that no faith need be kept with an heretical sovereign, and that it was a meritorious action to rebel against him and even to remove him by the assassin's knife.

The peculiar horrors of the war itself are largely explained by the character of the armies engaged. The decisive part played by Maximilian of Bavaria (see page 3592) in its earlier years was due to the fact that, for all his magnificence, he was a careful steward of his duchy, and that thus, alone among the princes, he had a well-filled treasury and a standing army. The rest of the princes had neither of these things; for the absurd ostentation which the fashion of the day dictated, the lack of any properly organized fiscal system and the consequent chronic default of revenue kept them in eternal money difficulties.

In the absence of standing armies, then, the princes were forced to enlist mercenaries, which they did by engaging the services of professional captains of the type of the Italian condottieri, who in turn collected their men from among the adventurous spirits and the riff-raff of all countries. The arrangement was a purely business one; the mercenary and his leader simply sold themselves for a given sum and for a stated time. The leaders usually retained the right to name their own officers, and they refused to obey orders not in the contract. The immediate paymaster of the troops was their leader, and to him, rather than to the prince who employed him, their loyalty was due.

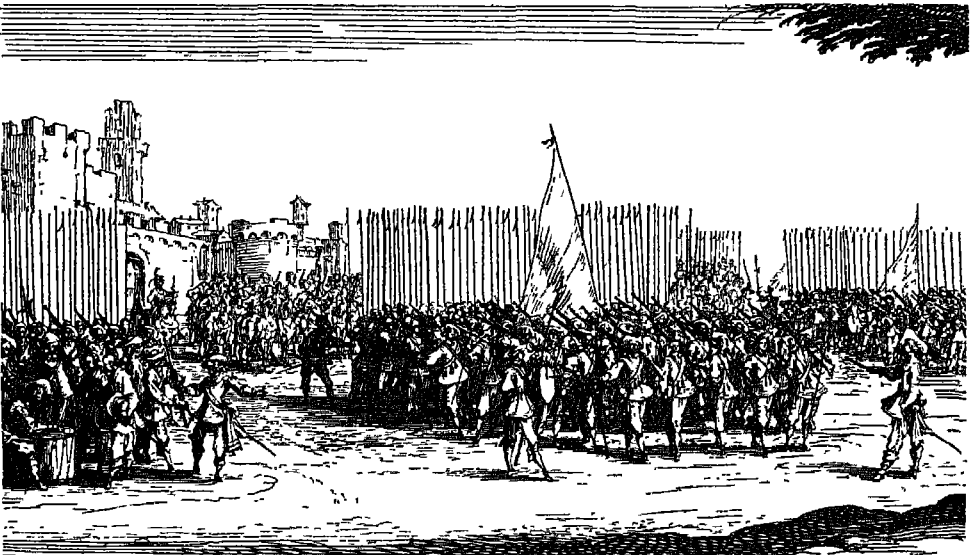
'A warrior at the beginning of the seventeenth century,' says a German historian, 'a mercenary engaged from day to day, marched to battle out of a city defended by walls and lofty towers under the captain and banner of his com-

pany, as a mail-clad rider, as a musketeer armed with an arquebus, or as a master of the field-serpents.' But when the company formed part of an army on campaign, the train was far more varied; for the soldiers were accompanied by their wives and families, and by innumerable prostitutes, suttlers, horse-boys and camp-followers generally. On March 31, 1648, shortly before the Peace of Westphalia, General Gronsfeld reported to Duke Maximilian that there were 180,000 men, women and children with the imperial and Bavarian armies, and that rations were provided for only 40,000; the other 140,000 had to fend for themselves.

Since even the fighting men were often unpaid, they had to pillage or starve. The laws of war, moreover, permitted an invading army to 'live on the country,' and authorised pillaging was often as destructive as the unauthorised looting which leaders like Tilly or Wallenstein punished with prompt severity, while certain of the commanders—notably Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt—kept their troops attached to them by not only permitting but encouraging every sort of licence. In short, the armies—

whose strategic movements were often determined by the necessity for finding supplies—passed hither and thither over the country like swarms of locusts, eating up everything in their path. Wallenstein alone, as the master of vast domains which remained immune, was able to accompany his army with regular trains of supplies derived from his own resources. It was one of the main secrets of his success.

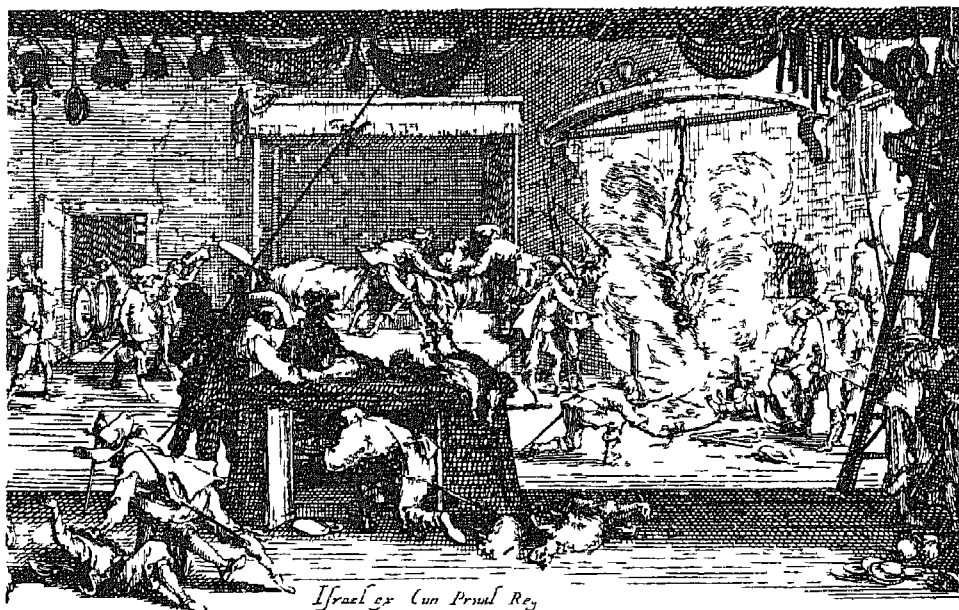
The consequences of this system of making war pay for war beggar description. For thirty years terror ruled the German countryside. Famine and the pestilence that follows famine were the common lot. In vain the wretched peasants continued to sow and reap: a good harvest simply drew the brutal soldiery like a magnet, and barns and fields and vineyards were stripped bare. The starving people were driven to eating offal and carrion, dogs, cats and vermin, and too often even human flesh. The prevalence of cannibalism is, indeed, cited by contemporaries as the most ominous sign of the moral degradation produced by the war. In the case of the miserable people it had some excuse in the extremity of their need. It was



RECRUITING A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MERCENARY ARMY

This and the illustrations in the two pages that follow are taken from a series of etchings on *The Miseries and Misfortunes of War*, executed by Jacques Callot the French artist (1592–1635), who had a European reputation in the early seventeenth century as an engraver of military subjects. The scene above represents the enlisting of an army of mercenaries, with recruits signing on at a drumhead and being given arms while companies form up in the square.

From Callot, 'Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre', 1633



LAWLESS MERCENARIES' BRUTALITY AND ITS PENALTIES

Callot's genius for grouping many figures in a small space and giving expression to each is well exemplified in these pictures. Top Mercenaries raiding a farmhouse, torturing the peasants annexing their belongings and assaulting the women. Bottom Brutality equal to that they inflicted on the peasantry was visited upon mercenaries whose mutiny might infect their comrades. Public executions for indiscipline and, under some commanders, for looting were common.

From Callot 'Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre' 1633

also practised by some of the soldiers in a mere ecstasy of savage cruelty. Duke Charles of Lorraine mentioned in Paris, as an item of interest, that his soldiers at times roasted and ate children.

Two pictures from contemporary sources may serve to illustrate these cruelties and their effects. The Strassburger

Zeitung for December 11 to 21, 1620, announced from Vienna that the Poles, 'blood-thirsty and evil people,' had entered the city, three thousand strong, laden with gold and silver and other loot from Silesia and Moravia.

In passing through a certain place they had chanced upon a wedding celebration

at the house of a gentleman of position, had cut down the bridegroom and the wedding guests, violated the women looted all the table and silver ware stripped the women of their clothes and carried off the bride Outside the city here they are now selling for seven or eight Gulden clothes which could not be made for a hundred Thaler The very horse boys have silver bowls out of which I have seen them drinking.

That is an illustration of what could happen at the beginning of the war Fourteen years later Pastor Minck records under the year 1634 how after the battle of Nördlingen, the stricken country of Hesse-Darmstadt was overrun by Swedes and imperialists alternately, 'so that the whole country between the Rhine and Main was exhausted, and no man dared show himself in the open' He goes on to describe the ghastly tortures inflicted by both sides on the luckless people who fell into their hands, in order to force them to reveal their supposed hidden stores

Many crept away and hid themselves in the forests, caves rocks etc., but these were spied out, for the soldiers had with them man hunting dogs Therefore everyone fled to the fortified places, where

all alleys, courts and corners were crowded with people, especially in Lichtenberg which offered small accommodation so that many lay under the open sky in rain snow and cold, or some in casks and butts while in winter-time the rooms were so full that by reason of the crowd none could sit down but all had to stand packed close together, which was a great pain and misery to behold, not to speak of having to suffer it oneself

It is small wonder, then, that more and more land went out of cultivation Not the least significant passage in Pastor Minck's ingenuous chronicle is that in which he describes a rich crop of young fir trees growing in what had been fields of corn

The fate of the walled towns was, on the whole, less terrible than that of the open country. But the laws of war accepted at the time laid down that places taken by assault should be given over to the unrestrained licence of the soldiery. There were several such cases during the war, but one only need be mentioned, if only as illustrating the temper of the times The imagination even of that cruel age was impressed by the crowning horror of the sack and



RAPINE, RAVAGE AND ARSON THAT LEFT RUIN IN THEIR WAKE

Nothing was safe in a country overrun by mercenary troops Churches were despoiled of their treasures and burnt, cottages were stripped of bedding and clothes and then set on fire, all the livestock was driven off and the least attempt at resistance on the part of the unfortunate villagers was repaid by murder Pity was an emotion unknown among these hireling troops and for thirty years they were a terror wherever they marched, leaving famine and pestilence behind them

From Callot, Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre, 1633



CALLOUSNESS IN S. PETER'S CHAIR

Urban VIII, pope from 1623 to 1644, professed to view the Thirty Years' War as a political struggle, and supported France. The sack of Magdeburg he regarded with un-Christian callousness as a divine visitation on a sinful city.

Contemporary engraving

burning of Magdeburg, a five days' orgy of lust and cruelty which spared neither sex nor age and cost the lives of twenty thousand people. Pious Pastor Minck records with horror this giving over of the chief stronghold of the Evangelical faith into 'the bloody hands of tyrannical Papists.' For the imperialist Count Pappenheim it was 'an awful visitation of God.' For Pope Urban VIII, that shifty nepotist, it was a crowning mercy. 'The smoking ruins of the wicked city,' he wrote to Duke Maximilian on July 28, 1631, 'will be "aeterna monumenta divinae clementiae"—eternal monuments of God's mercy!'

In the year 1618, of course, no one foresaw these things. In carrying out that fateful defenestration Count Thurn and his friends had in mind only the grievances of Protestant Bohemia and their redress. Yet its immediate reactions

in the religious sphere gave a taste of what was to come.

Things had gone well enough for a time under the rule of the feeble emperor Matthias. In order to secure his accession to the crown, which was still elective, he had issued the Charter of Majesty (see page 3588) guaranteeing the liberties of the Protestant estates, and these had been hitherto fairly well respected so long as moderate counsels prevailed at Vienna. But as Matthias grew older and feebler a new power arose behind the throne, for whom all counsels of moderation in dealing with heretics were anathema. This power was the Society of Jesus. Its temporal champions in high places were the archduke Ferdinand, the Austrian heir who eventually succeeded Matthias and who had already made a clean sweep of heresy in his duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and the archduke Maximilian, who ruled 'the holy land Tyrol,' into which Protestantism had never found entrance. To these powers the defenestration was a living gage of defiance. It was at once followed by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom 'for ever,' and a general insurrection throughout the country.

This triumph was brief; and after an ill-conducted war, the brief episode of the 'Winter King,' and his crushing defeat by Tilly at the battle

of the White Hill **Persecution of the Bohemian Protestants** (see page 3592), the fate of Bohemia

was terrible. Executions and wholesale confiscations were the order of the day, and in the process the old Czech nobility was practically exterminated. The religious reaction was even more appalling, so monstrously thorough, indeed, that even Maximilian of Bavaria and the papal nuncio condemned it as impolitic. In March, 1621, all pastors and teachers professing Calvinism, or belonging to the Picards and Bohemian Brethren, were ordered to leave the country within three days. The Lutherans were spared at first; but by 1623 they too were cleared out of the land, and in 1624 Ferdinand was persuaded by his confessor, Lamormain, to forbid Protestant worship altogether. Meanwhile, the country had been flooded

with Jesuits, and the conversion of the people began.

The methods employed were stern, but very effective. Refractory burgesses; when theological argument failed, had soldiers billeted on them. Peasants who stubbornly refused to believe in Catholic truth were chained to stone pillars and flogged until they did—the women in private, for decency's sake. Finally, in 1627, the unconverted remnants were ordered out of the country. Thirty thousand families were thus expelled, and the great work of regeneration was accomplished. Bohemia ceased to be a centre of learning and the arts, which revived only with the national movement in the nineteenth century; in the royal cities, deprived of their lands and their liberties, industry languished and died; the peasants, whipped into a mood of sullen submission, lost all spirit of enterprise. Bohemia, once the storm-centre of Protestant revolt, became obediently Catholic.

A like fate befell the other Hapsburg lands. By the autumn of 1620 the insurrection in Upper Austria had been stamped out in blood by Maximilian's Bavarians, and here too Protestants of all classes were given the choice between the mass and exile. In Lower Austria, which had remained comparatively quiet, Protestant worship was forbidden, Protestant pastors were expelled, and the care of education—including the University of Vienna—was handed over to the Jesuits. Moravia shared the fate of Bohemia; only in Silesia, for politic reasons, were certain of the rights secured to the Protestants under the Charter of Matthias allowed to survive. In Hungary, when the authority of Ferdinand was established, after the peace treaty concluded with Bethlen Gabor at Nikolsburg, on December 31, 1621, the counter-Reformation also proceeded apace. But in Hungary it was neither so drastic in its methods nor so complete as in the other



BUTCHERY OF BOHEMIAN PROTESTANTS IN THE NAME OF THE CHURCH

A contemporary coloured print includes these scenes in the principal square of Prague in June, 1621, when, following the defeat of the Winter King by Tilly, the Protestant nobility of Bohemia was almost exterminated by the triumphant Catholic party. Hangings and decapitations were the order of the day, the heads being stuck on poles at the top of the bridge tower (top right), while other unfortunates were flogged round the square and nailed by their tongues to scaffolds (bottom right).

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs'



BISHOP AND MERCENARY

Simon van Passe engraved this portrait of Christian, bishop of Halberstadt (1599-1626). It sufficiently indicates the entirely unspiritual nature of a bishop whose career as a mercenary leader was characterised by extreme brutality.

British Museum

Hapsburg lands, and a powerful Calvinist element survived and still survives.

Events in the Palatinate, too, later on in the war after the decision at Ratisbon (1623), which gave the Catholics a majority in the Electoral College, provide yet another object lesson of what Catholic ascendancy might mean. The secularised religious foundations were 'reformed,' that is to say, handed back to the Church, and the catholicisation of the country was vigorously taken in hand. Heidelberg, so long a centre of Protestant light and learning, was cleansed of both; long trains of wagons carried the famous Palatine library to Rome; the University was handed over to the Jesuits.

The account in Chronicle XXV of the struggle that ensued enumerates the leaders who appear in its earlier phases; two of them, however, deserve more than passing notice, as characteristic of what

was best and worst in the age—Christian, bishop of Halberstadt, and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. Christian, who had been a cavalry leader in Dutch service, had, in 1616, been thrust into the bishopric of Halberstadt by his elder brother, Duke Ulric of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, had been duly elected by the Catholic chapter, and had been enthroned in his cathedral with all the solemn ritual of the Catholic Church. But he had nothing of the bishop but the name, and the strains of the *Veni Creator* had hardly died away when he was off in quest of adventures, leaving his diocese to be misgoverned and plundered by worthless officials. For a man of this type the war was a welcome opportunity, and he proved one of the most brutal of the mercenary leaders. Proclaiming himself 'God's friend and the priest's foe,' he plundered clergy and laity alike, and wherever he went left a desolation behind him. But he had the supreme merits in such a war of reckless courage and a great capacity for command.



BERNARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR

Very different from Christian of Halberstadt (above) was Bernard of Saxe-Weimar (1604-39). A thoroughly religious man and a capable commander, he rendered fine service to the cause of Protestantism in Germany.

Engraving by William Hondius

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the youngest of several brothers who commanded in the war and the only one to achieve fame, had the courage and capacity without the brutality of Christian. He was a sincerely pious Lutheran, who fought for the cause of Protestantism, and a patriotic German who, though he was to join the French against his own countrymen, did so only because he believed this to be the only way to rid Germany of the equally alien domination of the Hapsburgs. He was ambitious; but his ambition to carve out a principality for himself was largely due to his desire to establish the claim, which he consistently advanced, to treat with the powers, not as a mercenary but as a prince. But, though Bernard first came into notice at the battle of Wiesloch (April 27, 1622), when he contributed to Mansfeld's victory over Tilly, it was not till twelve years later that he began to play a leading part in the war.

The outstanding figure, eclipsing both of these, in the story of the years that followed the extension of the war to Europe as a whole is that of Albrecht von Wallenstein, or **Albrecht von Wallenstein: his Character and Career** most interesting of the condottieri of the period. His character and career are riddles hard to read. He belonged by birth to the Bohemian nobility and had been brought up in the strict school of the Moravian Brethren, but had turned Catholic as a young man and taken military service under Ferdinand of Styria. A rich marriage gave him the means of recruiting soldiers on his own account, and these, after 1618, he sold to the emperor in return for large grants of land and successive rises in the feudal hierarchy: in 1623 he was created prince, and in 1625 duke of Friedland.



GENERALISSIMO OF THE IMPERIAL ARMIES

This portrait of Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583-1634) was painted by Van Dyck. At the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, in 1618, he joined the emperor Ferdinand II, and in 1626 held the supreme command. Despite his spectacular successes, jealousy and intrigue led to his assassination in 1634.

Pinakothek, Munich

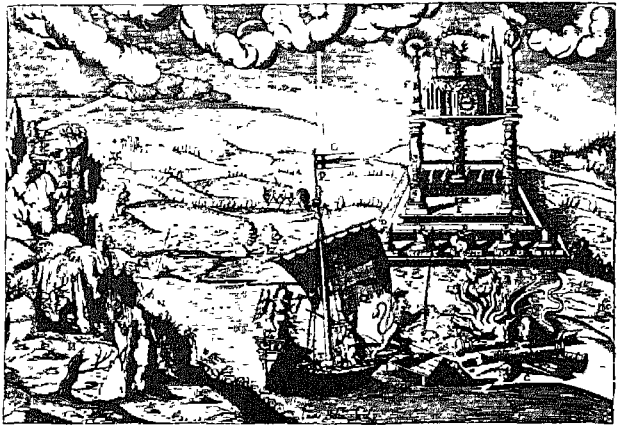
In all this, as a recent German historian says of him, he revealed 'the characteristics of a tradesman.' But he was at the same time a great strategist and a wise administrator. The opening years of the war had revealed his military genius; his genius as an administrator was shown by his excellent government of Friedland and, later, of Mecklenburg. Nor did he share the religious intolerance of the age, though he shared its superstitions—notably its belief in the influence of the stars on human destiny.

The virtues which distinguish Wallenstein among his contemporaries, however, were the outcome of a coldly calculating brain; for heart he had none. His tolerance in religious matters was the result of indifference: to him religion was what his contemporary Gabriel Naudé said it was to all the princes of his time,

namely, 'what quack medicines are for charlatans.' If he was less wantonly cruel than ruffians of the type of Mansfeld or Christian of Halberstadt, it was because he believed with Machiavelli that cruelty is only good policy when 'well applied.' If he was a good administrator of his states, this was because their resources enabled him to solve the problem of provisioning his troops.

As a commander of rough mercenaries such a man was unequalled; of the other leaders only Mansfeld could compete with him, and in November, 1626, death removed Mansfeld from his path. Wallenstein's iron will would brook no contradiction; but, though his discipline was cruel, it was never unjust, and no sentiment of humanity prevented him from allowing to his soldiery all the licence permitted by the cruel laws of war. Therefore he had but to lift his hand for adventurers from all countries to flock to his standards. The ruffians knew that they would be well fed and well led.

His great opponent, Gustavus Adolphus, was of a very different stamp. This Protestant hero, as described by contemporaries, was a typical Norseman (see page 3588). He was tall and full-bodied; and his



GUSTAVUS, CHAMPION OF PROTESTANTISM

It was in 1630 that Gustavus Adolphus intervened on behalf of Protestantism in the Thirty Years' War, and this allegorical picture in a contemporary pamphlet depicts him as the 'lion of the north' landing to attack the hydra-headed Papacy, and to come to the rescue of the Christian Church.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'

large and kindly blue eyes looked out from a pink and white face framed in yellow hair; men noted, too, his powerful hands, 'so that often he fought on foot with a mighty two-handed battle sword, and smote down the enemy.' He was friendly and easy in his address, mixing freely with all sorts and conditions of men, yet without ever compromising his dignity. He liked good living and a joke in season, 'but for all that,' as Pastor Minck reports approvingly, 'did not forget his Christian profession, but ever showed himself most devout both in the matter of private and public worship, as when, on first setting foot on German soil, he fell on his knees and offered a short but earnest prayer to God for his people, beseeching Him most instantly to stand by and help them in their good cause.'

The good cause was not wholly that of true religion. 'The King,' said his great chancellor, Oxenstierna, 'regarded Pomerania and the Baltic coast as the outworks of Sweden, and went to war in order to secure them.' He had already overrun Livonia and Prussia, still fiefs of the Polish crown, and was master of the whole Baltic coast east of Pomerania when Wallenstein's vision of imperial sea power in the north threatened the destruction of his plans. The help given



A DEVOUT WARRIOR

On June 26, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus set foot on German soil at Usedom in Pomerania, and his first act was to kneel and ask God's blessing on his enterprise—an impressive incident thus depicted in a contemporary print.

From Jäger, 'Weltgeschichte'

by him to Stralsund, and his subsequent negotiations with the other Hansa cities, wrecked the imperial designs on the Baltic; but it was not till September, 1629, that the good offices of Richelieu enabled him to conclude a truce with Poland and so to turn his undivided attention to the affairs of the Empire.

The decisiveness of his intervention was due to his personal character and a military genius developed by long experience of warfare. The army which he commanded at the outset (its character changed later) was no such motley host as followed the standards of a Mansfeld or a Wallenstein. It was manned by Swedes and, like Cromwell's invincible Ironsides later, by 'men of religion,' given to psalmody and preachings, and well disciplined. It was also organized on new lines, chiefly with a view to mobility: its cavalymen had dropped all their armour, save helmet and breast-plate; its infantrymen carried a musket lighter than the old arquebus; the cumbrous guns, which had needed some ten pairs of horses

to drag them, were replaced by a comparatively mobile field artillery. Hence the rapidity of movement by which Gustavus Adolphus was to astound and disconcert his opponents. The new tactics by which he worsted them in battle are described in the second section of this chapter.

The ghastly welter of the Thirty Years' War ended with the Peace of Westphalia. This peace was of epoch-making importance, not only by reason of the territorial and other settlements it effected, but because it opened a wholly new and very suggestive chapter in the history of diplomacy. Hitherto diplomacy had been wholly an affair of individual bargaining between state and state, conducted as often as not by mercenary agents with a single eye to their employers' interests. At Osnabrück and Münster, for the first time, the representatives of many states met together for a general purpose; the treaties concluded by them might be considered as in some sort a code of a new law of nations; and there were those who, as later the Abbé de St. Pierre in his



WAR-WEARY PRINCES SEEKING A WAY TO PEACE

It was not until 1645 that there were any serious conferences to find a way of ending the disastrous hostilities that were ravaging Europe. Above is an illustration from a pamphlet published in that year depicting, perhaps satirically, the pope presiding over a debate between an Evangelical and a Jesuit, with representatives of the various churches in attendance. Christ waits, with mutilated children at His feet and the avenging angel, brandishing pestilence and hunger, by His side.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'

Project of Perpetual Peace (1713), saw in it the beginning of the realization of the ideal of a great European commonwealth. The Congress of Westphalia, in short, began the process which, after many vicissitudes, has led to the establishment of the League of Nations.

The idea of a congress, suggested perhaps by the analogy of the general councils of the Church, had first been proposed by Pope Urban VIII, in 1635. But the idea ripened only very slowly. There were peace negotiations almost continuously from this time onward; but these took the form of efforts to detach one or other of the combatants from the ranks of the enemy; even after the idea of a congress had been accepted in principle these separate and secret intrigues continued. There were long debates, too,

as to the constitution of the congress and the scope of its powers. It was, for instance, only the utter breakdown of all external efforts to settle the affairs of the Empire that led to the fateful decision to submit these affairs to the congress and therefore to admit to it representatives not only of the emperor but of the estates. In short, the result of these debates, and of the hesitations caused by the vicissitudes of the war, was that the assembling of the conferences, which had been originally fixed for March 25, 1642, did not begin till July 1643, and that serious discussions only began in the spring of 1645.

Technically the work of the congress was to conclude peace between the emperor and his allies on the one side and the kings of France and Sweden and their



SOLEMN RATIFICATION OF PEACE BY THE DELEGATES AT MUENSTER

On October 24, 1648, peace between Spain and the Netherlands was finally concluded at Münster in Westphalia. The historic meeting was held in the *Friedenssaal* (peace chamber) in the fourteenth-century town hall. This picture by Gerard Terburg shows the Spanish ambassador taking the oath with his hand upon a copy of the Gospels on which a crucifix lies. The Netherlands minister stands by his side and on the left of the table is the commandant of Münster.

National Gallery, London

allies on the other. For these separate purposes the congress was divided into two conferences, the negotiations with France being carried on at Münster, those with Sweden at Osnabrück, it was at the latter only that the religious difficulties were discussed. The results of the prolonged discussions were ultimately embodied in two main treaties, concluded at Münster and Osnabrück respectively in 1648, the peace being regarded, however, as the work of a single congress.

Under the terms of the treaty of Osnabrück Sweden retained western Pomerania, with Stettin and the island of Rügen, and received the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, thus becoming a member of the Empire. She had thus gained the political object for which Gustavus Adolphus had entered the war. Under the treaty of Münster the king of

France retained the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun and received, in addition,

Breisach—on the right bank of the Rhine—and Upper and Lower Alsace, subject, however, to his respecting the liberties and 'immediacy' of the bishops of Strassburg and Basel and the other immediate estates of the Empire. The king accepted this limitation on condition that it did not interfere with his sovereign rights—a reservation which held the seeds of all the future trouble between Germany and France over the Alsace-Lorraine question; for it gave Louis XIV later a legal pretext for his policy of 'reunion,' the memory of which awoke bitter feelings in the Germans when at last they became a nation.

Two other subtractions from the Empire left no such feeling, since they merely legalised, implicitly or explicitly, conditions long established. The Swiss Confederation was now formally recognized as independent. The independence of the United Provinces, which had nominally formed the 'Burgundian Circle,' was recognized implicitly by their being treated as belonging to Spain, which came to separate terms with them.

As for the Holy Roman Empire, the result of the settlement was that it became—as Voltaire said a century later—'neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an

Empire.' Of the territorial readjustments within its limits the most fateful was the enlargement of Brandenburg, by the acquisition of the secularised sees of Halberstadt, Minden and Magdeburg, thus starting the process of expansion, under the Great Elector and his successors, which was to make Brandenburg-Prussia the dominant power in Germany.

The religious question was settled at Osnabrück in a manner which has left its permanent impress on Germany, where the geographical distribution of the rival

creeds has become stereotyped in a somewhat confusing fashion.

The treaty of Passau (1552) and the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) were now made fundamental laws of the Empire, but widened so as to include the Calvinists. This did not, however, imply the acceptance of the principle of toleration; for all other forms of religion were forbidden by the treaty.

The state of possession of Church property was fixed as from January 1, 1624, but it was agreed that if the occupant of such property changed his religion, his occupancy should cease ipso facto—a provision which stopped the spread of Protestantism by conversions in high places. Otherwise the principle that it was for the ruler of a territory to determine its religion was upheld, though the Lutherans and Calvinists agreed that, in the event of a ruler changing his religion, he was not to interfere with that established in his dominions at the time of the Peace, except in so far as his own court was concerned. In Roman Catholic territories the conditions obtaining in 1624 were to be perpetuated, which is why in certain places at this day as, for example, in Erfurt, some of the ancient churches are Protestant. In Hildesheim, where there was only one church, it was agreed that Catholics and Protestants were to share it, an arrangement which long continued in other parts of Germany also. This compromise was accepted by all the German estates, but rejected by the emperor Ferdinand III for his dominions. In the Hapsburg lands the exercise of the Protestant religion continued to be absolutely forbidden, except in certain parts

Principles of religious settlement

of Silesia, the city of Breslau, and among the nobility of Lower Austria

The religious peace was thus but an unsatisfactory compromise, and if it endured this was due in the main to a natural reaction against the fanatical spirit which had brought such untold misery into the world. For the pope, however, it was a serious blow, and Innocent X denounced it in the bull 'Zelo domus Dei,' issued on November 26, 1648. 'The zeal of the House of God had eaten him up,' and his language was strong. But nobody paid any attention.

From the point of view of German nationality, however, the most fateful outcome of the Peace of Westphalia was the virtual independence conferred on the estates of the Empire by the

recognition of their right to send representatives abroad and to enter into alliances with foreign powers. The Empire thus became no more than a loose confederation of sovereign states, in which the successor of the Caesars enjoyed but a shadowy pre-eminence. He bore, indeed, still the proud title of Augustus, interpreted in his German style as 'Augmenter of the Empire'; his ban had still some terrors for the weaker princes; he was still the fountain of honour, so that it was to him that the elector of Brandenburg had later to apply for his title of king of Prussia. In theory, too, his universal supremacy survived, so that political thinkers like Leibniz could suggest his becoming the centre of a new political unity. But when, in 1806,

Francis II finally resigned the style of Roman emperor, and elected to be known henceforth as Francis I, emperor of Austria, he was but acknowledging facts which had become obvious enough even before Napoleon set his heel on the neck of Germany. In the nineteenth century the impulse to German unity was to come, not from the old Empire—though the memory of it lingered—but from one of the new states which had arisen out of its ruins. At Osnabrück, in 1648, the process was begun which ended at Versailles, in 1871, with the proclamation of the king of Prussia as German emperor.

What were the effects of the Thirty Years' War on Germany and the German nation? The material effects are easier to imagine than to estimate, since there are no statistics to guide us. The figures now accepted by German historians, however, may be taken as reasonably accurate; and they are impressive enough. It is now calculated that the war killed off half the population of the country, that is to say, some eight million souls. Its



INNOCENT VICTIMS OF WAR

Seventeenth-century artists found an inexhaustible subject for illustration in the constant attacks made by reckless soldiery upon helpless villagers. Bottom: Jakob van der Heyden depicts the agonised prayer for peace of defenceless peasants as their homes are being ravaged. Top: Jacques Callot shows the raiders despoiling a wayside inn.

economic effect was most visible in the domain of agriculture, vast tracts of land went out of cultivation, and so remained for a generation or more after the war; indeed, its scars are still visible in Germany, where here and there the name of a village survives where no village is. And just as the peasants were the greatest sufferers during the war, so they suffered most from its after-effects, for the dues and feudal services, which were in no wise relaxed, fell upon their diminished numbers with redoubled weight, and they sank into a condition of virtual slavery. This, too, had its effect on the history of our own day; for the devotion of the peasantry of Alsace to France is due to the more tolerable conditions of their lives even under the old French monarchy and to their emancipation from the feudal burdens by the Revolution long before their fellows on the other side of the Rhine.

The effect of the war on the towns is more difficult to estimate. During the

war itself a profitable trade continued to be carried on by a few favourably situated cities:

Leipzig, the staple which governed the trade from central Germany, and Frankfurt, Bremen and Hamburg, which lay on the outskirts of the trouble. The two latter cities, indeed, managed to keep out of the war altogether, and Hamburg even made iniquitous profit out of it, for it was the supply of food and munitions by the Protestant merchants of Hamburg that enabled the imperialists to maintain the siege of Magdeburg. These and certain other towns—among them Magdeburg itself—recovered much of their prosperity after the war. In general, however, the numerous imperial free and Hansa cities, once busy centres of commercial and industrial life, sank into little more than sleepy country market towns.

But though this decline of the industrial life of Germany was doubtless hastened by the war, this was not its only nor even



COINERS AT WORK IN THEIR DEN

This engraving by Daniel Manassers sheds light on the depreciation of currency which went on during the Thirty Years' War by showing a company of false coiners at work. The amount of bad money in circulation was one of the principal causes and symptoms of the industrial decline throughout Europe.

its primary cause. The process had begun in the sixteenth century with the change in world conditions: the Turkish conquests, which had ruined the rich trade with the East by way of Venice and the Alpine passes, and the Portuguese and Spanish discoveries, which had transferred the great lines of sea traffic from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The geographical position of England and Holland, especially, now gave them an immense advantage over the Germans in the competition for the world's trade, and this advantage was ruthlessly exploited. By the end of the sixteenth century the Hanseatic League had all but succumbed, even in the Baltic, in the struggle with English and Scandinavian sea power. As a modern German historian puts it, England had become the heir of the Hansa. And while English were ousting German ships from the traffic by sea, English economic policy was helping to ruin German industry: it was Queen Elizabeth's prohibition of the export of wool that destroyed the fine cloth weaving which had been carried on, more especially, in Brandenburg, Lusatia and Saxony. Add to this the fall of Antwerp and the closing the mouths of the Rhine by the Dutch, which ruined the German cities dependent on this outlet for their trade, and it is clear that the war was not the main cause of the economic

decline of Germany. It merely hastened the process.

Yet the special legacy of the war was disastrous enough. The German people, their wits benumbed by so much misery, and condemned to live under social and political conditions which seemed to preclude any hope of national regeneration, fell into a mood of mental and moral lethargy, and into that habit of submission which was to provoke the bitter gibes of the poet Heine and survive even the enthusiasms of the War of Liberation. The thread of the national traditions had been snapped, and the literary revival of the eighteenth century (described in Chapter 150), which once more awakened the national consciousness, had to seek its inspiration abroad, in France and England. The result was pregnant with fate. The nation, once more conscious of itself, became conscious also of the contrast between its present weakness and its former strength, conscious of its self-distrust and its dependence on the foreigner, and conscious, above all, of the evil fate which had retarded its material

development and—as the historian Ger-vinus bitterly put it—condemned it to fiddle while the unmusical English were conquering the world.

This helps to explain the German attitude of mind which, before and during the Great War, so amazed the world. It was due to a reaction against the characteristics impressed on the nation by the Thirty Years' War and the two centuries of humiliation that followed. The reaction, moreover, was conscious—a deliberate effort, carefully fostered by every educational device, to change a deep-seated mental habit. It was therefore exaggerated, in its attempt to root out the old sense of inferiority by a loud assertion of the superiority of the German race. And if it was warlike, this too was not unnatural; for by war the German nation had been rescued from the degradation into which war had plunged it. Thus the defenestration of Prague was not only the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, it was the beginning of a whole cycle of events which led up, in a logical sequence of cause and effect, to the Great War of 1914-18.

II. THE MILITARY OPERATIONS

By Colonel J. F. C. Fuller D.S.O.

Author of Tanks in the Great War

THE Thirty Years' War was the Medean cauldron into which medieval Europe was plunged to be rejuvenated; and its effect on military tactics and organization was profound. Since, however, these cannot be correctly understood if divorced from their context, it will be necessary to include a certain amount of extraneous political considerations in the following account.

The opening of the war found the newly elected emperor Ferdinand in a difficult position, for he possessed few troops of his own, and he could not call upon Maximilian's army of the League (see page 3589) without promising to aggrandise Bavaria. The Empire was divided; Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary,

Austria, Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, all hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, were actuated by the reformed religion, and were terrified at the policy which, on his accession, he had proclaimed in the words, 'Better to rule over a desert than a country full of heretics.' Unable to raise troops in the hereditary dominions, he obtained them from Italy and Spain, and selected the generals Dampierre and Bucquoy to command them.

The Protestants were in an equally difficult position; they could not pay their soldiers, and the only coherent force then in the field was that of Count Mansfeld, who, having been out of employment since the war in Italy had terminated, entered the service of the Union. He was an illegitimate son of the emperor Rudolf II,



'THE ATTLA OF CHRISTENDOM'

Ernst, count von Mansfeld (c. 1580–1626), fought vigorously, though unsuccessfully, against Tilly. His campaigns were characterised by the worst features of mercenary warfare, his unpaid troops living on pillage and wasting the country.

Engraving by Crispin von Passe

with whom he had quarrelled, and his hatred of the Hapsburgs was intense.

The election of Frederick as king of Bohemia was a gross blunder on the part of the Union, for it caused Maximilian to let loose the army of the League, which consisted of 21,000 foot and 4,000 horse. He placed it under the command of Count Tilly, a Walloon general, and instructed him to invade Bohemia. Simultaneously a Spanish army, 20,000 strong, under Spinola, marched from the Netherlands and entered the Palatinate. Frederick's election, far from consolidating the Protestant leaders, disintegrated them, for, as he showed leanings towards Calvinism, the Union and the elector of Saxony abandoned him; this desertion left him with but one ally, namely, Bethlen Gabor, the semi-barbarian king of Hungary.

Count Tilly, having united his forces with those of Bucquoy, marched on Prague, near which city Frederick's followers, under Christian of Anhalt, took up a strong position on a hill called

the Weisenberg (White Hill). There, on November 18, 1620, Frederick, soon to be called the 'Winter King,' was decisively defeated. This battle was fought on a Sunday, and the gospel for the day contained the text: 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' It was prophetic of the inner meaning of the war about to devastate central Europe.

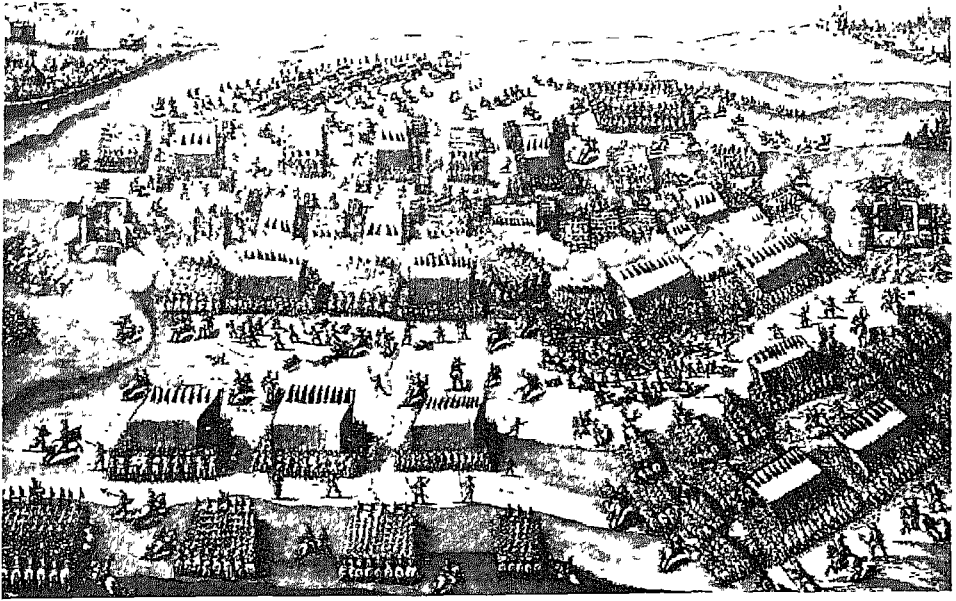
The battle was typical of the engagements of this period. Frederick's army consisted of some 10,000 to 12,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, half of which were unreliable Hungarian cavalry. The foot he drew up in eight squares, each with bastions of muskets. Four he placed in his front line, their right resting on the wall of a park, and their left on the wooded slope of the White Hill. In front of his position ran a swampy stream crossed by one bridge. Two squares he placed in the second line and two in the third, 5,000 cavalry being distributed between the intervals and 5,000 kept in rear. Tilly and Bucquoy, whose combined forces



A GREAT GENERAL

A great leader and fine strategist, the count of Tilly (1559–1632) commanded the troops of the Catholic League with signal success, until he was pitted against Gustavus Adolphus, by whom he was routed at Breitenfeld in 1631.

Painting by Van Dyck, Pinakothek, Munich



VICTORY OF THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE AT THE BATTLE OF THE WHITE HILL

This contemporary print shows the disposition of the opposing armies at the beginning of the battle of the White Hill, fought on Sunday, November 18, 1620—the first great battle of the Thirty Years' War. The Bohemian army rested with its left on the White Hill below Prague (seen at the extreme top right). Tilly's infantry, drawn up in squares checkerwise, with cavalry on the flanks and between, routed the Bohemian left front square, and then broke the remaining squares in detail.

From Gindely, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges.'

numbered 20,000 foot and 8,000 horse, formed ten bastioned squares checkerwise in three lines, with cavalry on the flanks and in the interspaces, and twenty guns in front. The crossing of the stream by the troops of the League met with no interference on the part of the duke of Anhalt.

The attack began about midday. The right League square, under its Spanish commander Verdugo, advanced with its bastions of musketeers 'three pike-lengths' ahead; then they fired a volley at 'four pikes' range (about twenty-five paces) and charged forward 'with heads down.' The



NOTABLE MILITARY FIGURES IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Ambrose Spinola (centre) invested the whole of his private fortune in the military service of Spain, maintaining a large force at his own expense. In the Thirty Years' War he commanded the Spanish troops in the Palatinate, but his most conspicuous triumph was the capture of Breda in 1625. Christian of Anhalt (right) commanded the Protestant army at the battle of the White Hill, his decisive defeat leading to the defection of Bethlen Gabor (left), the Hungarian king, from the Union.

Engravings, left, unsigned; centre, by Hendrik Hondius; right, by Lucas Ktlan

left square of the Bohemian army broke to the rear, whereupon Verdugo turned against the next square, protecting his rear and right flank by cavalry and the rear bastions of musketeers. The rest of the League army then advanced in échelon

and broke up the Bohemian squares one by one. But **Battle of the White Hill** for a cavalry charge headed by the son of Christian of

Anhalt, the troops in the second line did nothing to support the first, and were also destroyed. The battle was over in an hour, Prague was entered, and Frederick deposed.

This decisive defeat, followed by the defection of Bethlen Gabor and the approach of Spinola, broke up the Protestant Union, now terrified by the vision of an all-powerful Catholic emperor and a strengthened Bavaria. The war was virtually at an end, when James I recalled from Vienna his ambassador, Lord Digby, who, on his way home, while passing through the Upper Palatinate, induced Count Mansfeld to break off negotiations with Ferdinand. Frederick, on learning of this, disguised himself as a servant of Sir Francis Nethersole, one of King James's agents, and joined Mansfeld in the Palatinate. Here, after a skirmish with Tilly near Wiesloch, Mansfeld joined forces with the margrave of Baden and was followed up and defeated by Tilly near Wimpfen.

The Protestant cause was now in desperate straits, when the beauty of the deposed queen of Bohemia powerfully influenced matters. Christian of Halberstadt, who had recently joined the forces of Mansfeld, had been decisively beaten by Tilly at Höchst in July, 1622. This in no way discouraged him, for, falling madly in love with Elizabeth, he proclaimed himself her knight errant and champion, and began to preach a veritable crusade, while simultaneously he plundered the countryside. At Münster he seized the silver effigies of the twelve apostles and melted them down into rix-dollars, saying 'that they were idle and disobedient in not observing their Master's command to go and teach all nations.' On his helmet he attached a ribbon on which was embroidered 'Alles für Gott und Sie'—the 'Sie' being the fair Elizabeth! In

1623, whilst Mansfeld was in England recruiting a new army, Christian was again decisively beaten by Tilly at Stoltz; but though he lost battle after battle, nothing could damp his ardour for the cause of the dethroned princess.

Thus far, the armies of the League had been as well behaved as was to be expected in so tumultuous an age, but with the Protestant forces it was otherwise, and that 'wolf-strategy' which later characterised the war was rapidly taking form. Mansfeld and Christian could not pay their troops, therefore they had to live by plunder, and on account of their pillagings Mansfeld became known as 'the Attila of Christendom.' He was fearless and resourceful, and would lay waste whole districts in order to impede the advance of his enemies. Had it not been for him and Christian, the war might well have ended after Höchst, but the Dutch,



WIFE OF THE WINTER KING

Elizabeth, wife of the hapless Frederick V of Bohemia, was the eldest daughter of James I of England. Fired by her beauty, which this painting by Derick reveals, Christian of Halberstadt vigorously championed her cause.

Hampton Court Palace

hard pressed at Bergen-op-Zoom by Spinola, asked these two to relieve the city. This they did, and then marched into the rich country of Friesland, where a threat of a visitation caused the princes of the Lower Saxon Circle to join them.

While Tilly was everywhere victorious, a new complication arose in the form of a quarrel between England and Spain. England then went into alliance with France, and soon after was joined by the United Provinces and Denmark. From now onwards, to the end of 1648, 'the decision of German quarrels lay in the hands of foreign powers, and for two centuries after the treaty of Westphalia the evil tradition was faithfully followed.'

In concert with France, James I re-equipped Mansfeld, but in 1625 his army perished of fever and ill-discipline in the Low Countries. France was paralysed by

a Huguenot rising, and the Netherlands were still at grips with Spain, consequently the only member of the Alliance free to intervene in Germany was Christian IV of Denmark. Desirous of extending his power while Sweden was still at war with Poland, he accepted the offer of the Lower Saxon Circle to champion the Protestant cause; money was to be provided by England. In the spring of 1625, Tilly advanced to meet him. He had with him the army of the League, but in strength he considered it insufficient, so he asked the emperor for more troops. Ferdinand had neither money nor men, his small army being occupied in Hungary, fighting Bethlen Gabor. In his perplexity he turned to Wallenstein, duke of Friedland. Wallenstein at once proposed to raise troops at his own expense, and having in a remarkably short time equipped 20,000

men, in September, 1625, he outmarched the king of Denmark, and united his forces with those of Tilly at Lauenstein in Hanover.

Christian IV, having now been joined by Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt, had at his disposal some 60,000 troops. His plan was to oppose Tilly in person; Christian of Brunswick was to enter Westphalia; Duke John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar was to operate against Wallenstein in Saxony, and Mansfeld was to join Bethlen Gabor and threaten Vienna. Though this extensive dispersion of force was unsound, it was probably dictated by the difficulty of maintaining so large an army by plunder. The first move was made by Mansfeld who, in April, 1626, attacked Wallenstein at the bridge of Dessau and was beaten. Withdrawing the remnants of his army he advanced into Silesia to join Bethlen Gabor, but Wallenstein followed him closely and forced Gabor to come to terms with the emperor. Towards the close of



CHRISTIAN IV OF DENMARK

This engraving by Hondius of a portrait from life by the Dutch painter Rombouts gives an impressive idea of King Christian IV of Denmark, whose defeat by Tilly at Lutter-am-Barenberge in 1626 virtually ended armed opposition to Tilly and Wallenstein until the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus.

British Museum

the year Mansfeld fell ill; and as he felt his end approaching he ordered his servant to dress him in full armour and hold him upright. Thus he died, standing erect, and a little time after died his companion, Christian of Halberstadt. Christian IV next launched an offensive against Tilly, and forced him to fall back.

Reinforced by part of Wallenstein's army, Tilly advanced against him and defeated him at Lutter-am-Barenberge in Brunswick, in which battle the Danish infantry were totally destroyed. Wallenstein now joined him, and the whole of Slesvig-Holstein was overrun.

The defeat of Christian IV at Lutter had a profound effect on Europe. Spain might now gain a port in the Baltic if the emperor would only cede Lübeck to her. Lübeck, head of the Hanseatic League, turned to Sweden, and her perturbation was not unjustified; for, in 1628, a pamphlet was written by a Jesuit in Prague in which was laid down 'that the time for absolutism was come; that the first thing to be done was to destroy the freedom of the Hanseatic cities of the North; the free cities of the interior would soon follow.'

Wallenstein realized full well the importance of the Baltic; he already saw an approaching danger to the Empire in

the person of Gustavus Adolphus, and Wallenstein makes peace with Denmark consequently he was anxious to conclude peace with Denmark, which was accomplished at Lübeck in May, 1629; the terms of the agreement being very favourable to the Danes. In reward, the emperor gave him Mecklenburg. Free of Christian IV, Wallenstein now systematically overran Mecklenburg and Pomerania, seizing port after port so that he might gain command of the Baltic. His dream was a united Germany, free in conscience and



STRALSUND AS WALLENSTEIN KNEW IT

Wallenstein's dream of a united Germany involved the occupation of the seaports. Stralsund, a Hansa town on the Pomeranian coast, refused to admit him, and after standing siege from February to August, 1628, compelled him to retire; a landmark in German history. M. Merian engraved this plan for the *Theatrum Europaeum*.

British Museum

obedient to the emperor. This aim terrified the bishops and princes of the League, who saw in it the aggrandisement of the emperor at their expense.

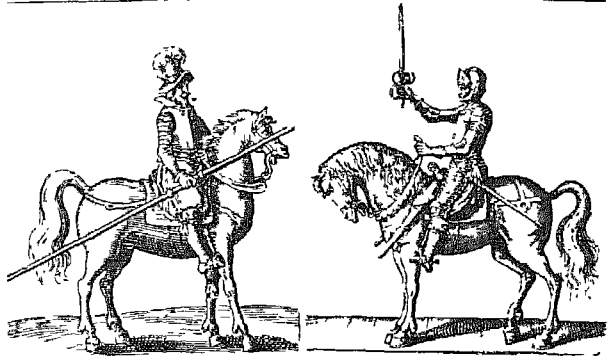
Nevertheless Wallenstein was firm in his purpose. He spread his forces along the coast, 'for his united Germany could never be more than a dream until the possibility of Danish and Swedish invasions was removed.' Stralsund refused to admit his soldiers, so he laid siege to the fortress in February, 1628. This small city was one of the Hanseatic ports, and was under the feeble protection of the duke of Pomerania. Wallenstein swore to take it in three nights, 'though it should be chained to heaven'; but, as Monro writes, 'forgetting to take God on his side' he was to be disappointed. In July the garrison was reinforced by Gustavus Adolphus, and the siege was abandoned in the following month.

Though Wallenstein upheld the principle of freedom of thought, in 1629 the emperor committed the egregious folly of publishing his 'Edict of Restitution' by which a hundred and fifty of the northern Protestant holdings were given back to the Catholic church. The Protestants were now convinced that in Germany one ruler meant one religion,

and as Richelieu writes in his Memoirs, 'all these insulted and pillaged princes looked towards the king of Sweden as sailors look to the north.' Richelieu, the clearest-sighted man of his age, realized the gigantic stride which had been made towards the establishment of a universal dominion, and he resolved to smash this new terror to France. Nor was he alone in his anxiety, for the duke of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony, and others, as well as the pope, did not want an all-powerful Empire, so they compelled Ferdinand to assemble the Diet at Ratisbon, at which they persuaded him to dismiss Wallenstein, the instrument of his aggrandisement. These electors were backed by Father Joseph and the papal nuncio, and when the emperor found that he had been outwitted he exclaimed:

A rascally Capuchin has disarmed me with his rosary, and contrived to cram into his narrow cowl six electoral bonnets.

Wallenstein accepted his dismissal without comment, for he saw clearly that the approaching advent of Gustavus would



CAVALRY THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

These two pictures showing the equipment of mounted troops in the seventeenth century, taken from a work published at Frankfurt-on-Main in 1610, show a lancer (left) and a cuirassier (right). Further information about the armour and weapons of this period, with illustrations, are contained in Chapter II.

From Wollhausen, 'Kriegskunst zu Pferde'

necessitate his recall, and that then he would find a wider scope for his ambitions.

Before examining the strategical movements of the next period of the war, which culminated in the battle of Breitenfeld, it is necessary to outline the nature of the tactics and military organization of the years 1618-1648.

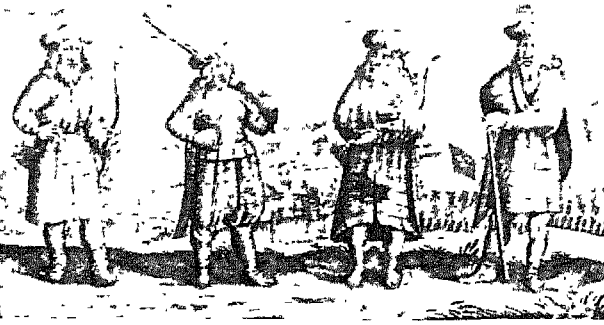
From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards most nations had copied in part, or in whole, the military organization of Spain, and a fair example of a 'Spanish



CUMBERSOME FIREARMS OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

These are three of numerous figures drawn to illustrate a hand-book of firearms and other weapons published in 1609. They show, from left to right, a musketeer putting the charge of powder into the muzzle of his arquebus, marching with the match lighted and with the fork on which to rest the firearm when taking aim in his right hand, and priming the match-lock. These are only three of at least twelve complicated processes in the discharge of early firearms.

From 'Waffenhandlung nach der Ordnung des Moritz, Prinzen zu Oranien'



IRISHMEN IN CONTINENTAL SERVICE

Owing to the universal employment of mercenaries, seventeenth-century armies were of a most cosmopolitan nature. This German broadside, published in 1641, shows types of Irish soldiers employed by Gustavus Adolphus. It is to be noted that some of them were still armed with bow and arrow.

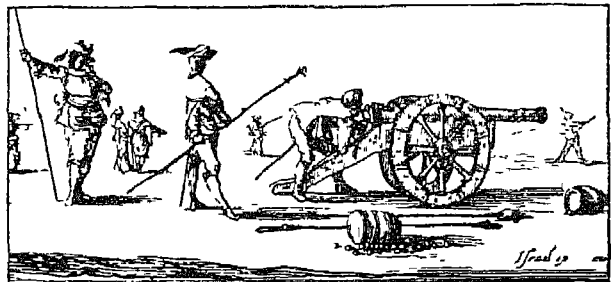
British Museum

battle' is that of the White Hill which has already been examined. Large squares of pikemen, copied from the Swiss, who in their turn derived the formation from the ancient Greeks, formed the basis of tactical organization. Pikemen were ranged ten, twelve and sometimes fifty deep, the musketeers being looked upon as entirely subsidiary. The main tactical idea was that of shock (weight); the musketeers protected the pikemen and disorganized the enemy's squares; the pikemen charged and broke them up, then the cavalry followed and rode down the disintegrating units, and a general slaughter of the defeated army followed. Armies moved slowly, and sieges were the tactical vice of the period.

With Gustavus Adolphus an entirely new military dispensation took form. Though not the first, he was one of the first to realize the true powers of the musket and the cannon. He replaced the slow movements and heavy battalions of Spain by rapid marches and organized groups of men of all arms. The Swedish character had been recreated by the Reformation, consequently he based his military discipline on religion, for in faith he saw the foundations of the highest courage. As one writer says, 'dashing courage was precisely

what was wanted in an age of Spanish captains.' Being king and commander-in-chief gave him a great advantage over his rivals, nevertheless his main superiority lay in daring to change methods which had become traditional. In his famous Articles of War he writes: 'The exactness of ancient discipline has almost been forgotten among the troops'—and by discipline he means tactical flexibility; so in place of going back to the Greek phalanx he made the Roman legion his model. He based his organization on movement rather than on mass.

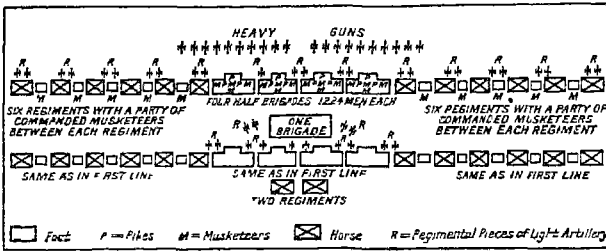
He prohibited duelling and punished by death outrages on women and irregular pillaging. The higher grades of his officers he promoted by merit and the lower by seniority. Having instilled discipline and moral he introduced an astonishing number of improvements in weapons, equipment and organization. He reduced infantry regiments from 2,000-3,000 to 1,008 men, of whom 576 were musketeers and 432 pikemen, and each regiment he divided into eight companies. He lightened the musket and replaced the rest by a 'hog's-bristle,' a spiked support which could also be used as an obstacle to break up charging cavalry. He introduced the cartridge and so rendered fire more rapid. Though he kept his pikemen armoured, he removed all armour except the helmet



EARLY FIELD ARTILLERY IN ACTION

Gustavus Adolphus was the first general to make effective use of field artillery, owing rather to the handiness of his field pieces than to their power. In his Polish wars he used light leather guns, but in the Thirty Years' War these were replaced by iron four-pounders distributed amongst the infantry units.

Etching by Stefano della Bella



GUSTAVUS' BATTLE ARRAY AT BREITENFELD

This diagram shows Gustavus Adolphus's disposition of his troops at the battle of Breitenfeld, in 1631. Heavy artillery in front opened the battle, and behind them infantry were ranged in two lines with four half-brigades of foot in the centre and six regiments of horse on both flanks.

From Fletcher, 'Gustavus Adolphus'

from his musketeers. He reduced the length of the pike from 15-18 to 11 feet.

The cavalry regiments he organized in eight troops of from 56 to 72 men each; he replaced skirmishing with the pistol by the true charge in line, boot to boot. His cavalry consisted of cuirassiers and dragoons; the former were partially armoured and carried a long sword and two wheel-lock pistols; they charged three deep and at a hand gallop. The dragoons were armed with a musket, sword and axe. The Swedish artillery he completely remodelled, and reduced the various types of guns. This greatly facilitated ammunition supply. Light leather field guns were introduced in 1628, but a year or two later were replaced by light, four-pounder battalion pieces of iron. He established field hospitals, made extensive use of spies, and never shunned winter fighting.

His tactics were based on the principles of security, surprise, mobility and offensive action. He always fortified a position, even for a night, so that his enemy could not compel him to fight in the open if he did not wish to. He carried out manoeuvres which others considered impracticable, and generally advanced or retired with great speed. His tactics of attack were normally after the following plan. The infantry was drawn up six deep, or in small columns, in two lines at 300 paces distance. The cavalry was marshalled on the flanks of these lines; and small parties of cavalry and musketeers were disposed in rear of the battalions; a strong reserve of men was held in hand behind the first and second lines, the

artillery being posted in front of or between the regiments. The first section of the cavalry was designed to clear the ground of hostile skirmishers. This was followed by a general discharge of artillery, under the cover of the smoke of which the cavalry on the wings charged the hostile guns. If this charge proved successful they turned them on the enemy, and a general infantry advance was made.

As a tactician his genius lay in grasping the nature of the

changes introduced by gunpowder, and in combining the powers of his various weapons, so that each made good the deficits in the other. After his death his art endured for a while under such able leaders as Banér and Torstensen, then it became rigid until Carnot and others revitalised and developed it during the French Revolution.

Besides the Spanish and Swedish methods of war there was also the system of the condottieri which, sinking into partisan warfare, made

the Thirty Years' War such a blot on military history. Mercenaries served only for pay or plunder, and if those who hired their services could not pay them, then either pillage or desertions followed. Mercenary prisoners were looked upon as reinforcements. 'We have so many prisoners,' said one general, 'that we shall not only be able to fill up the gaps in our old regiments, but even to create new ones.' During this period a German proverb ran: 'He whose house is burnt must become a soldier.' Another saying was: 'He that hath no sword, let him sell his garments and buy one.'

Evils of the Mercenary System

As the war proceeded, to the strife of organized armies was added the horrors of a war of starving brigands, who slew and robbed friend and foe, Catholic or Protestant. Cannibalism became rife, and even cemeteries were dug up for food. It was a curious and degraded decline. The feudal barons of the Middle Ages gave way to the military adventurers of the sixteenth century; these evolved into the mercenary leaders of the Thirty Years' War, whose

troops, in their turn, frayed away into bands of brigands and footpads. Yet in spite of this tactical degradation the art of Gustavus survived, and even to-day it still forms the foundations of warfare.

The Peace of Lubeck and the Diet of Ratisbon introduced a new problem, namely, that of the balance of power between European nations which, from now onwards, began to grip the entire strategy of the war. It was not until this happened, and the war had become, as Geijer observes, 'the common concern of Europe and mankind,' that Gustavus determined to invade the Empire.

Whilst Wallenstein was overrunning Holstein and Mecklenburg, Gustavus was attempting to shake himself free of his war in Poland, so that he might be ready to take part in the greater struggle which he saw rapidly approaching. In 1628 he had already prepared the State Council of Sweden for his adventure. The following year he crippled the Poles and clinched an alliance with Denmark. In 1630 Richelieu, having brought about a truce between Sweden and Poland, urged the king to invade Germany, and the next year, La

Rochelle having been captured, the cardinal was free to negotiate with Sweden. The terms were that Gustavus should maintain 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse in Germany, and that France and Venice were to pay 1,400,000 livres for their upkeep.

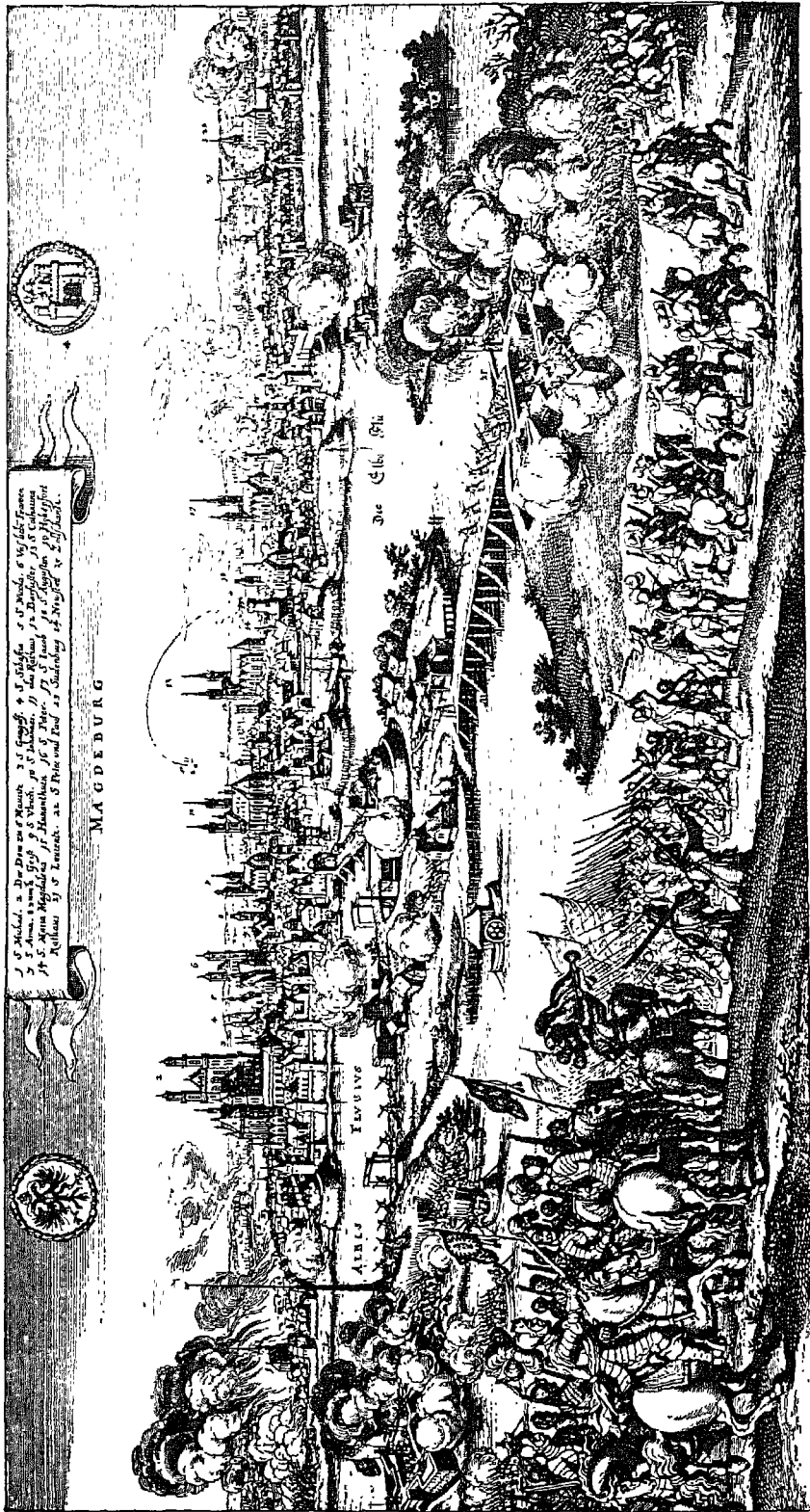
Gustavus saw full well that if he did not carry war overseas Sweden would eventually be invaded. The moment was also a propitious one, since Austria had detached troops to Italy, and was sending an army to assist Spain in the Netherlands. His main object was to establish a Swedish bastion on the south of the Baltic, so that Swedish command of this inland sea might be maintained. On June 24, 1630, just one hundred years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, he landed his army at Usedom in Pomerania and at once set to work to establish a strong base of operations, to gain the hegemony of the Baltic, and to win over the more important Protestant princes, for without their support he could not securely advance into Germany. By the end of February, 1631, he had captured eighty cities and strongholds in Pomerania and Mecklenburg; but he could not obtain permission



PERILS OF TRAVEL ON THE BRIGAND-INFESTED HIGHWAY

This is another of Callot's engravings; the signature in the corner is that of the publisher, Israel. Mercenary troops, if unpaid, deserted wholesale and resorted to simple brigandage, robbing and killing anyone who crossed their path. An attack on a wagon by a gang of such desperadoes is the subject of this picture. As time went on the gangs dispersed but individual footpads remained, and long after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War travel on the Continent was dangerous.

From Callot 'Les miseres et les mal heurs de la guerre,' 1633



EVE OF THE CRUISING HORROR OF AN AGE OF ATROCITIES : TILLY BESIEG G MAGDEBURG

No city suffered more appalling disaster for its Protestant sympathies in the Thirty Years' War than did Magdeburg, capital of Saxony and a flourishing commercial town. It successfully withstood a seven months' siege by Wallenstein in 1629, but fell before the attack of Tilly in May, 1631. This engraving shows Tilly's troops besieging the city which he afterwards sacked and practically burnt to the ground. The cathedral, however, escaped the holocaust. Twenty thousand inhabitants, regardless of age or sex, were mercilessly butchered, and the orgy of cruelty which was carried on for five days shocked Europe.

Engraving by Matthew Merian in the 'Theatrum Europaeum'.

from the elector John George for the passage of his troops through Saxony. Tilly, who had concentrated his forces at Frankfurt on the Oder, destroyed a Swedish garrison at New Brandenburg, then, in April, he appeared before Magdeburg and laid siege to the city.

To relieve Magdeburg it was necessary for Gustavus to obtain free passage through Küstrin, or Wittenberg, or Dessau, but the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony refused it. Further it was clear to Gustavus that, should he force these passages, the two electors might possibly turn against him, and cut him off from his base. To draw Tilly from Magdeburg, Gustavus marched on Frankfurt, but Tilly was not to be balked of his prey, and on May 10 the city was stormed.

From Magdeburg Tilly turned on Hesse-Cassel whose ruler had declared for Gustavus. Near Halle, on July 10, 1631,

he attacked the king's camp and was severely repulsed. Then he invaded Saxony and so terrified the pusillanimous John George that this elector placed the whole of his forces and resources at the disposal of Gustavus, who, in August, moved with 27,000 men on Leipzig, crossing the Elbe at Wittenberg on September 4. At Leipzig he came up with Tilly, and, on September 7, on the same ground which witnessed Napoleon's defeat in 1813, was fought the epoch-making battle of Breitenfeld.

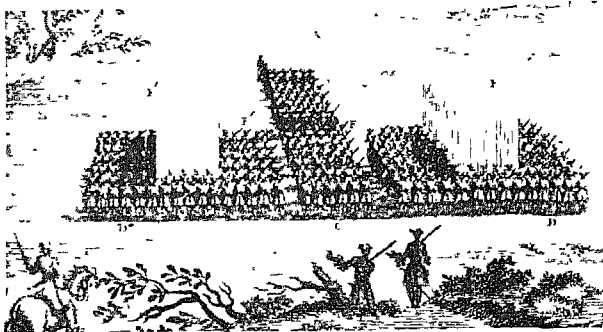
Count Tilly was now seventy years old, and his repulse at Halle had made him somewhat cautious. At first he was for refusing battle, but the younger leaders among the imperialists, and especially Pappenheim, were opposed to such action, and their opinion carried the day. Tilly thereupon drew up his army, 32,000 strong, in one or two lines (the exact



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS' GREAT VICTORY AT BREITENFELD

This contemporary German engraving shows Gustavus Adolphus between two of his leading officers watching the progress of the battle of Breitenfeld. The Swedish army is on the right of the picture drawn up in the formation shown in page 3644. In the centre the artillery bombardment is proceeding and on the left Tilly's cavalry are making a charge. The Swedish casualties numbered about 6,000, the imperialist about 10,000; and Tilly's army lost all its guns and was virtually destroyed.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'



COLUMN FORMATION OF SWEDISH TROOPS

To combine shock, fire and mobility Gustavus Adolphus formed his columns as shown here. Three battalions, A, B and C, were flanked by D and D', the leading company of pikes, A, is flanked by file of musketeers, F and F', who in turn are protected by the file of B. Company C is in reserve.

From Folard, 'Histoire de Polybe'

disposition is not known) of bastioned squares. He placed his cavalry on the wings; the right being under Pappenheim and the left under Fürstenberg. His intention was to outflank the Swedes and Saxons as his line of battle was the longer. In the centre he took up his position in the midst of his old-fashioned heavy armed Walloon troops. His heavy artillery he posted between his right wing and centre, and his light artillery in front of his centre. Facing his right were the Saxons under Arnim and John George, and on their right was the Swedish army ranged as shown in page 3644.

Facing the veteran Walloon squares, standing 'like little castles with bulwarks at each corner,' Gustavus ranged his infantry in brigades and half brigades. The musketeers, covered by the pikemen, could file out, deliver their volley and retire at ease. Instead of resembling an immovable square castle, each brigade, as one old writer says, 'was like a little movable fortress with its curtains and ravelins, and each part was able to come to the assistance of the other.'

The battle was opened by an artillery bombardment, the Swedish guns firing three shots to the imperialists' one. Pappenheim's cavalry were so galled by the fire that, without waiting for orders, he charged forward, whereupon Tilly exclaimed: 'The fellows have robbed me of my honour and glory and the Emperor of his empire and his people.' Raked by

volleys of musketry, and charged in front by Johan Banér, Pappenheim's cavalry was broken and driven towards Halle. To extricate his disobedient subordinate, Tilly advanced one of his squares, which was promptly cut to pieces. Simultaneously Fürstenberg charged the Saxons, who were in a short time completely routed. The whole of the imperialist centre then advanced and attempted to take Horn's left wing in flank. Horn at once countered by changing front and, reinforced by the brigades of the second line, he held his ground until

Gustavus was able to collect his victorious right wing and charge Tilly's centre in rear. A desperate struggle now followed, in which some 7,000 to 10,000 imperialists were slain. Tilly, wounded in three places, cut his way out at the head of 600 Walloons. He lost all his artillery and 106 standards.

The battle of Breitenfeld was not only decisive but epoch-making. In it was clearly demonstrated the superiority of mobility over weight of numbers, and further, though 'Germany might tear herself and be torn to pieces for yet another half-generation. . . the actual result of the Thirty Years' War was as good as achieved.'

Importance of
Breitenfeld

The battle won, Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, urged Gustavus to march on Vienna, and had he done so the result would in all probability have been an unconditional peace. But the king saw quite clearly that such a peace could lead to no solid security. His supreme object was to consolidate the Protestant states under himself as a counter-force to the emperor, and not merely to bring the war to a temporary conclusion. Without this counter-force there could be no permanent peace. In place of marching on Vienna, Gustavus led his army towards the river Main, so that by holding this central line of communications he might control the surrounding country, and when Nuremberg wished to remain neutral he proclaimed

that on no account would he tolerate neutrality amongst Protestants. This utterance alone epitomises the policy which governed his strategy.

In October and November, Würzburg and Rothenburg surrendered to Gustavus, and Tilly, now recovered from his wounds and at the head of a fresh army, marched on Nuremberg in order to draw the Swedes from the Rhine, which he was successful in doing. On April 5, 1632, Tilly opposed Gustavus on the river Lech, was driven back and mortally wounded.

The death of Tilly left Gustavus unopposed by any general of note. This so perturbed Richelieu, who was afraid that the supremacy of Austria was about to be replaced by that of Sweden, that he exclaimed: 'Means must be devised to check this impetuous Visigoth, since his successes will be as fatal to France as to the Emperor.' The French envoy who visited Gustavus was told by the king that he feared France no more than Austria. Ferdinand was inclined towards peace, but the king's terms were the revocation of the Edict of Restitution, and freedom of religion throughout the Empire. Such a surrender of principles the emperor could not accept, so the war continued.

The battle of Breitenfeld, the death of Tilly, and the formation by Gustavus in South Germany of a strong Protestant Union, known as the 'Corpus Evangelicorum,' compelled Ferdinand to turn to Wallenstein and seek his help. This

general, shortly after the battle of Breitenfeld, had offered his services to Gustavus, but they were refused. He determined now to assist his old master, but only on his own terms. He demanded that he should be generalissimo not only of the emperor but of the whole house of Austria and the Spanish crown; that the emperor was not to be present with the army or assume command of it; that he, Wallenstein, was to receive an hereditary province of Austria, and the seignory of all the states he might conquer; and that the emperor's pardon was not to be valid without his confirmation.

Ferdinand reluctantly agreed and, in all but name, Wallenstein became dictator. In a remarkably short time he organized

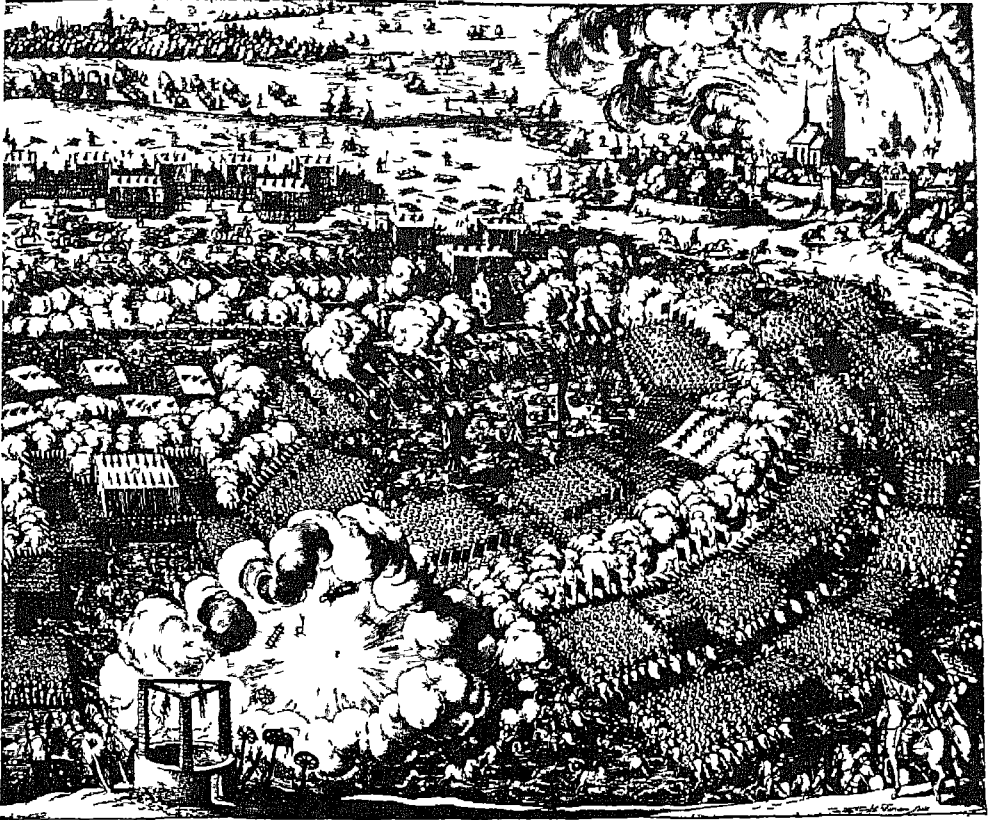
his army, and marched on Prague, which capitulated to him on May 14, 1632. Next, having driven the Saxons out of Bohemia, he marched on Augsburg, which had been taken by Gustavus. At this juncture the king of Denmark, fearing the increasing power of Sweden, offered to mediate between Gustavus and the Empire. Richelieu, in his turn, interceded on behalf of Maximilian, but the king refused to listen to any terms until the Protestant states were secured against a counter-reformation. This action again shows clearly the political object which controlled his strategy.

From Augsburg, Gustavus marched on Ingolstadt, and Wallenstein on Passau. From Ingolstadt the king advanced on Munich and received 30,000 dollars for the ransom of the city, and thus restored the finances

of his army. Hearing that the Saxons had been driven out of Bohemia, in June he moved on Nuremberg, at which city he soon found himself confronted by Wallenstein. The Czech, realizing the danger of a battle with Gustavus, determined on a campaign of famine, so he entrenched himself a few miles from the city. For six weeks no action took place, both armies losing thousands through sickness, 'no enemy,' as the Swedish Intelligencer says, 'being so horrible to brave spirits, or so weakening to able bodies, as the long lying in one place, and the ordinary diseases of a winter leaguer.'

Driven to extremities, Gustavus assaulted Wallenstein's camp, and was repulsed; thereupon he abandoned Nuremberg and marched towards Saxony, Wallenstein proceeding to Leipzig, near which city on November 16, 1632, the great battle of Lützen was fought.

Both armies had suffered enormous losses at Nuremberg, Gustavus losing 20,000 men and Wallenstein no fewer than 36,000 men. The armies which now faced each other were comparatively small. Gustavus had about 18,000 men and Wallenstein 25,000. Pappenheim at the head of 8,000 was at the time away, but was at once recalled to join the imperial army. Wallenstein formed his foot into five bastioned squares, four in a lozenge



—WHERE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS DIED A SOLDIER'S DEATH

The key in the opposite page has been deduced from the engraving itself. After a preliminary artillery bombardment three Swedish brigades crossed the ditch lining the Leipzig road supported by part of the cavalry on the right wing under Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar commanding Gustavus' left also attacked with cavalry and infantry, but was repulsed. Shortly after this Gustavus was mortally wounded and Bernard, leading forward the whole army, then routed the imperial host.

Gustavus, at the head of the Smaland regiment of cavalry, rode forward with the infantry into the fog. He was at once struck by a pistol shot in the arm and by a musket-ball in the back, and rolled half-fainting from his horse. In a moment he was surrounded by imperialist cuirassiers, one of whom asked him his name. Whereupon he answered, 'I am the king of Sweden, who do seal the Religion and Liberty of the German nation with my blood.' Hearing which the imperialists drove their swords through his body.

The king now dead, General Kniphausen rode up to Duke Bernard and suggested a withdrawal. 'Retreat!' cried the duke. 'The time for that is past. It is vengeance now!' Merging the second line with the first, he led the whole Swedish army forward, now maddened by the king's death, and retook Wallenstein's

guns, while Torstensen's artillery plied the great squares with deadly effect. As night began to fall, Pappenheim's main force of infantry arrived but before the battalions could deploy they were swept away in the rout of the imperial army. The king's death was avenged, and some 10,000 men lay dead and dying on the field. 'If his soul,' it was remarked, 'like those of his Norse ancestors, could rejoice in the multitude of the slain, it would have goodly company on its road to Valhalla.'

The death of Gustavus Adolphus definitely changed the character of the war. From a religious contest it became outwardly a gladiatorial encounter, the prize being the aggrandisement of individual generals, inwardly it became a struggle between France and Spain for the hegemony of Europe. Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, succeeded to the

command of the Swedes, and the Protestants, to strengthen their organization, in 1633 formed a new combination known as The League of Heilbronn. This League sought the aid of France, and from now onwards Richelieu's policy was to support all electors, whether Catholics or Protestants, against the emperor, for if Ferdinand could be coerced, Spain would be left single-handed for France to deal with. Wallenstein wanted peace, but the emperor, determining on continuing the war in alliance with Spain, for the second time dismissed him, and was party to his murder



PROTESTANT ELECTOR

John George I (1585-1656), elector of Saxony, was a Lutheran by faith, and joined Gustavus Adolphus in 1631. In 1635 his negotiations with Ferdinand II culminated in the peace of Prague.

Engraving by de Passe

at Eger in 1634. With Wallenstein died all possibility of unity, Protestant or Catholic; and, as one writer says, 'for the next fourteen years Germany was simply the battle-ground of French, Spanish, Austrian and Swedish armies, which having learned the impunity and advantages of plunder in the school of Mansfeld and Wallenstein, reduced the country to a state of misery that no historian has been able to describe.'

Wallenstein dead, Matthias von Gallas, whom a French historian has called 'the general pre-eminent among all others for his ability to lose an army,' was ap-

pointed in his place. Retaking Regensburg and Donauwörth he was joined by 15,000 Spaniards under the Cardinal Infante. In September these two generals entrenched themselves at Nördlingen, and were attacked by Bernard, who was defeated with a loss of no fewer than 17,000 men. This disaster was largely due to his lack of a reserve and the over-wide separation between his attacking columns. At Nördlingen the model army of Gustavus Adolphus perished, and its followers soon degenerated into purely mercenary soldiers in French pay. This battle was disastrous to the Protestant cause, for in May, 1635, John George of Saxony came to terms with the emperor and signed the Peace of Prague.

The war which was now to be waged between France and Spain found its centre of gravity in the Rhine valley, as this river formed a connecting link between the Spanish possessions in Italy and those in the Netherlands. War having been declared on Spain, Richelieu directed the strategy of the war with a skill transcending anything as yet accomplished by the greatest generals of the period. His problem was to isolate the Spanish Netherlands so that he might concentrate



CATHOLIC CAVALRY GENERAL

Johann count von Werth (c. 1595-1652) won wide repute for his genius as a commander of cavalry. He was conspicuous for his services in the great victory of Nördlingen in 1634.

Engraving by Paul Fürst, 1637

a superior force in those regions. He assembled an army in Upper Alsace to attack the Spaniards in Franche Comté, and with another he occupied Lorraine. Henri de Rohan he sent to the Valtelline and the Milanese, while Bernard was to operate along the Rhine and the Main. Thus having severed the Netherlands from Italy, he sent 30,000 men to join Frederick Henry of Orange in order to crush the Cardinal Infante. Captain C. F. Atkinson passes this judgement on his achievement :

This was strategy on a scale hitherto unknown in war. Tilly, Wallenstein and Gustavus had made war in the midst of political and religious troubles that hung over a confused country. They had therefore made war as they could, not as they wished. Richelieu had unified France under the single authority of the king, and his strategy, like his policy, was masterful and clear.

Yet in spite of this, and in spite of the fact that in 1636 the army of France numbered 200,000 men, means were insufficient to crush the Spanish in Italy and the Netherlands. Richelieu's mistake was that he attempted too much.

While Richelieu was extending his net, John George, reinforced by an imperialist army 30,000 strong, attacked 22,000 Swedes under Banér at Wittstock. He attempted simultaneously a frontal and rear attack ; but Banér, gauging his intentions, rapidly entrenched his front, and then threw the bulk of his army on to the enveloping columns, inflicting 19,000 casualties on the combined Saxon and imperial forces. This brilliant victory reconsolidated the Protestant princes, who had lost heart after Bernard's defeat at Nördlingen. Meanwhile, the Cardinal Infante, freed by a retreat of the Dutch, was joined by a fresh army under Johann of Werth, the most renowned cavalry general of his age. These two generals

invaded France, captured Corbie and advanced to Compiègne. Though Paris was thrown into a panic, the Cardinal Infante missed his opportunity, for he hesitated to push on to the capital, fearing that the Dutch might invade Belgium.

In 1637, the French gained no marked advantage over the Spaniards in Italy, and in the following year their efforts were unsuccessful and peace negotiations were discussed. The war now degenerated into a series of operations in which victory went now to one side now to the other, and which were mutually destructive to France and Spain, and devastating to Germany. In 1639, Bernard, who had become a thorn in Richelieu's side, died suddenly; he was probably poisoned at the cardinal's instigation. He was succeeded by Banér, and later by Torstensen, Gustavus's great artillery commander. This general, though crippled by rheumatism, showed the

most astonishing activity, and, as Schiller says of him, 'his enterprises had wings though his body was held by the most frightful fetters.'

In November he defeated the imperialists under Piccolomini in the second battle of Breitenfeld with enormous loss, and in the following year, in fifteen or sixteen days, he marched from the Oder to the Trave, a distance of 500 miles. Later on, in 1645, he defeated the imperialists at the battle of Jankau in which 4,000 were left dead on the field. Shortly afterwards he relinquished his command, having earned among his troops, from the rapidity of his movements, the nickname of 'Blixten,' the Swedish for 'lightning.'

Before the next campaign opened, in 1642, Louis XIII of France and Richelieu were dead, and the last lap of the war was



LEADER OF ARTILLERY

Although handicapped by ill health, Count Lennart Torstensen (1603-51) rendered distinguished service to the Swedish cause in the Thirty Years' War. He led the artillery at Breitenfeld.

After a painting by David Beck

The victories
of Torstensen

entered. The young duc d'Enghien took command of the northern French army. Learning that Rocroi had been invested, with utmost swiftness he marched to its relief, and when he was asked, 'What will become of us if we are beaten?' he replied, 'That will not concern me, for I shall be dead.' At Rocroi the Spanish under Melo were destroyed, losing 8,500 in killed and 7,000 prisoners—'two hundred and sixty colours and standards went to grace Notre-Dame.'

During the following three years the war dragged on. In 1644 the Bavarians were defeated by the French at Freiburg; in 1645 Torstensen, as already related, defeated the imperialists at Jankau, and the same year Enghien defeated Mercy at the second battle of Nordlingen, but only after losing 5,500 men out of a total force of 7,000. These terrible losses were

having a pronounced influence on tactics. Not only were soldiers becoming unobtainable, but the more able generals were beginning to realize that it was often more profitable to manoeuvre an enemy into a devastated district, and so destroy him by starvation, than to attempt to defeat him in pitched battle. Amongst these must be reckoned Turenne, who was rapidly rising into fame.

In 1646, this general, with Wrangel, the Swedish commander, transferred the war to Bavaria, which was fairly prosperous since it had not been overrun for eleven years. There by devastating the country they forced Maximilian to terms, and an armistice was arranged. In 1647, however, Maximilian was reconciled to the emperor. The following year Turenne and Wrangel, having refitted their forces, drove the imperialists and the Bavarians,



DUC D'ENGHIEN IN A CAVALRY CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF ROCROI

Encouraged by the death of Richelieu, the Spanish entered Champagne and on May 19, 1643, invested Rocroi with an army of 26,000 men under Melo. Louis de Bourbon, duc d'Enghien, then only twenty-two years old, marched at the head of 20,000 troops to relieve the town. A fierce battle ensued, the issue of which was for some time in doubt, but four successive cavalry charges, in which d'Enghien took part, and heavy artillery fire virtually annihilated the Spanish host.

From Larousse, *Histoire de France illustrée*

'whose 30,000 combatants were accompanied by a horde of nearly 130,000 hangers-on—men, women and children,' to the Danube. At Zusmarshausen, in May, the enemy's rearguard was destroyed, but at length the French and Swedes were halted by Piccolomini on the Inn and driven back to the Isar. Meanwhile, the Swedish general, Königsmarck, entered Bohemia and laid siege to Prague, and Condé defeated the Spaniards at Lens. Before Königsmarck could assault the Bohemian capital news came of peace, and on October 24, 1648, the memorable Peace of Westphalia was signed at Münster.

The Thirty Years' War had a distinct influence on tactics and military organization; it, in fact, laid the foundations of the art of war as it was known in 1914. Before the advent of Gustavus, the tactics of the Spanish battles were ponderous and pedantic, but, once he joined in the fray, the comparative rapidity of his movements, and his combination of fire

Military tactics of Gustavus Adolphus forced the heavy bastioned squares to extend into deep lines of men. These lines were not rigid, but composed of files six to ten deep in open order, the men in each file being in constant motion in order to maintain continuity of fire. Skirmishers by degrees disappeared, since volley range was short, and they were apt to mask the fire of the line. Armour was almost entirely discarded.

As the war proceeded, the improvement in firearms, and especially in artillery, resulted in tremendous losses to both squares and lines. Further, the tactical and strategical mobility introduced by Gustavus, and improved upon by such generals as Banér and Torstensén, resulted in battles of manoeuvre which characterised the wars of the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1675, Montecuculi fought against Turenne, and 'the exquisite nicety of the movements on both sides may be estimated from the circumstance that two large armies were perpetually moving in a space not more than ten to twelve leagues long by four or five broad, in the Canton de l'Ortnau.'

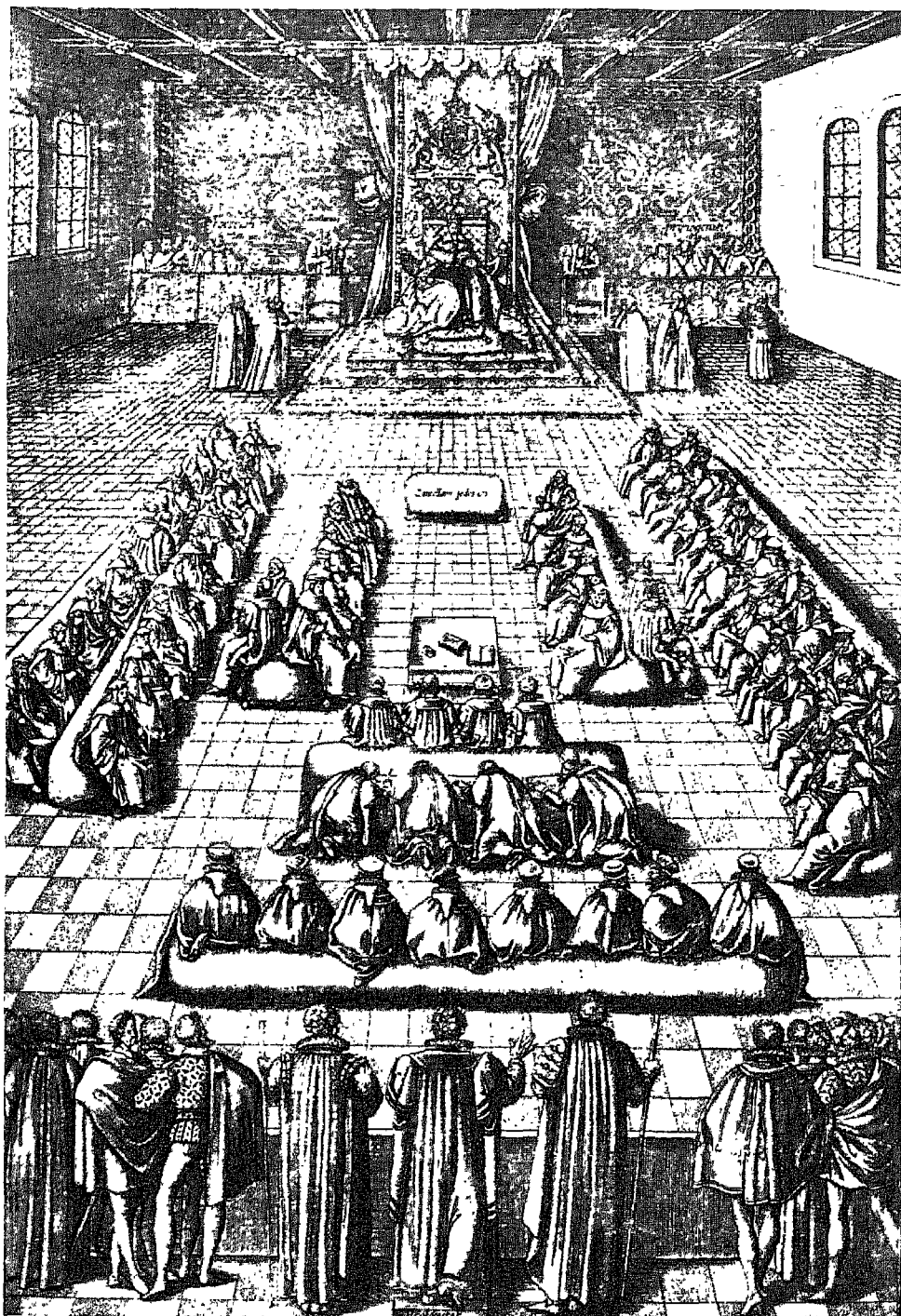


KARL GUSTAV WRANGEL

This engraving after the painting by Matthew Merian the Younger shows the famous Swedish General Wrangel, who marched into Bavaria in 1646 in co-operation with his ally, the great French Marshal Turenne

To lessen casualties, and to counter the growing power of the gun, fortifications both field and permanent were elaborated on battlefield and frontier, and tactics were largely pivoted on them, manoeuvring depending mainly on the flank and rear security they afforded.

As armies grew larger and more professional, as they did during the reign of Louis XIV, foraging and plundering were replaced by a system of fortified depots, and these in their turn had a marked influence on the character of war. Warfare became regularised and systematised, in short a 'gentleman's profession' rather than an 'adventurer's.' Its psychological outlook was completely changed. The gross brutality of such leaders as Mansfeld, Tilly and Wallenstein disappears under Louvois, Condé and Turenne, until ultimately the pendulum of war reached its opposite extreme, when, it is said, at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, Captain Lord Charles Hay of the First (Grenadier) Guards stepped out of the line, took off his hat, and, drinking to the French from a pocket flask, exclaimed: 'Gentlemen of France, fire first.'



THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I

This engraving from R. Glover's *Nobilitas Politica et Civilis*, 1608, shows James I enthroned in the House of Lords, and is probably the earliest authentic representation of such a meeting. Earls, barons and bishops are grouped round the chancellor's seat and the masters of chancery and the clerks are ranged in rows of four immediately facing his Majesty. In the foreground the Commons are seen separated from the Lords by a barrier, and the central figure in their midst is the Speaker.

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THE RISE OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

England's constitutional Check upon Absolute Monarchy
and its imperfect Analogues in France Germany and Spain

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‘IT will then be easily proved that the power of the King in Parliament is greater than his power out of Parliament; and doth rule and control it.

For in Acts of Parliament, be they laws, grounds or whatsoever else, the Act and power is the King's but with the assent of the Lords and Commons, which maketh it the most sovereign and supreme power above all and controllable by none.’

We need no more judicial statement of the claim of Parliament to be the directing member of the body politic than these words of James Whitelock, spoken in the year 1610 in the House of Commons. They represent the conclusions of moderate Englishmen, who, looking for some practical means by which they could safeguard their estates and persons against the royal exactions, mysteriously anticipated that notion of sovereignty afterwards made articulate by Hobbes and later again, when the conclusion was proved, honourably reinstated in the argument for parliamentary sovereignty.

The assertion of the right of a people in representative assembly to limit the action of royal power was new only in its method of expression. The English Parliament had by slow stages become representative of the interest of the whole nation, but it had its roots far back in times when, though representative only of a privileged class, it had successfully withstood mischievous government. Through the centuries which we designate the Middle Ages Parliament gradually acquired its national representative character; we see it, through its lower house, establishing a certain measure of control over taxation, protesting, tentatively at first, its right

to initiate legislation, and finally claiming immunity from interference when pursuing the business of debate.

This conception of a monarchy restrained from tyranny by a national assembly increasingly assertive of popular rights is subject to the qualification that the power of Parliament, functioning through the predominance of the House of Commons, was of slow and insidious growth. The active partner in medieval times was the House of Lords—the feudal barons, who from time to time split into factions to support or oppose a weak or unpopular king. If the opposing party were sufficiently strong it might secure a change of ruler. The fact that the representatives of the counties and boroughs, as often as not, were associated with such action was then of little importance, though invaluable later on as a precedent.

It cannot be repeated too often that the admission of the representatives of the Commons to the feudal assembly was but one example of the opportunism of the Angevin Development kings who had to devise of the Commons some method of securing an additional revenue. The Commons had little share in the deliberations of the assembly—even their petitions were likely to be forgotten when a grant of money had once been made. It was not until the Wars of the Roses were raging, and a faction of the baronage had need of national support, that the House of Commons took on the semblance of its later legislative character.

Under the Lancastrian kings the Commons represented a power that was not to be despised. It is significant that when



CHAMPION OF THE COMMON LAW

Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), repeatedly opposed James I's exaggerated claims of royal prerogative and disputed the king's right to legislate by proclamations. Owing to these views he was removed from office in 1616.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Henry IV named his ministers in Parliament one-third of them were members of the House of Commons. A weak House of Commons needed strengthening, if it was to be an effective support to the crown, and the Lancastrians, in conceding to the lower house the right to control national expenditure and allowing them the hitherto royal privilege of introducing legislative measures, laid the foundation upon which the claim of parliamentary omnipotence was afterwards based.

The Yorkist kings did not need the support of the House of Commons and they added nothing to its constitutional stature. As to how much was added to the effective power of Parliament during the century of Tudor rule there is little agreement among historians. If we distinguish, as it is wise to do, between forms of parliamentary action and actual parliamentary control based upon public opinion, we must hold to the contention that nothing was added during the Tudor period. But, distinguishing between the form and the substance of power, we are likely to take the view that during the sixteenth

century Parliament ceased to be the tool of a faction and, although manifestly loyal, developed a will not always in harmony with that of the sovereign.

When in the early years of the seventeenth century battle is at last joined between the king and the Parliament, the situation is removed from the simple medieval consideration of a struggle between two opposing forces for the supreme power in the state. The circumstances of the time were vastly different from those in which Henry Tudor assumed the crown. The House of Stuart claimed the throne by right of descent and its security was not threatened by a turbulent baronage. The middle classes had prospered exceedingly during a century of strong government, and political power had passed almost unnoticed into their hands. Henry VIII was sufficiently adroit to cloak his most oppressive actions with the forms of law and, finding his general policy approved and himself a popular hero, he allowed his parliament to share the responsibility for his despotism.

Tudor parliaments were tractable not because of weakness nor because they were dominated by the sovereign, but because they were slow to shake off the remembrance of the past

anarchy. When Parliament consented to remit the debts of Henry VIII, when it condemned his enemies by attainder and allowed him to regulate the succession, it was consciously serving the interests of the nation. If King Henry exploited the rich nobles and merchants by means of benevolences and loans, taxation fell more lightly that way upon the ordinary folk. When Parliament abetted Henry in his extension of the legal conception of treason, the acts were directed against the class responsible for the lawlessness of the preceding century. In conniving at the regulation of the succession it was, at least, providing for the maintenance of stable government.

The last of the Tudors had less plain sailing. Parliament had become a permanent institution. The Commons had learned to act together; they had on several occasions—chiefly when their purse had been assaulted—ventured to oppose

the monarch. The New Learning had permeated downwards from the select few, and the whole nation was profoundly affected. The religious reformation had ceased to be a political expedient by means of which the country had been juggled into the forefront of European politics: 'England,' says Green, 'had become the land of a Book.' Religion, learning and politics were coming into close relations.

The high notions of law which had rendered effective service to Henry VIII were, with the accession of his younger daughter, capable of rendering equally effective service to a strong and independent House of Commons. It is a fair assumption that if the dread anticipation of foreign invasion and the re-establishment of an unpopular religious system had not been present during the major part of the reign, not even Elizabeth Tudor's tact would have prevented a more definite assertion of parliamentary rights. As it was, the good will of the queen and the conviction that she had the interests of her country next her heart did not prevent the Commons adopting an attitude of criticism and control hitherto unprecedented. We see them seeking for the first time to take a hand in the conduct of foreign affairs, a department of government from which they had formerly dissociated themselves, and at the same time exercising an ever tighter control over the royal devices for raising additional revenue.

With the coming of the Stuarts there were injected into English politics distinct and conflicting theories of government. The Tudors had not been theorists; they were too wary to dissipate their popularity by theories of abstract rights; they occupied their energies in governing and in manoeuvring to settle any difficulties that might arise in a way favourable to themselves.

King James, however, was no realist after the Tudor manner, but a doctrinaire, and he answered the theory of the Commons with a theory of his own. According to the hypothesis of the Commons, Parliament, consisting of the King, Lords and Commons, was the sole agency for making laws, and the House of Commons was the sole agent for originating a vote of supply. The

king must choose ministers who do not violate the wishes of an elected House of Commons and the ministers must be punished if they break the laws. The government is a government controlled by law, and Parliament is the only agency capable of changing the law.

The theory of divine right, as set forth by James and Charles, shocked the sensibilities of the English nation. It was a novel doctrine, and it appeared dangerous and revolutionary. It meant that the king was free to rule without a parliament. Such a claim made possible an appeal, with effect, to history by the supporters of the parliament. No king had ever attempted to rule without Parliament. Parliament had more than once legalised the removal of one king and the substitution of another. Even the Stuart kings relied in some part for their title on parliamentary sanction, and when these contentions were for the first time uppermost in the mind of Englishmen there arose a strong national tendency to look on the elected part of Parliament as peculiarly representative of the British nation. It was of immense advantage to the Commons that in the protracted contest they appeared to be the champions of the people against an arbitrary government.

The time is, then, ripe for the promulgation of the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty. In Elizabeth's time Sir Thomas Smith had laid it down that the King in Parliament was absolutely supreme, above the king and above the law. But Sir Thomas must be numbered amongst the moderns who emphasised the judicial nature of parliamentary institutions. In claiming sovereignty for the King in Parliament he was but insisting on the superiority of the law and the courts and introducing to his contemporaries the idea of a fundamental law which bound the king no less than his subjects.

Maitland bids us note three contestants for sovereignty—the king, the King in Parliament, and the law. King James is from the first opposed not only by his parliaments but by a champion of the common law in the person of Coke, his chief justice. Coke claimed that the judges

had the power to declare a statute void if it were against natural law or if it were directly antagonistic to the king's prerogative, and it seems that his reasoning was generally accepted by the lawyers of his time. Some statutes he held to be part of the fundamental law and so sovereign over king and King in Parliament.

This was not a claim for parliamentary supremacy but a statement that some of the laws of Parliament incorporated natural justice and could not be touched even by repeal or by the royal prerogative.

Soon Coke was involved in difficulty with the king. He

Coke opposes James I was instructed not to proceed with the hearing of a case in which the prerogative was in question, but refused to be intimidated and was dismissed from the Bench. Four years later he appeared in parliament as a leader of the party opposed to the king and played his part in what was, in its ultimate conception, 'a struggle of the Common Law against the King.'

Coming now to the time of stress, no sooner was James firmly established on the throne than the question of the legislative value of ordinances was brought before the courts. We have already noted the significance of the Proclamations Act of 1539, and its subsequent repeal, as a precedent for the claim of the supremacy of statute law. Elizabeth had issued proclamations and James hoped to follow the example of his predecessor. He proposed, in particular, to regulate by ordinance the building of houses in London, and in the same way he forbade the manufacture of starch from wheat.

On consulting Chief Justice Coke and certain other judges as to the legality of his proclamations, he received from them a clear and resolute opinion that such proclamations were illegal; that the king could not, by his prerogative, create a new offence by proclamation nor in any way alter existing laws. It was declared that the king by his prerogative could admonish his subjects to hold to the laws and that neglect of a proclamation would aggravate the offence. Further, it was declared illegal for the king to punish a subject in the Court of Star Chamber for an offence which was not punishable in the ordinary

courts. These opinions gave weight to the contention of the parliamentary party in the House of Commons, but Coke's place on the Bench was filled by a chief justice subservient to the king.

It was not yet disputed that the king had some residuum of power which might make certain of his ordinances valid. The courts had only recently pronounced in his favour in the matter of indirect taxation. Failing to get adequate supplies from his first parliament, he had followed the example of former monarchs and collected a tax on currants over and above the tax that was set on them by the Statute of Tonnage and Poundage. A merchant by the name of Bates refused payment and his case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, where he put in the plea that such an imposition was illegal without the consent of Parliament. The judges decided in favour of the king and the arguments which accompanied their decision were not favourable to the parliamentary party.

To the king, they said, belonged the responsibility of governing, and in the nature of the case government involves a great deal of discretionary power. A distinction was drawn between occasions when common law and parliamentary action should prevail and occasions when the 'absolute' power of the king should prevail. Such occasions were wars and rumours of war, grave emergencies when the king must be held free to act at his absolute discretion, bound neither by common law nor by statute. The king might, in the interest of foreign policy, shut the ports altogether; therefore he might take toll at the ports.

Judges decide in royal favour The House of Commons could not accept the view of the judges. The judicial doctrine that there remained in the king an absolute and inalienable prerogative available for occasions of emergency was met in the Commons by Mr. Hakewill's searching interrogatory, 'Who shall be judge between the king and his people of the occasion?' 'If the king,' he added, 'were to be the sole judge of the occasion,' such an admission 'were by consequence to bring us into bondage.' The decision in Bates' case was doubly significant as it

enlarged the right of Parliament to limit the sources of taxation and so impede arbitrary government. The case is perhaps of greater interest when studied in this connexion, but the occasion of its discussion in the House of Commons may be noted in passing as calling forth that momentous claim for parliamentary sovereignty which preludes this chapter.

It is possible that the House of Commons could not have withstood the judicial and administrative powers if Parliament itself had not been a recognized High Court of the Realm. There was as yet little thought of limiting the government by dividing it into departments. There was no sharp distinction in practice between the King in Council and the King in Parliament. The business of Parliament was not exclusively legislative; it did much business that was judicial, and on the other hand a good deal of non-controversial legislative business was still conducted out of parliament without question as to its legality.

The judges had already pronounced upon the limit of the royal prerogative. Coke had asserted vigorously the distinction between ordinance and statute, but few members of the House of Commons at that time would have denied that there existed a certain emergency power, both legislative and judicial, remaining in the king as

Attitude towards the royal power head of the government. Many of the proclamations of James I had never been questioned. Arbitrary judicial power such as he exercised when, on his way to London to be crowned, he ordered a thief to be hanged without benefit of judge or jury had passed almost unnoticed. The enforcement of the royal ordinances by the Council in the Court of Star Chamber was accepted as lawful jurisdiction, though one of the most cogent reasons for the unpopularity of these prerogative courts was their competition with the ordinary courts of justice.

The proclamations of Charles I were necessarily more numerous than those of his father, inasmuch as he attempted to govern without Parliament for the greater part of his reign.

Connected with the claim of the crown to legislate by means of proclamations are the suspending and dispensing powers. By proclamation the king was able to make new laws and alter old ones, the suspending power enabled him to render impotent any disagreeable statute. By the dispensing power he 'excepted out' of the operation of any statute an individual or individuals specially named. The claim of the greater power grew slowly out of the claim of the lesser power. But it was not freely exercised, except in the cause of religious toleration, even by the early Stuarts. James I in his *Trewe Lawe of Free Monarchies*, in which he gives his egoism full sway, claims for the king the right to mitigate or suspend all laws made publicly in Parliament, for causes known only to himself. He used this power, as did his son, to secure a relaxation of the statutes against Roman Catholics, when the dictates of his foreign or domestic policy made leniency imperative.

Much of the time of Parliament during the early years of James I's reign was spent in tightening the

laws against recusants. **Dissensions on religious questions**
As early as 1604 the Apology of the Commons

demands, in no uncertain spirit, the exercise of these laws, while the laxity of the government in this particular leads to the formulation of the list of religious grievances by the parliament of 1610 and the first open breach between the Commons and the king in 1621. The attitude of Parliament was a reflection of feeling in the country. Episcopal authority was becoming increasingly unpopular and Puritan ideas were slowly gaining ground. The bishops on several occasions had been responsible for the rejection of bills in the House of Lords. The religious and political grievances thus became more definitely merged and took on a graver complexion until, in the reign of Charles I, the enforcement of the Uniformity Acts, against the Puritans only, carried the struggle into a fresh phase. The religious grievance aroused a more passionate resentment than did the political, and the nation rallied more surely to the parliamentary leaders.

The early Stuarts were not Romanists, they believed that the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people were safe in their hands. But on the royal side was the weight of Roman Catholic influence, and the chief opponents of the king were so inherently anti-Romanist that after the prorogation of parliament in 1628 the constitutional debate takes on more and more the aspect of a religious controversy. The lower clergy were in sympathy with the parliamentary party, they were favourable to religious freedom except for Roman Catholics, and they were out of sympathy with the bishops on the questions of ritual and vestments. The Church in England seldom acted as a unit in politics, and here was no exception to the rule. Puritanism had fastened itself upon the lower clergy as well as upon the majority of the middle class. It was everywhere demanded that the laws against Papists should be enforced.

The dispensing power is in a sense an exercise of the judicial authority of the king; in essence it is the royal right of pardoning offenders. There is no doubt that, even in earlier times, it had been used for considerations other than clemency. The records of Parliament in the fourteenth century abound in instances of petitions of the Commons directed against charters of pardoning. The Lancastrian courts had in their time distinguished between acts that were unpardonable because they violated the fundamental law, such as murder, rape and robbery, and acts prohibited by statute, which were crimes only because their performance was judged to be inexpedient. To the first was denied the benefit of the royal power of dispensation—in short, the king's prerogative could not forgive what was a crime against the moral law, but he could excuse an injury against himself—an illegal act that had injured no one. It



CHARLES I WITH THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL PEERS

This picture of Charles I in the House of Lords illustrates the pamphlet entitled 'Discours du bon et loial subject' which appeared in 1648. Behind the king on the right stands the chancellor, on the left the treasurer. The official holding the crown is the Grand Chamberlain, and the Constable holds the sword. A herald and an usher appear in the foreground: other nobles stand round the throne.

was the same distinction as was afterwards made by Chief Justice Coke when distinguishing between statute and law. The Stuart kings sold their dispensations to raise money—so low had the king's prerogative of mercy fallen.

Parliament had then to succeed in limiting the prerogative power of the king before it could assume its rightful place as the soul of the body politic. Parliamentary pretensions were undermining the theory that there were certain spheres of government which belonged exclusively to the king and in which Parliament might not participate. James I and his ministers still held to this view; James, in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, stipulated that its members were not to be allowed to interfere with matters of government nor meddle with 'mysteries of state.'

Neither James nor Charles denied to Parliament the power of making statutes or of granting supplies, but they did deny it the exclusive right and nullified the power that it had by levying impositions and loans and by issuing proclamations. In the king's opinion it was the duty of the House of Commons to grant a yearly subsidy, and refusal to do so was obstructive, unconstitutional and rebellious.

The Commons were able to appeal to history in vindication of their ancient and undoubted right to vote

Right of Commons or withhold supplies,
to vote supplies and they were on firm ground. Edward III

had consented not to levy taxation other than the feudal dues except with the consent of the prelates, earls, barons and commons of the realm. In 1395 it was laid down that the subsidy is granted by the Commons with the assent of the Lords, and this form is afterwards adhered to fairly consistently. In 1407 Henry IV had conceded that, when the two houses were agreed as to the amount of the revenue to be granted, the report should be made by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

James I was treated liberally by his early parliaments, but when in 1621 he was in need of money in order to intervene in the Thirty Years' War he received only a meagre grant, as his conduct of foreign

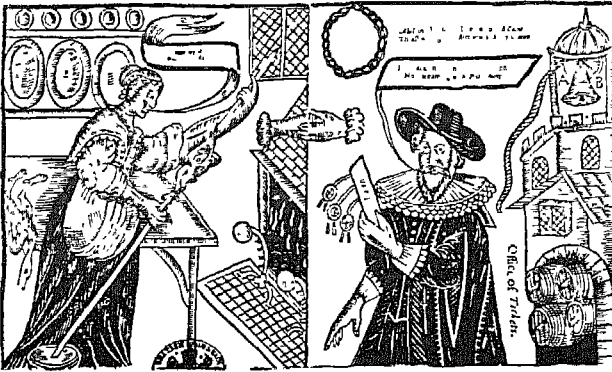
affairs was open to grave mistrust and he had alienated the Commons by his free use of unstatutory methods of raising revenue during the years when parliament was not sitting. In 1624, however, a liberal grant was made, but this was not given without conditions which were in themselves a triumph for the principles for which Parliament was striving. It was enacted that the money granted should be paid into the hands of treasurers nominated by Parliament and applied only for the relief of the

Palatinate. The treasurers and the council **Appropriation of money grants**

of war were made responsible to Parliament with the expressed condition that the houses would themselves punish any misappropriation of the funds. There were precedents for this action; Edward III's extravagant expenditure had occasioned a demand by Parliament that it should determine not only the grant but the manner of application; the Lancastrians had never disputed the principle, but nevertheless the appropriation of taxation to special purposes was unheard of during the Yorkist and Tudor reigns. The earlier parliaments of Charles I were not in a position to employ this check on the royal prodigality, but the Long Parliament made immediate use of the precedent.

The Commons had claimed, but so far had not substantiated, their exclusive right to determine the amount of taxation. There had been friction between Lord Bacon and the House of Commons in the year 1593, but the House had not pressed the point. In 1625 the Commons, alone, are stated to have made the grant of the subsidy.

We have seen that James I made free use of non-statutory methods of raising money. In the case of impositions or increased customs duties he had the sanction of the common law. Certain other methods employed by himself and his son were not so reputable, but again it was not easy for the Commons to dispute the legality of his action; they were constrained to wait until the abuse of the quasi-legal power became so flagrant as to warrant political interference. Monopolies, benevolences, distraint of knighthood,



SATIRE ON A MONOPOLIST AND HIS WIFE

This reproduction of a broadside, dated 1611, purports to tell the life story of 'Alderman Abel' who obtained for the London Vintners a monopoly for the retail sale of wines. The legality of monopolies was one of many sources of dispute between James I and his parliaments.

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commissions of array, none of which had been considered as outside the law when employed in moderation by the Tudors, were made the instruments of tyranny by the early Stuarts.

Monopolies had become objectionable to Parliament in the time of Elizabeth, and the petitions of the Commons for their regulation had received the queen's attention. James I could not relinquish this easy way of rewarding his friends, and the oppression grew steadily. The Commons, becoming more impatient of the evil, moved that all monopolies were illegal, and during the last parliament of the reign were able to secure the passage of an act declaring that not only were monopolies illegal for the future but that they always had been illegal. This statute, having retrospective force, was the most important victory for Parliament during the reign of James I.

Both James and Charles believed that they could outwit their parliaments by appearing to yield and afterwards returning to the exercise of arbitrary power. It is probable that they thought they were not bound by promises made under compulsion. Notwithstanding the fact that they were again and again forced to make concessions to the demands of the Commons, they seemed to think it added to their kingly dignity to claim that they were not bound by actions forced upon them. It is indicative of the general

obtuseness of the Stuarts that they took this standpoint in respect of the solemn assent to statutes enacted in full parliament.

The chief concessions forced on the king were summed up in 1628 in that great statute, the Petition of Right, wrung from Charles I by his third parliament. The act required, in the most explicit terms, that the principal abuses of which the Commons had complained since 1603 should be abolished. These abuses included arbitrary taxation, commissions of martial law and arbitrary imprisonment. The

petition is the first important statutory restriction of the powers of the crown since 1485. The act also required the king to govern according to law; but for Charles to observe faithfully this provision would have been to vacate the office of king as he understood it. In fact, he had no intention of observing its provisions an instant longer than was necessary to obtain a subsidy.

Difficulty arose almost at once over the grant of tonnage and poundage which the king had collected for three years with other imposts, as if a parliamentary grant were unnecessary for all indirect taxation. Parliament had deliberately omitted the question of the customs from the Petition of Right and had proposed to settle the matter separately.

**Quarrel over
Customs Duties**

Meanwhile, they offered the king a grant of the duties for one year in order to have time to draft a bill. The king refused to accept the compromise. He claimed that it had been usual to make these grants for the lifetime of the sovereign in the first year of the reign. The Commons were unable to contest the point of the legality or otherwise of the king's action in appropriating the customs duties without parliamentary sanction, because of the decision of the judges in Bates' case. They had to resort to the bold statement that the Petition of Right had settled the question

in their favour. Charles prorogued parliament and imprisoned the leaders of the House of Commons who had forced him to assent to the Petition of Right.

The political situation was further complicated by questions of doctrine and discipline. The next session of Parliament was responsible for some abortive legislation, and for a demand by the Commons to exercise jurisdiction over an official of the customs who had secured the imprisonment of a member of parliament who refused to pay the unstatutory demands. The king declared that the officers who collected the customs were responsible only to himself, and immediately dissolved Parliament. It did not meet again for eleven years, but the Petition of Right remained on the statute book.

For the moment it appeared that the victory of the Commons was to be unprofitable. The king, if he carried on his government with due economy and

incurred no extraordinary expense, seemed Sources of Arbitrary Taxation to be independent of Parliament. After the dissolution of 1629 Charles continued to collect tonnage and poundage, together with the imposts. The increasing prosperity of the country gave him a larger income from these sources than his father had enjoyed. In spite of the Monopoly Act of 1624 he continued to make these unpopular concessions to traders. The Court of Star Chamber secured the payment of the customs dues, levied fines on country gentlemen and burgesses who had refused to take up orders of knighthood, and also enforced under heavy penalties the restrictions of the old forest boundaries. But even these sources of revenue were insufficient for the king.

In 1634 the sea-ports and maritime counties were required to furnish ships for the defence of the commerce of the country against the Dutch and the French navies. Shortly afterwards the king demanded from the inland counties money to compound for further equipment for the fleet. The demand was in defiance of the Petition of Right and struck at the very existence of Parliament. The king was loath to meet his Commons, in case his ecclesiastical policy was threatened, and

he urged that 'ship money' was but the revival of an ancient payment in lieu of personal service for the defence of the realm. He submitted the legality of his case to the judges, who laid it down that, when the kingdom was in danger, the king, under the Great Seal of England, can compel all subjects to furnish the means of defence. They declared further the king to be the sole judge of the danger.

John Hampden, a squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay, and the question was then threshed out by the twelve judges of the Exchequer. Seven decided for the king, five were in favour of Hampden, but only two declared definitely against the legality of the tax. So vital was this case to the position of Parliament that the Long Parliament passed a special act declaring the judgement void, to which the king gave his assent on August 7, 1641. Not only did the act declare the ship money writs to be illegal, but it condemned the king's practice of obtaining an extra-



SUPPORTER OF THE COMMONS

This portrait of John Hampden (1594-1643) is the work of R. Walker, who painted what are usually considered the best pictures of Oliver Cromwell and other parliamentary leaders. Hampden refused to pay ship money in 1637.

National Portrait Gallery, London

judicial opinion. Statute law should no longer be the servant of common law.

The Long Parliament met in 1641 under conditions different from the earlier parliaments of Charles I. The patience of the leaders was exhausted. For eleven years they had suffered a religious persecution and had endured arbitrary government. Active resistance had so far been impossible as the whole organization of the government was still in the hands of the king and his ministers. In 1641 Charles was at war with his Scottish subjects; the cause of the trouble was mainly religious. Charles had attempted in 1637 to force a prayer book on the Scottish people which was abhorrent to their Presbyterian convictions. War had broken

Enmity of King and Scots out, and Charles, betrayed by the Scottish Council, had been forced to concede to the country the abolition of episcopacy and a form of representative government. Still there was no peace between the Scots and the king. Charles had attempted to evade the provisions of the treaty, and a Scottish army had marched into England. The king was powerless; he had exhausted his means of raising money and was forced to call a parliament.

In view of what had happened during the last eleven years, it is a matter for amazement that the demands of this parliament were so moderate. As a condition for granting supplies, it was asked that Charles should come to terms with the Scots. This request was refused, and the 'Short Parliament' was dissolved at the end of three weeks. Meanwhile the Scots were advancing. The king called a council of peers—the last occasion on which we hear of this feudal assembly—but he was only advised to summon a parliament. Later in the year the Long Parliament came together, and on the faces of its members an eye-witness has testified that one could read the determination not to be commanded but to command. This was a parliament backed by an armed force. The Scottish army would undoubtedly have supported the parliamentarians if dissolution had been threatened.

Within its first year it dealt a lethal blow at the doctrine of the absolute prerogative by abolishing the only court

upon which the king could rely to enforce his will without question, the Star Chamber, by the act of July 5, 1641. This act contained a clause of profound constitutional importance, providing that any person committed to prison by the command or warrant of the king in his own person, or of the Council, should, on application to the common law courts, have forthwith granted unto him a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and that the courts should then determine whether his commitment were legal or not. The king's power of arbitrary arrest, which had been upheld in the Five Knights' case some fourteen years earlier, was swept away.

If the Long Parliament had been content with protecting its ancient powers of legislation and taxation and securing the recognition of the privileges of the lower house, the Civil War might have been averted, but the spirit of the times was such that compromise was impossible. In denying the validity of the king's assumption of absolute sovereignty, Parliament was led to make new claims and to grasp at sole supremacy, attacking in turn the king's share in the constitution.

Figgis, in his thoughtful essay, has shown how the theory of divine right 'stamped upon the English mind the conception of **Theories of Sovereignty.**' The divine **Sovereignty** right of the temporal sovereign to implicit obedience in all matters of law of conscience had arisen as a direct issue of the Protestant reformation. The English Protestants, to combat the theory of papal supremacy, had been driven to propound a doctrine of the omnipotence of the secular government. This theory worked well enough as long as the two possible claimants for the sovereignty were of one mind. Under Tudor rule the king and Parliament were united in a common interest. The people as yet had not awakened to political self-consciousness. Parliament was not practised in voicing the will of the nation, nor were its members accustomed to working together.

As, gradually, the House of Commons became conscious of its own power and of the power of public opinion behind it, the divergence of interest between the two powers in the state became apparent.

Divine right had arisen in protest against papal pretensions; the sovereignty of Parliament was entreated against divine right. In future there would be no department in which the representatives of the people would not be the supreme arbiters.

There were certain 'mysteries of state' in which parliament was denied a share. Foreign policy had in earlier times been beyond the comprehension of the House of Commons. Elizabeth, in reply to an address on the subject, declared that 'she was not surprised at the Commons; they had had little experience and had acted like boys, but that the Lords should have gone with them filled her with wonder.'

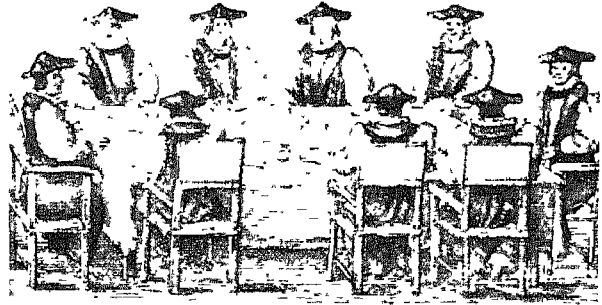
The parliaments of James I were unfavourable to his alliances and to his conduct of foreign affairs generally.

Eventually the Commons gained some control of the army abroad by the statute of 1624, which brought the supply voted for the relief of the Palatinate under the surveillance of officers appointed by the Commons. The propriety of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Spanish princess was criticised in Parliament, and a member of the House of Commons, Sir Edwin Sandys, was imprisoned by the king, who denied that privilege of Parliament covered the discussion of matters proper to the prerogative. On March 8, 1624, the king was presented with an address from both houses advising that the treaties, both for the marriage and the Palatinate, should be discontinued.

Charles I gave his early parliaments scanty opportunity to express their opinion on foreign affairs, but the parliament of 1628 gave vent to its disapproval of the plan for the second expedition to La Rochelle. The Grand Remonstrance contains criticism of the king's foreign policy from the beginning of the reign.

From time to time the aid of Parliament had been invoked by the crown to give

*The High Commission Court and Star Chamber
ruled down and provided some precedents
against the Parliament*

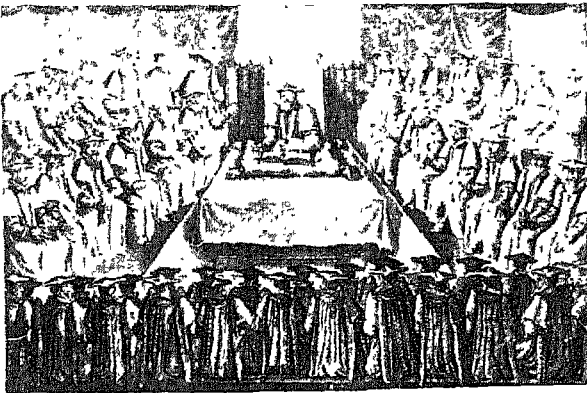
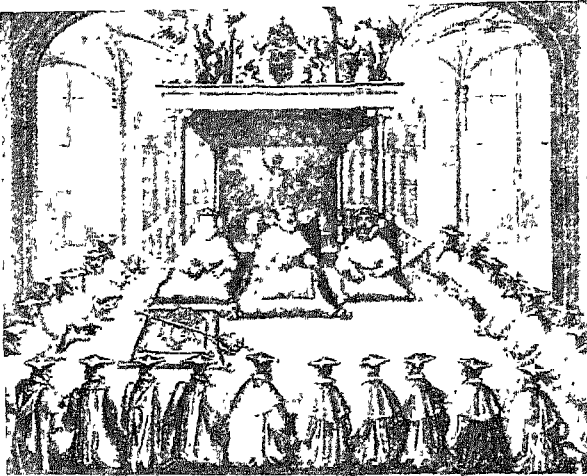


ABOLITION OF THE STAR CHAMBER

This engraving by Hollar depicts the abolition by the Long Parliament of courts deriving their jurisdiction from the King's Council. Among these was the Court of Star Chamber, which had been used successfully by Henry VII to check powerful nobles, but was abused under the Stuart regime.

additional force to ecclesiastical regulations. Provisors and Praemunire, as well as the great statutes of the Reformation, are all expressive of the will of the nation behind the will of the king, but later there comes a change. Parliament had been used to throw off the domination of Rome, and it was willing to continue any distance along the same road. The anti-papal legislation of the time of Elizabeth and James I is passed with right good will, but the crown could not place equal reliance on Parliament to assist in safeguarding the Church of England from the attacks of the advanced Protestants. Before long it became impossible to obtain penal statutes against Reformers, and the campaign against the Puritans was carried on by the bishops and the ecclesiastical courts.

The Act of Supremacy had itself recognized a limitation of the right of Parliament to interfere in matters of doctrine. This right was upheld by Elizabeth, and in 1572, fearing the influence of a Puritan element in the House, she forbade the introduction of ecclesiastical bills unless the sanction of the bishops had been obtained. Apart from the statutory limitation, Elizabeth had considered that any insistence of the House on claims to discuss Church matters was an invasion of the ecclesiastical supremacy. She consented to receive



UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES OF CONVOCATION

Parliament was allowed to present petitions in matters of religious discipline, but not to interfere with doctrinal regulation, which was the affair of Convocation. This print of 1624 shows an assembly of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation, the archbishop of Canterbury presiding over the former.

British Museum

petitions in the matter of discipline, but plainly informed Parliament that any interference with the regulation of doctrine would not be tolerated.

This attitude was maintained by James I, but with less success, as the Puritan sympathies of Parliament grew stronger. In 1604 Convocation, with the sanction of a royal ordinance, drew up a code of ecclesiastical law which placed under the ban of excommunication all persons who questioned the orthodoxy of the prayer book and the Thirty-nine Articles. In the session of 1606, a fruitless attempt was made by the Commons to invalidate all canons involving the life and liberty

of laymen which had not received the sanction of Parliament. The commission courts were established by ordinance in virtue of the Act of Supremacy. These courts, of which the Court of High Commission is the best known, could inflict both spiritual and temporal punishment, and there was no appeal from their decisions.

The parliaments of James I craved repeatedly that these powers should be limited, but little was done in mitigation. The king was prejudiced against all Protestant non-conformists. He was convinced that the existence of the monarchy was bound up with the security of the episcopal system, and therefore turned a deaf ear to all parliamentary petitions for toleration.

Under Charles I, Parliament never lost sight of the necessity for radical ecclesiastical changes; the religious and political grievances had become almost indistinguishable. Many of the leaders of the Commons were themselves Puritans and were ready to believe that the innovations introduced by the Court of High Commission were signs of the re-

establishment of popery. The Declaration of Sports, and the Act of the Privy Council on the Position of the Communion Table, took no account of the feelings of the majority of religious persons in England at the time, and, in the eyes of the Bible-reading Puritan, Charles and his advisers were ungodly men who devised evil against the nation.

The Long Parliament secured the abolition of the Court of High Commission, together with the other courts which had derived their jurisdiction from the King's Council, and it was declared that no such similar courts should be erected in future. Here the unanimity of Parliament on the

religious question ended. It was generally desired that the Church, as well as the state, should be governed by parliamentary statute rather than by royal authority, and that there should be an end to the ritual lately introduced by the archbishop. The majority of the House of Commons stood for the abolition of the episcopacy and the substitution of

Parliament divided on religious question a simpler liturgy for the Book of Common Prayer. The Lords, however, were unwilling to destroy the power of the bishops or alter to any extent the accepted form of worship. There was, as yet, no thought of overriding the will of the House of Lords, but the right of a united parliament to regulate Church affairs was manifested by the assent forced on the king in 1642 to the Clerical Disabilities Act, by which bishops were excluded from the House of Lords and the clergy generally disabled from exercising temporal jurisdiction.

Under the Stuarts legislation and taxation were to a great extent recognized as being in the hands of the Parliament, but the executive power still belonged exclusively to the king, acting through his council. Over the body of the council Parliament had no control. The fact that the ministers were by this time generally members of one or other house of Parliament was not in itself a check on their conduct; the council was a source of strength to the king, whether they sought his advice freely or acted independently. Under the Tudors, moreover, the ministers in Parliament had been useful in swaying the opinion of members.

The feudal conception of the executive power of the state was the king and his council. By the authority of the council the king exercised his legislative power by means of proclamations, his extra-judicial power by the erection and maintenance of the courts extraordinary as well as the ordinary business of administration. The council was a

comparatively small body, even in Tudor and Stuart times, and it was still chosen exclusively by the king. The extent of its influence depended largely on the character of the sovereign. The advisers chosen by James and Charles were incapable of exercising moderation in the council, and their influence operated directly against the possibility of a more popular government.

It is from the state trials in the High Court of Parliament that the doctrine of ministerial responsibility was evolved under the early Tudors. The king's ministers were responsible to no one but the king. If the king had occasion to be dissatisfied with a member of his council, the minister was removed from his office and condemned with the connivance of Parliament, which would probably have the same cause of complaint as the king. The use of Parliament as a court for political offenders had begun in feudal times, but at that time its action was submissive to the will of a faction of the nobles.

The two methods employed to secure the removal of unpopular ministers were impeachments—a trial in which the Commons were the accusers and the Lords the judges—and attainder, or a statute of pains and penalties, which passed through both houses and ultimately received the assent of the king. The sense of unity in the government was



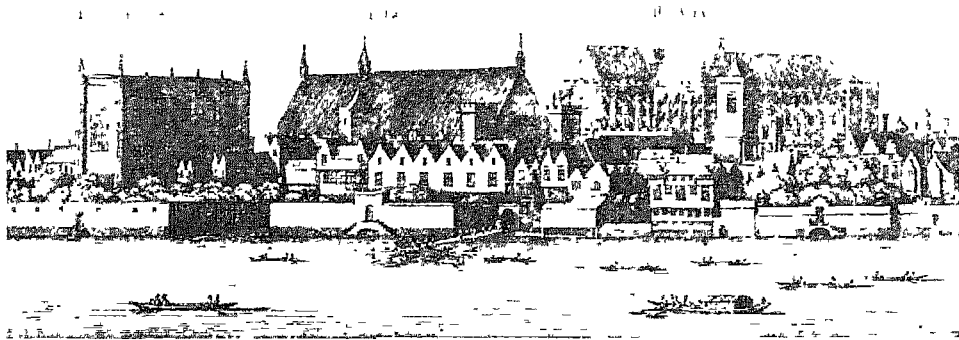
SATIRE ON SPIRITUAL COURTS

This caricature forms the title page of a tract of 1641, dealing with the prevalent abuses of the spiritual courts. The tract is in the form of a dialogue between a Proctor and a Parator representing the 'Lamentation of the Doctors' Commons at their downfall.' It was on the question of religious reform that the unanimity of the Long Parliament ended.

so strong that often when one part acted it almost determined the action of the other parts; that is to say, when the Commons attacked an officer of state it was expected that the Lords would convict him and that the king would add his approval. The Tudor kings had preferred to dispose of their discarded servants by act of attainder, the reason, no doubt, being that the accused was given no opportunity to speak in his own defence. When there came to be a settled dispute between the king and the Commons, it

suggested that a more lenient form of inquiry should be substituted for impeachment. But the House of Commons resented the attack on its freedom of action and maintained its right of prosecution.

The privileges of parliament demand some consideration if there is to be a clear understanding of the causes which operated towards the ultimate victory of the Houses in the constitutional struggle. These 'ancient and undoubted rights' had only been formally claimed at the beginning of each parliament from the



CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING OF PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

This engraving by W. Hollar shows the old House of Parliament as it appeared to the artist in 1641, of which very few views exist. Originally a chapel founded by Stephen, the building became a meeting place of the House of Commons under Edward IV, until whose reign its sessions had been held in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey (right). The Commons held their meetings in S. Stephen's chapel until 1834, when it was destroyed by fire.

British Museum

was of great consequence that the lower house had the prescriptive right to initiate action in both the processes of impeachment and attainder.

Bacon and other ministers of James I were impeached, convicted and removed from office. They were not grave offenders, and the corruption which they had practised, though a source of irritation, was not looked on as a political crime, even by the members of the House of Commons. We should perhaps look on this reintroduction of an ancient method of assault as a preliminary canter by which Parliament tried out its awakening power. At any rate, the result served to discredit King James's government, and so may be looked on as a victory for the House of Commons. Bacon's case has a more special constitutional importance. King James was anxious that his most learned adviser should escape disgrace, and

reign of Henry VIII. They must not be regarded as depending upon the good will of the king; they must rather be associated with the dignity of Parliament itself. In the recognition of these rights in earlier times there is tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of Parliament to the other courts of the land.

Immunity of members of parliament from arrest seems to have had its original in pre-Norman times. Canute granted his protection to all going to and from the 'gemot.' In the more turbulent times of the Middle Ages such a precaution was probably necessary to ensure the safe arrival and departure of the king's advisers. It was a specific extension of the king's peace to cover the persons and estates of his servants while they were engaged on royal business. The protection was afterwards extended to exemption from legal arrest and from being impleaded

in civil suits in the ordinary courts, but at no time is it put forward that the king's service can save a man from arrest for an offence against the natural and fundamental law. Treasons, felonies and assaults are thus removed from privilege.

The right of both houses to debate freely, without interference from the king or his ministers, cannot be traced back to such early times. But the early history of this privilege is of profound interest; its first appearance was the occasion of a clash of wills between the king and the body who had been gathered together to vote supplies. True, the king is Richard II, and the meetings of his later parliaments are reminiscent of faction fights. Haxey's case is, however, a useful precedent later on, in view of the fact that two years later Henry IV on petition of both houses reversed the judgement of death passed by his predecessor in 1397.

A more important precedent occurred in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1512

Vindication of privilege Strode, a member of the House of Commons, was imprisoned for proposing a bill which did not meet with the approval of the Stannary Court. The privilege was successfully vindicated by the passing of a statute which barred actions against members of parliament by other courts or by private individuals on account of things said or done in Parliament. But the act was not recognized as capable of application against the king. It is noteworthy that, when the ancient rights and privileges of the Commons were confirmed by the Tudors, freedom of debate was not included. The Tudor parliaments were loyal, they were submissive, but no despotic monarch could safely yield that concession to a freely elected parliament. From 1542 onwards, the Speaker included freedom of speech as one of the privileges claimed at the beginning of each session.

Under the Stuarts the twin privileges of freedom of speech and freedom from arrest became of supreme importance in the struggle for the larger issues. The first attack was made by James I in 1614, when parliament was dissolved after the debate on impositions. Sir Edwin Sandys and three other members of the Commons

were arrested for the part they had played in the discussion. In 1621 Sandys was again arrested and the king refused to listen to an assertion of the privileges of the House. He declared that the rights which the Commons had, they had only by his sufferance. He then forbade them to discuss the matter of the Spanish marriage, about which a petition had already been preferred.

The petition was presented, together with a protest that liberty of speech was part of the undoubted inheritance of the House. It was on this occasion that the king met the Speaker and his fellow petitioners with the pointed greeting: 'Set chairs for the ambassadors.' James was ill-tempered and ill-mannered, but he was shrewd enough to recognize that the crown was meeting the representatives of the lower house on terms of equality. The protest so ill-received was entered in the records of the House, but it did not remain there. The king sent for the journals and tore out the offending pages with his own hand.

Charles I hated the very name of Parliament. The first assembly of his reign proved unfavourable in the matter of a subsidy and proceeded immediately to consider public grievances, claiming amongst their ancient privileges the right to determine the order in which the House would deal with business. In order to obviate criticism from his second parliament, the king appointed Coke and four other leading patriots to be sheriffs of their counties. The device only served to irritate the Commons and brought forward a leader of more implacable temper—Sir John Eliot. The parliament of 1620 impeached Buckingham.

Charles I hostile to Parliament

The rôle of public prosecutor was assumed by Eliot, and his speech left no doubt that the nation held the king's favourite responsible for the evil government. The king regarded the demand for the dismissal of his chosen minister as a usurpation of his sovereignty. He hurried to Westminster to claim as his own the actions imputed to his adviser. Eliot and others were committed to the Tower, but the Commons refused to proceed



MARTYR TO ENGLISH LIBERTY

This picture of Sir John Eliot (1592–1632) was painted by Paulus van Somer, and is now at Port Eliot. A strong supporter of parliamentary privilege and liberty, Eliot died for his cause under imprisonment in the Tower.

Photo Victoria and Albert Museum

with other business until their leaders were released; after ten days Eliot and his friends were set free. Parliament was dissolved by the king amidst protests of privilege.

Charles was obliged to summon parliament in 1628. The king's friends were everywhere rejected at the election. To have suffered through resistance to the royal tyranny was everywhere a passport to a seat. 'We must vindicate our ancient liberties; we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors,' said Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was elected for the county of Yorkshire. But the speaker of these words, the incarnation of the spirit of the parliament that secured the king's signature to the Petition of Right, was afterwards to abandon the national cause for the king's service. Buckingham was murdered during the first session of this parliament and statutory redress for the most important grievances was obtained, but the real source of the trouble remained.

At the end of the session of 1629, freedom of speech had to be assured under difficult conditions. The king's messenger

was clamouring at the door of the Commons with the order for dissolution, but, before he was admitted, members of the House voted for Sir John Eliot's resolution that whosoever should introduce innovations in religion or endorse the levy of a subsidy not granted in Parliament was 'a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy of the same.' After the dissolution, Charles attacked the leaders of Parliament and threw them into prison. Sir John Eliot died in the Tower. He was venerated as the first martyr in the cause of English liberty.

The Long Parliament was in a position to maintain its rights and to determine the order in which the House would discuss business. It was now resolved to provide against any return to the absolute government of the last eleven years. A Triennial Act was passed which enacted that Parliament was to meet once in every three years. The returning officers were bound to proceed to election if the royal writs were not issued. There followed the attack on the king's ministers: Strafford the apostate, Finch the Lord Keeper, and Archbishop Laud were debarred from the exercise of their offices. Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the judges who had pronounced for the legality of the ship money tax, was seized and imprisoned while sitting in his own court. The condemnation of Strafford was at length secured under stress of mob violence. He was condemned for high treason, but the Parliament whose appeal was to the sanctity of the laws of England did not hesitate to go beyond the Statute of Treasons to ensure his downfall.

Charles did not give his favourite to death without an attempt to thwart his opponents. The intrigue by which he hoped to seize London by aid of the soldiery from the north was discovered, and he was again discredited. There was now no hope of reconciliation between the parties. The Commons could not trust the king; the king could not deal straightforwardly with the Commons. The country had heard rumours of the plan to bring the army to London. A Romanist rebellion was feared, while on all sides it

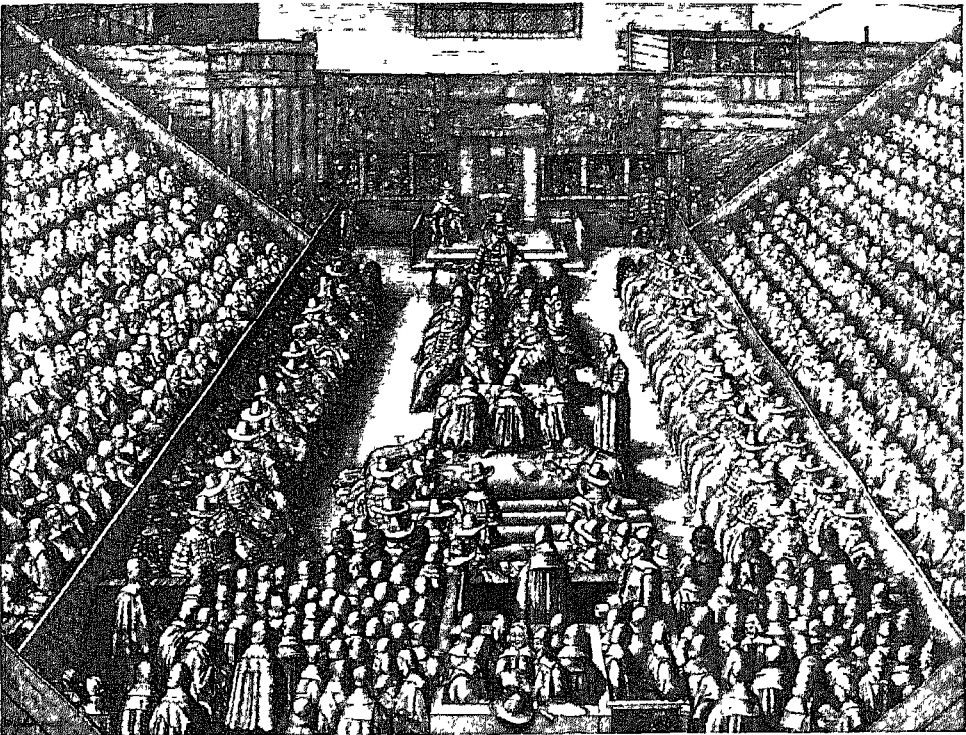
Work of the
Long Parliament

was muttered that the queen was planning to introduce a French force to aid the attack on national liberties. An oath to defend the Protestant religion and safeguard civil liberty was taken voluntarily by the mass of Englishmen.

There was then introduced into parliament what may be recognized as the first distinctly revolutionary measure. The statutes by which the Commons regained their hold on taxation and legislation and called a check to the innovation in Church government were backed by constitutional precedent. The act condemning Strafford followed in its outward form the convictions of Thomas Cromwell and the Lord Protector Somerset. The fear of a counter-revolution became so acute that the moderate men in the Commons were swept along by the flood. A bill was passed which provided that Parliament should not be dissolved except by its own consent. The effect

was to establish the parliament as a power permanently co-equal with the crown.

The more moderate members of the Commons and a majority of the Peers were willing to give the king a further opportunity to govern with the aid of Parliament. They believed that English national liberty was bound up with the life of the national assembly, and in the co-operation of the king with the ancient council of the realm. This co-operation was seemingly assured by the Triennial Act. Moreover, the king had again given his promise to rule according to the counsel given him in parliament. They did not wish to see the crown stripped of the dignity and power it had possessed under the Tudors, neither could the moderate men countenance the handing over of the Church of England to the Puritan extremists. There was a break in the ranks, and for the space of a moment it looked as if the king might hold the breach. The



'TRUE MANNER OF THE SITTING OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF BOTH HOWSES' This representation of the trial of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, in 1641, is from a plate by W. Hollar, the Bohemian etcher, who spent many years in England. Strafford was accused of attempting 'to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom,' and Parliament held that the attempt was high treason. Strafford is the central figure in the foreground looking towards the throne. Thomas, earl of Arundel, the Lord High Steward, faces him, while clerks record the proceedings.



PARLIAMENTARY LEADER

John Pym (1584-1643), one of the chief supporters of the Petition of Right in 1628, led the Short Parliament of 1640. In 1641 he proposed to check the royal power by making ministers responsible to Parliament.

Engraving of miniature by Samuel Cooper

Puritan party, led by the redoubtable Pym, drew up the Grand Remonstrance, which was nothing but an elaborate state paper recapitulating the grievances lately endured and now ended by the will of Parliament. The moderate party, in its endeavour not to humble the king further, fought against the adoption of the Remonstrance, but the majority prevailed, and the sitting of the House broke up in actual strife.

The appeal to the nation to support the Parliament by armed force was not long delayed. The House was occupied with the measure removing the bishops from the House of Lords when riots broke out in London. The precincts of Parliament were disturbed by brawls between the supporters of the king and the supporters of the Commons. King Charles refused to give the House an armed guard and, mistaking the strength of his supporters, proceeded to perpetrate the crowning folly of his career. Supported by his friends he went personally to the House to effect the arrest of five of its members, on a charge of high treason.

The expedition was a failure, but it set a spark to the flame of rebellion. Within a few days Charles had withdrawn from London and there was civil war.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commons, dated June 6, 1642, in defence of the Order of Parliament of three months earlier for mustering the militia, is the first practical usurpation of sovereignty by Parliament. It is here claimed that the High Court of Parliament is

enabled by the laws to adjudge and determine the right and liberties of the Kingdom against such Patents and Grants by his Majesty as are prejudicial thereunto although strengthened by his personal command.

More than this, the Lords and Commons went on to claim that they were

a Council, to provide for the necessities, prevent the imminent dangers and preserve the public peace and safety of the kingdom and to declare the king's pleasure in those things as are requisite thereto and what they do herein hath the stamp of the royal authority, although His Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same.

Here is the high-water mark of parliamentary sovereignty. The king has become a 'fiction.'

The issue thus joined was decided by the arbitrament of war. With the defeat of the armies of Charles I the victory of parliamentary sovereignty was complete.

The events of these fateful years of the first half of the seventeenth century made a profound impression upon the countries



CHARLES I FOILED

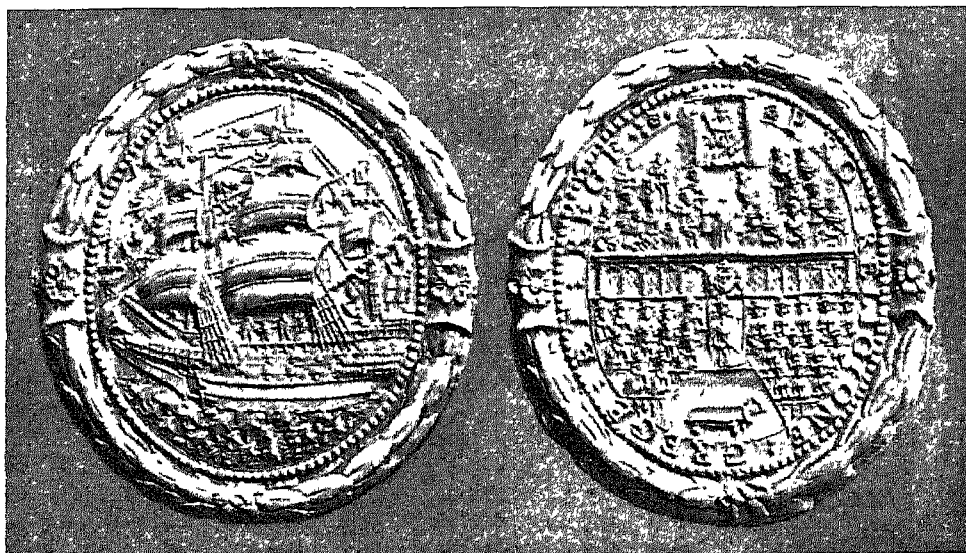
This engraving by Hollar illustrates the attempt of Charles I in 1642 to arrest the five members for intriguing with the Scots. He found that the birds were flown—whither, the Speaker, Lenthall, would not divulge.

of western Europe, and yet they left no trace upon their constitutional development, which was indeed arrested for nearly two centuries. Parliaments in the English sense do not make their appearance in western Europe until after Waterloo and even then their development was comparatively slow. Why was it that in England alone the supremacy of Parliament was established as early as the seventeenth century?

The mere existence of parliamentary institutions, in other words, of a body of 'estates' representative of the realm, was, originally, in no way peculiar to England. 'What is distinctive of medieval England,' as Maitland truly remarked, 'was not Parliament, for we may everywhere see Assemblies of Estates.' But England was indeed distinguished by great schools of national law, namely, the Inns of Court, and when the national law—the customary or common law, the 'droit coutumier,' the 'Landrecht'—of every other country was engulfed, in the sixteenth century, by that invasion known to history as the 'reception' of Roman law with its absolutist doctrine of monarchical power—'Quod

principi placuit legis habet vigorem' (the prince's pleasure has the force of law);—English law stood firm as a rock against the oncoming tide.

The Inns of Court were the recruiting ground of the parliamentary opposition, and that opposition took the form of an assertion of the supremacy of the common law as against the royal power. 'Magna Carta,' declared Coke, 'is such a sovereign that he will have no fellow.' And Magna Carta was universally regarded as declaratory of the common law. Coke, it is true, was, as we have seen, inclined to the view that even Parliament itself could not legislate in derogation of the principles of Magna Carta—a claim which, if upheld, would have been fatal to the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty as we now know it—but the important thing is his assertion that the king himself could not derogate from it. The whole issue between king and Parliament is crystallised in the obiter dictum of that judge in the ship money case, who declared, in favour of the king, 'I never read nor heard that Lex was Rex, but it is common and most true that Rex is Lex'—this on the one



MEDAL COMMEMORATING A DECLARATION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

In a declaration issued in 1642 Parliament defined their policy as 'the safety of the King's person, the defence of both Houses of Parliament and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands and the preservation of the True Religion, Laws, Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom'. The above is one of the medals commemorating the declaration and shows the ship of state in full sail (left). On the other side appears a representation of the Lords and Commons in session.

British Museum

hand, and in the declaration of the Commons, on the other, in the debates on the Petition of Right, that to surrender their claims would be 'to acknowledge a regal as well as a legal power.' It is this union between the common lawyers and the parliamentary opposition that was at once decisive of the struggle and, in distinction to constitutional struggles abroad, peculiar to it.

To trace out all its implications would involve a long excursion into the principles of the common law itself. It is enough to say here that in the England of the early Middle Ages, unlike Continental countries, feudal doctrines, instead of remaining a separate system of law and the law of a feudal caste, were absorbed into the customary law and, in the process of absorption, lost all their privileged character. English law, even as early as the thirteenth century, 'knows hardly anything'—in the words of Pollock and Maitland—'of a noble and gentle class: all freemen are in the main equal before the law.'

This is largely the explanation why the 'estates' in France and Germany never developed into parliaments representative of the community as a whole. The impress of caste was too strong upon them; the privileges of the respective orders or 'estates' were irreconcilable one with another, and the lawyers stood apart.

The so-called 'Parlement' of Paris (see page 3598)—only a 'parliament' in the original and medieval sense of the word, namely, a 'parley' or colloquy, in this case a parley of judges who took root in Paris as the High Court—was a close corporation of lawyers who were indifferent to the claims of the States-General. In the long intervals which elapsed between the dissolution of one assembly of the latter and the summons of another, the Parlement of Paris did, indeed, advance claims of its own to a semi-constitutional character, in particular a claim to control the absolute legislative power of the crown by making the registration of royal edicts and ordinances subject to its approval; but it was a claim which, as Aubert, the historian of the Parlement, observes, had really no foundation in law or in fact and

was easily disposed of by a 'lettre de jussion,' or formal command, of the king ordering them to proceed.

At the end of our period, namely, in the year 1648, the Parlement of Paris emerged from the seclusion of its archives to play a brief and inglorious part in that mock revolution known as the Fronde, and, influenced, no doubt, by the course of events in England, it even attempted to frame a scheme of constitutional reforms. But the insurrectionary movement got completely out

of the hands of these 'men of the long robe,' and even before it was crushed they made their peace with the court of the queen-regent and Mazarin. Twenty-one years later, the pretensions of the Parlement received a mortal blow: its cherished 'right of remonstrance' met with a coup de grâce at the hands of Louis XIV in 1673. As for the States-General, factious, intermittent, inconclusive, they left no mark on the statute-book—if, indeed, we can speak of 'statutes' in French history—and the best that their historian, Picot, can say of them is that 'their greatest monument is the cahiers de doléances'—those petitions of grievances which remained petitions and nothing more.

The truth is that the development of the States-General in France along the lines of the English parliament was largely prevented by lack of unity between the three estates. In England there is always to be observed a political division running through the two Houses—of those whose policy was favourable to the crown, and those who were opposed to the royal measures. The doctrine of ennobled blood, with its consequent class privileges, which prevailed in France, always operated towards the union of the privileged orders against the Third Estate. The nobles and the clergy were exempt from taxation, the nobles because they fought, the clergy because they prayed, and the Third Estate were left to struggle alone against the burden. This divergence of interests between the classes, together with mutual jealousy and rivalry, played an all-important part in destroying the political usefulness of the assembly.

The States-General (see page 3586) ceased to be convoked after 1614, but the States Provincial were still maintained in certain districts—Languedoc, Provence, Burgundy and Brittany. The States Provincial had nominally the function of voting the taxes for their districts; but they never opposed an effective resistance to the crown, although the king of France sometimes could not obtain their vote of supplies without skilful management or some intimidation. The States-General, dissolved in 1614, were never summoned again until 1789, in other words, on the eve of the Revolution.

In Spain a similar cause operated towards similar effects. Here some of the cities had been represented in the 'Cortes' as early as the twelfth century, and here, both in Aragon and Castile, the control of these assemblies over the crown appeared for some time much more assured and regular than in France. But here, too, the development of constitutional government was hindered in the sixteenth century by the lack of union between the nobility and the representatives of the people. The one approach to a constitutional movement, presented by the revolt of the Comuneros in 1519, spent itself in faction and was never repeated.

The strength of the monarchy lay in the absence of combination between the other competitors for power and the willingness of the nobility to accept privileges at the expense of their fellow members. In Spain, as in France, the nobles claimed that their military service exempted them from taxation, and the way to absolutism was thus made fatally easy. The representation of the cities of Castile was weakened at the instance of their rivals, and all attempts to restore the older voting force were met with fierce resentment. The Cortes of Aragon, where the royal power in the Middle Ages had been more jealously limited than in Castile, still retained some constitutional checks on the monarch to the end of the reign of Philip II, and, oddly enough, kept some hold on taxation till long after. The last struggle between the

king and the Provincial Cortes of Aragon took place in the early years of the eighteenth century.

The crown possessed vast hereditary revenues which made it normally independent of the Cortes, and the foreign tribute of its vast dominion beyond the Spanish frontiers and overseas provided the rest. From this point of view the expulsion of the English dynasty from France in the middle of the fifteenth century, which put an end to English dominion on the Continent, was an event of incalculable importance in the development of the English parliament—English kings, unlike the kings of Spain, could no longer look to foreign tribute and foreign arms to maintain a despotic power at home.

Like the States-General in France, the Cortes never at any time acquired a right to a voice in legislation. During the period under review, namely, the first half of the seventeenth century—the death-agony of Spanish imperialism—the political lethargy of the country was profound.

In Germany the movement for constitutional reform, which had manifested itself at the Diet of Worms in 1495, had already long spent its force by the beginning of the seventeenth century. That movement had indeed never possessed much vitality; the disintegration of medieval Germany into a multitude of principalities, both lay and clerical, sovereign in everything but in name, conforming to no common type, a feudal mosaic of infinite variety with enclaves of imperial cities and imperial knights owning an almost invisible superior, would of itself have baffled all attempts at the development of a representative assembly, capable of speaking for an Empire which was less a monarchy than a ghostly fiction of universal power.

The Imperial Diet, with its three colleges of electors, of princes lay and clerical, and of representatives of free cities, had advanced a claim for annual sessions in 1495, and during the succeeding twenty years various attempts were made to set up a kind of governing council, or Reichsregiment, more or less responsible to it; but of all these schemes nothing survived

except the Imperial Chamber Court (Reichs Kammergericht) as a kind of supreme court of appeal with a federal jurisdiction of much pomp and little dominion.

In any case the Reformation, rending Germany asunder into two rival factions, was fatal to all chances of constitutional unity, and the Compromise of 1555, known as the Peace of Augsburg, with its sceptical eirenicon of '*cuius regio ejus religio*'—the sovereign's religion determines the religion of the state—merely served to consolidate the autocratic pretensions of the ruler of each principality. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which marks the end of our period, set the seal on the disintegration of Germany into a mere geographical group of sovereign or semi-sovereign states; the Imperial Diet lived on as a kind of congress of ambassadors exercising no sovereign authority over the subjects of the German states, while within those states themselves the local diets entirely disappeared. The victory of absolutism was complete.

It is in the Netherlands, the home of thriving communes and a great commercial aristocracy, that one would expect to find, if anywhere, the

Conditions in the Netherlands development of a vigorous parliamentary life on the Continent. Unlike France, Spain and Germany, the country, although subject first to the Burgundian dominion and then to the Hapsburgs, was never closely identified with a reigning dynasty. But for that very reason it was never welded into a compact commonwealth, like the England of the Tudor monarchy, and the particularist rivalries of the provinces and, within the provinces themselves, the oligarchical character of the communes, in which all power was vested in a patriciate of ruling burgher families, were fatal to the development of anything in the nature of parliamentary sovereignty.

The estates of the provinces met, for the first time, in 1465 in a 'States-General' at Brussels, and twelve years later extorted from the daughter of Charles the Rash a charter known as 'The Great Privilege,' by the terms of which no taxes were to be levied without the consent of the new

assembly. Alva himself nearly a century later, at the very height of his tyranny, found it necessary to summon them in order to find pay for the Spanish troops of occupation. Even the common resistance to a foreign dynasty failed, however, to unite the provinces; religious dissidence accentuated their differences, and in 1579 the Dutch and Belgian provinces tell apart, the latter acknowledging the dominion of Spain, with which they were united by a common faith.

From this secession one may date that republic of the seven provinces, known as 'the United Provinces,' in which the hegemony of the most powerful of them, namely Holland, was eventually recognized by their adoption of hers as their common name. During the long and heroic struggle, extending over eighty years, against the dominion of Spain, competing tendencies, centrifugal and centripetal, had been at issue in the heart of the States-General itself, some provinces contending for the principle of state rights, others for the principle of union, and when the menace of foreign dominion disappeared with Spain's recognition, by the Treaty of Munster in 1648, of the independence of the new republic, it was the advocates of state rights who triumphed. Three years later, in 1651, the 'Grand Assembly' of The Hague recognized the principle that all sovereign rights resided in the provinces, and henceforth the States-General reverted to type—like the Imperial Diet in Germany, it was not a parliament but a congress of delegates of sovereign, or rather semi-sovereign, states.

Not until 1747 was the office of 'protector of the republic,' or 'stadtholder,' recognized by all the provinces as hereditary in the family of Orange, and by that time it was too late for its institution to form the nucleus of a united legislature—a 'King in Parliament.' Under the shock of the French Revolution, and the invasion of the French armies in 1795, the States-General disappeared altogether, to be revived, with the temporary reunion of the Dutch and Belgian provinces in 1814, in another form for a few uneasy years.

The Dutch parliament of to-day only came to birth in the year 1848.

It will be seen from this comprehensive survey that the struggle in England between the king and Parliament in the seventeenth century was unique of its kind, but for that very reason it was destined to exercise, long afterwards, a profound influence, truly oecumenical in its scope, upon the whole of the civilized world. It is no mere flight of rhetoric to speak of the English legislature as 'the mother of parliaments.' Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu, the true father of comparative law, singled out the English constitution as the ideal policy for the contemplation of mankind, and when the French Revolution spread like a devouring flame all over Europe, England alone escaped the conflagration of a movement which, as De Tocqueville has remarked, was as widely destructive of the old order in Europe as the Reformation itself.

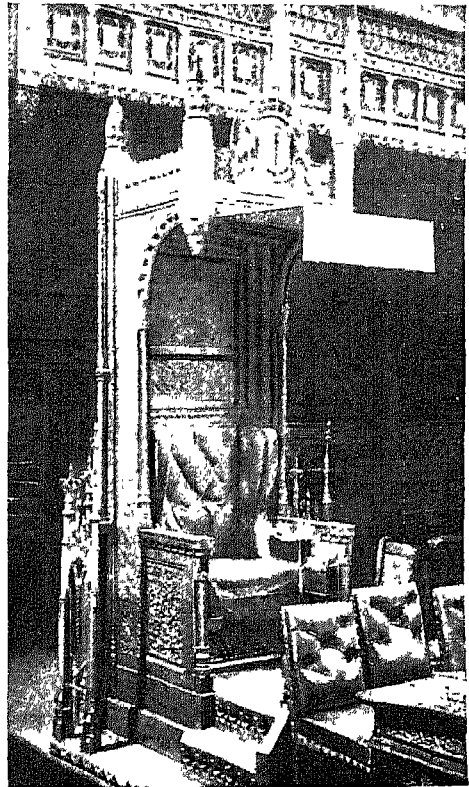
The result was to give the English Parliament the prestige of a monument of human wisdom, and

Prestige of the English Parliament Hallam did no more than express the universal opinion of his

time, extravagant though his language may sound to us, when he described it as 'the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind.' Everywhere in Europe men set themselves to follow the advice of Edmund Burke to 'study the British Constitution.' The nineteenth century was the great age of conscious imitation in the arts of government, and one school, represented by Guizot in one generation, and another school headed by Gneist in another, studied to naturalise the British constitution on the Continent. The two-chamber system and 'law and custom of parliament,' which characterise it, were imitated in nearly every country in Europe. Even in the New World the fathers of the American constitution had borrowed far more than they sought to avoid.

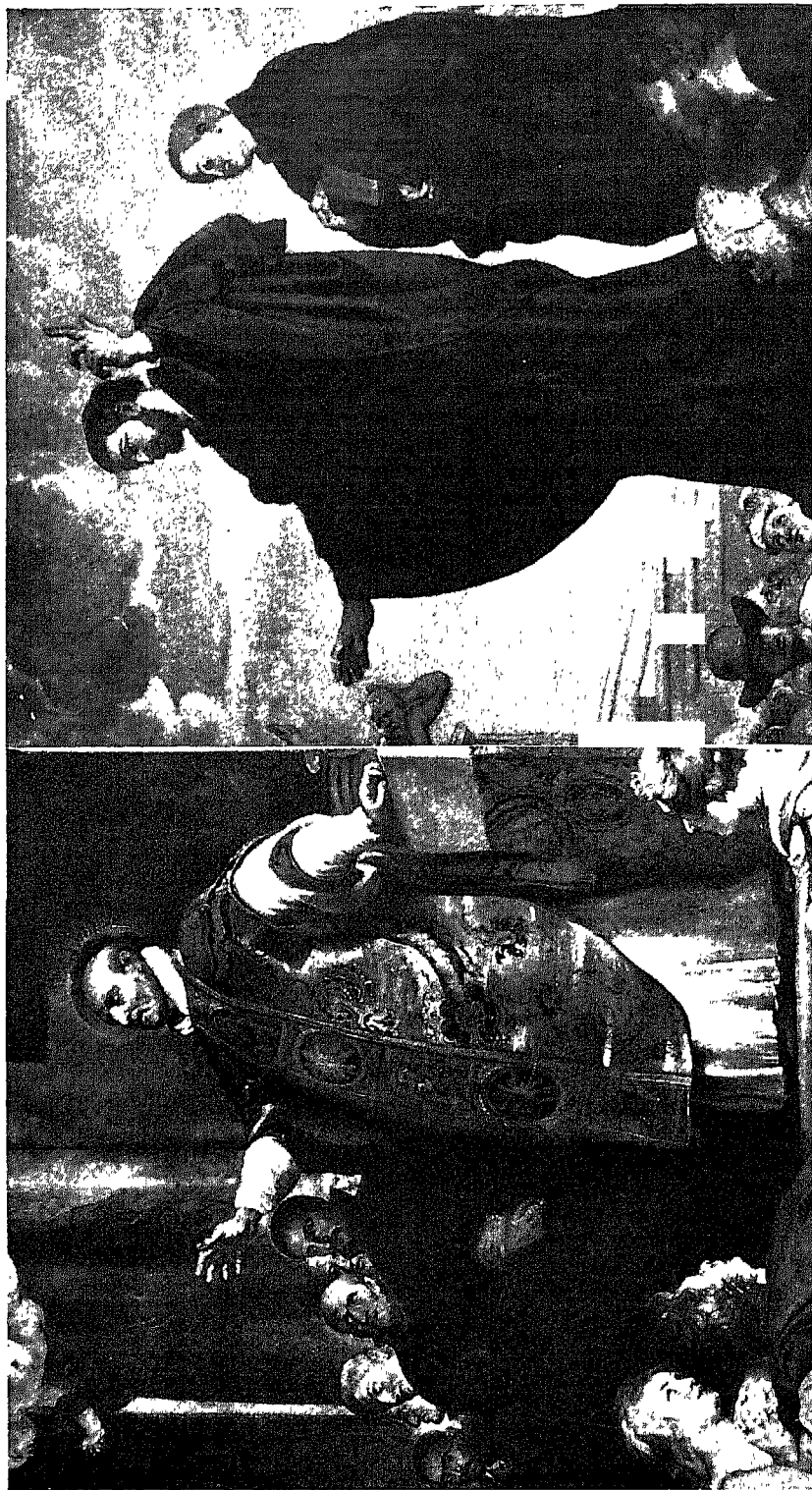
The development of self-government in the British colonies in the latter half of the nineteenth century brought into being some twenty-eight legislatures overseas which are cast in the very image of the

parliament at Westminster. Its august ceremonial, the almost sacerdotal authority of its Speaker's Chair, its ancient privileges, its procedure, are the political heritage of them all. The English Parliament, which held its earliest sittings in the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, had found a permanent home, in the reign of Henry VIII, in the church of S. Stephen's, and there its members did obeisance to the altar as they entered the sacred precincts. Thus originated a ritual of 'bowing to the Speaker' which to-day is universally observed in the legislatures of distant lands which were then as unknown to Europe as the uncharted seas which girt them. Such is the force of the parliamentary tradition that grew up through centuries in England. Upon this rock every political church has been built.



SPEAKER'S CHAIR IN THE COMMONS

This photograph shows the official chair of the Speaker in the British House of Commons at Westminster. Himself a member of the House, the Speaker is elected by the other members to preside over their proceedings. He takes precedence of all commoners in the kingdom.



FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND HIS SAINTED DISCIPLE, THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIES

Rubens painted the pictures of Loyola healing demons and of Francis Xavier preaching in India from which these dominating figures are taken, and, although not primarily intended as likenesses, they corroborate the traditional descriptions of the two men. Loyola's olive-complexioned face was emaciated by self-imposed austerities, and underneath the large forehead his eyes burned with the brilliance of the mystic and seer of visions. Xavier, also an ascetic and a mystic, was a Navarrese, with blue or grey eyes and thick hair and beard, fair until whitened by hardships suffered in the East.

National Gallery, Vienna; photos, F. Brückmann A.G.

THE JESUITS & THEIR ACTIVITIES

Aims and Organization of the Society
of Jesus founded by S. Ignatius Loyola

By ROBERT H. MURRAY

Author of *The Political Consequences of the Reformation*, etc.

THE year 1535 marks a turning point in the history of the sixteenth century. In spite of his alliance with the Lutherans, Francis I of France, on January 19, 1535, at length declared himself hostile to German theology—in France—and executed some of his own subjects who did not hold the doctrine—so convenient to sovereigns—of ‘the prince’s religion the people’s religion.’ That year Calvin was writing his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, an amazing performance for a man of twenty-six. There was no room for him in his native country, France, nor indeed in Strassburg. He set out for Geneva, there to wield a power, secular as much as ecclesiastical, which even Paul III might envy. As the French revolutionaries offered assistance to all peoples desirous of freedom, so Calvin offered his pen and the men he inspired. To the Low Countries he sent that powerful apostle of toleration, Marnix; to England he sent Peter Martyr, and to Scotland he sent John Knox, three forerunners of three revolutions.

Literature in 1535 is just as pregnant with meaning as life. That year Robert Olivétan translated the Bible into French. In the Apocryphal books and in the New Testament he employs Lefèvre’s translation, and when he differs from this scholar the difference is due to Erasmus’s Latin translation. Olivétan’s was as much the favourite version of the French reformers as Tyndale’s was that of the English. It was perused at night, in secret by families; it was read in prisons and caves. It was burnt at the stake and the *auto da fé*. The year 1535 also saw Coverdale’s translation of the Bible, from the Latin and German, appear with the approval of Henry VIII and Cromwell. At Lyons

appeared another work, Rabelais’s masterpiece, *The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua, father of Pantagruel*. It is an encyclopedia covering as many sides of life with as much merriment as Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly*, and having as much joviality as gave Luther his enjoyment of life. Rabelais became as hostile to Calvin as Erasmus was to Luther, and for the same reason. Both perceived the injury inflicted on letters by the reformer, yet, little as he realized it, Rabelais and Calvin were proceeding—though on different roads—to the goal leading to freedom of conscience.

Paul III was meditating in 1535 the convocation of a council which was to heal the diseases of the Church. He sent Vergerio to Germany as his ambassador to Luther, and the reformer and the nuncio met. It was indeed time to take notice of the spread of the Reformation, for in 1535 events were moving fast in England. In January the Act of Supremacy proclaimed Henry VIII Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. Two significant books appeared this year. In his book *On Unity* Reginald Pole attacked the new title, and in his *On True Obedience* Stephen Gardiner expounded the nature and the limits of the duty of a subject to his sovereign. In a word, the Reformation was in full swing. Was there to be a counter-reformation, or was the Church of Rome about to fall?

We may talk as loudly as we please about the science of history or political philosophy, but the front presented by such subjects is broken by the existence of the great man. There are such surprises as Newton from a Lincolnshire farm

or a Loyola or a Xavier from the heart of the Basque country. For, curiously enough, both S. Ignatius de Loyola and S. Francis de Xavier were Spanish Basques. The background of their country requires to be realized before we can understand the faith of both. From 711 to 1492 the Moors had been in Spain, and in the long struggle for the expulsion of these aliens the faith of the Spaniards turned fanatically Roman Catholic, and this fanaticism was sharpened by their suspicion of the Jews.

The father of Ignatius Loyola belonged to the principal nobility of the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, and his son spent his youth in martial

Loyola's call to exercises, thus seeking **Christian Service** name and fame. In the spring of 1521 Francis I besieged Pampeluna. The garrison was about to surrender, when Loyola infused fresh courage into the commander. Just before the town was taken a cannon ball broke the bone of Loyola's right leg and wounded the left. He was sent home, and the surgeon set the right leg so badly that it had to be broken again and reset. The condition of the invalid grew steadily worse until on June 28, the vigil of the feast of S. Peter, the crisis came. The young man had always entertained a peculiar reverence for S. Peter, and he not unnaturally ascribed his recovery, which verily seemed like a miracle, to the direct intervention of the apostle.

The hours of convalescence were long, and in order to while away the time Loyola read a Spanish version of the Golden Legends by Jacob da Voragine, a book which recounted the deeds of the soldiers of the Church, and a life of Christ by Ludolf of Saxony. He had asked for such romances of chivalry as Amadis of Gaul, but none was available. Fired by his reading, Loyola saw that there was fighting to be done on behalf of the Church every whit as active as any fighting on behalf of the state. Ludolf's writing left a lasting impression on Loyola, and it is not difficult to discern in the advice of the Saxon the groundwork of the Spiritual Exercises the invalid was one day to write. Was his new service to

be another crusade to the Holy Land? Such a thought hovered before his mind.

On the eve of the Annunciation, 1522, Loyola went into the monastery church of the Blessed Virgin. There, like a knight of chivalry, he kept watch throughout the night, hanging up his sword and dagger as an offering, and so this new soldier of Christ entered the lifelong service of his Master. Evolving a rigidly ascetic ideal of life for himself, he practised the exercises of religion as he had practised the exercises of warfare. His pilgrimage to Palestine infused fresh zeal into his soul, and he returned ardent to signalise his devotion to the Church. Returning to Barcelona in 1524, he started to learn Latin, reading Erasmus's Christian Soldier's Manual in that language, but its perusal chilled the fervour of his soul. To him theory and practice were simply two aspects of the same thing, and accordingly he supplemented his thoughts on religion by ministry among the artisan of the town and the peasant of the country.

The Inquisition had persecuted him in Spain, for its members were afraid of what Talleyrand called undue zeal, and the College of Montaigu in Paris, to which he proceeded, labelled him a fanatic. There he spent seven years, and there he gathered his first disciples. The charm of his personal appearance combined with the liveliness of his conversation attracted men, and these he dominated by his supreme faculty of governing others. In the undeviating intensity of his religion lay the secret of the influence he acquired over the minds of men. The patience of his life, aided by the persuasion of his tongue, indicated that the precepts he preached he surely practised. Le Fèvre, Lainez, Salmeron and Xavier were the first disciples of the man for whom they sacrificed everything this world counts dear. Xavier was as well born as Loyola, who bestowed much of his attention on the nobility and on the means of attaching them to the Church. Xavier's love for Ignatius was of the deepest character, and it breathes through the letters he wrote to the founder of the Society of Jesus so long as he lived. These letters he

wrote as on bended knee to the master he revered. Neither man was a dreamer, or if they dreamed their dreams inevitably resulted in action. Lainez, like Salmeron, was to prove no mean theologian.

Behind every institution there must lie its guiding principle, and with Loyola this is to be found in his *Spiritual Exercises*, his book of prayer and meditation. Like Thomas à Kempis and John Bunyan, Ignatius Loyola lived his work before he wrote it, and its lively interest consists in its actuality. No doubt it owes somewhat to *The Imitation of Christ*, to the *Spiritual Exercises of Garcia de Cisneros*, to the rules of the College of Montauigu, but it owes most of all to the life of its author. The *Spiritual Exercises of Loyola* is simply a drill-book of the soul; and, in keeping with this character, it is as formal as a system of military training could be. The exercises are to cover a month. The first week is spent on the consideration of sin, the second on the life and rule of the Redeemer, the third on the love and mystery of our Lord's Passion, and the fourth on the Resurrection and Ascension. There is nothing novel in these themes, though there is something novel in the fashion in which they are brought home to the man in retreat.

He is to think of Christ and Satan as the leaders of two opposing hosts; Satan, on the one side, sending forth devils to ensnare souls by means

Opposing hosts of of riches, honours and
Christ and Satan pleasant vices; while

Christ, on the other, commends to His disciples the life of humility and poverty. The suggestion is conveyed that Christ is the general of an army going forth to conquer. The notion of an order of religious chivalry is apparent throughout. How can we conquer unless we fight in deadly earnest? Man is to be saved, but he is to be saved because he insists on destroying every obstacle that hinders his salvation. This goal is in the highest degree desirable; but does the novice tread the path to it? The force of the *Spiritual Exercises* is spent on urging the novice to choose his path and, when once chosen, never to depart from it.

A perusal of the *Spiritual Exercises* is disappointing. Here is a book, the reader says to himself, employed by the faithful for almost three hundred years and employed by them to some purpose, yet it leaves me cold with a coldness akin to that experienced by its author when he read Erasmus's *Christian Soldier's Manual*. Nor is the cause of this attitude difficult to discern. The impression made by the *Spiritual Exercises*

is felt when their meditation **A drill-book**
is made in common with **of the Soul**
other novices, directed by a skilful conductor to lead them onwards in the path of obedience. Such a conductor is as skilful a psychologist as Loyola himself, and his knowledge of the heights and depths of the soul enables him to move and subjugate the soul of the disciple. His submission to the Roman Church must be of the blindest order. All her traditions, all her rites, must be sedulously observed.

In fact in the rules for thinking with the Church, added to the *Spiritual Exercises*, we meet with an abdication of the functions of human reason. Take the thirteenth rule. 'In order that we may be altogether in conformity with the Catholic Church, and of the same mind, we should hold ourselves ready, in any instances he has pronounced that to be black, which to our eyes appears white, to declare that it is so. For it is undoubtedly to be believed that the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the spirit of the Orthodox Church, his spouse, is the same, and by which spirit we are governed and guided to salvation. Such obedience is plainly abject, rendering the novice an instrument completely in the hands of the conductor of the retreat. The religious man was to be passively obedient, 'as a corpse would be,' to employ Loyola's famous phrase.

On August 15, 1534, the feast of the Assumption, Loyola and six companions took the vows which led to the formation of the Company of Jesus in 1540. Obstacles in the shape of a chilling reception of his ideas at Rome had to be overcome, but what were obstacles but matters which must be overcome? Impossibilities to other men became possibilities to Ignatius Loyola. The good will of Cardinal Contarini

was gained, and through him Paul III at last issued the charter on September 27, 1540. Its militant nature is apparent:

Whosoever desires to be a soldier of God under the banner of the Cross in this Company . . . and serve his Lord and the Roman Pontiff, His Vicar on earth—having first vowed the vow of perpetual chastity—must take note that he is a member of a Company instituted The executive powers shall lie in the hands of the General. . . . All shall make a vow to obey the General of the Company in all things that appertain to keeping this rule [of implicit obedience]; and the General shall command what he may deem proper to attain the end that God and the Company have prescribed for him. . . . The General of the Society shall possess absolute government and superintendence over the said colleges and their students in all that concerns the election of superiors and as to the admission, dismissal, reception or exclusion of students.

Loyola was the first general, and the Constitution of the Company was drafted.

The conversion of the heathen was the object at first, and when this proved impracticable the Jesuits turned their attention to preaching and teaching. The Company was a religious order founded upon military obedience, the principle to which S. Pachomius the Egyptian appealed in founding his monastic communities in the fourth century, and the principle to which 'General' Booth the Englishman appealed in the nineteenth century in founding his Salvation Army. It is hard to be original, yet original Ignatius was in allowing monks to dress like secular clergy; original he was in dispensing monks from the duty of singing the long daily and nightly services in choir; and original he was in dividing his disciples into six grades, of which only the highest took the most solemn and irrevocable vows.

By the Constitution a novitiate of two years is required before taking the vows. The impediments to membership of the Society are heresy, homicide, membership of another order, marriage or servitude, and mental deficiency. Candidates must be willing to forgo all communication with their family or friends. During their novitiate they shall take the Spiritual Exercises for a month; serve in hospital

for a month; travel for a month without money, begging their food from door to door; shall perform the most menial services in a house of the Society, teach the catechism to children; and hold themselves ready to preach and hear confession. The utmost stress was laid on the paramount importance of obedience:

Dropping every occupation—leaving unfinished the letter we have begun—and banding all our strength and purpose in the Lord to that end, so that holy obedience be perfect in us in every respect, in execution, in will, and in understanding; obedience in execution consists in doing what is ordered; obedience in will, in having no other will than his from whom we receive the order, obedience in understanding, in thinking as the Superior thinks, and in believing what he ordains is rightly ordained. Otherwise obedience is imperfect. We are to do whatever shall be commanded, with great promptitude, and spiritual joy and steadfastness; persuading ourselves that all commands are righteous; and laying aside in blind obedience our own opinion to the contrary; yea, in everything prescribed by the Superior—where it cannot definitely be shown that some kind of sin is involved. Let everyone convince himself that those who live under Obedience, should be led and governed by Divine Providence through their Superiors, 'perinde ac si cadaver essent,' as a corpse would be, that allows itself to be carried here or there, and handled after any fashion; or like an old man's staff, which suffers itself to be used anywhere, and in any way that he who holds it wishes.

Such a system, if rigidly carried out, meant that the novice yielded the obedience of a slave to his master, and it was rigidly carried out.

The motto of the new Society was 'to the greater glory of God,' but it was a motto which covered, in the eyes of its general, **Means justified by the end** determines and justifies the means. No Jesuit openly confessed that such was his principle, yet the after history of Europe attests that such was his practice. Like Machiavelli, Loyola taught that the conscience of the individual must give way to the community, though the end for the Florentine was the benefit of the state, and the end for the no less famous Basque was the benefit of the Church of Rome. Nor does the Constitution stand alone in its emphasis. For in his well-known letter to

the Portuguese Jesuits in 1533, Ignatius laid down: 'I ought not to be my own, but His who created me; and his, too, through whom God governs me. I ought to be like a corpse, which has neither will nor understanding; like a crucifix, that is turned about by him who holds it; like the staff in the hands of an old man who uses it at will.' He also laid down that 'A sin, whether venial or mortal, must be committed if it is commanded by the Superior, in the Name of our Lord, or in virtue of obedience.'

The Society of Jesus was composed, first, of the probationers, comprising a variety of sub-grades, all distinguished by the fact that they had not made any solemn profession of vows; secondly, of the fathers, who had taken the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; and, thirdly, of the select fathers, who had taken the three vows and the fourth of special obedience to the pope, at whose word the Jesuit bound himself instantly to go forth on whatever errand it might please the Holy Father to command. By the original statutes, no one under fourteen years of age could become a novice, though, by a brief of Benedict XIV, the general was empowered if he saw fit, in special cases, to admit at an earlier age.

No initiative on the part of the probationer was either expected or desired. For instance, Rodriguez once pursued devotional exercises not countenanced by the ritual of the Society, and he pursued them with the aim of making himself a fitter member of it. Loyola wrote to him a stern rebuke; and the ground of this rebuke was that his religious fervour was a simple act of presumption that must rejoice the enemy of human nature, because not performed under that direction of obedience which imparts to zeal its holiness. Ignatius laid stress on the fact that the remarkable qualities of a candidate were remarkable only in so far as they would be strictly and exclusively brought into play at the word of command. He informed his confidential secretary, Polanco, that 'in those who offered themselves he looked less to purely natural goodness than to firmness of character and

ability for business'—the peculiar business of the Society.

A relative of Cardinal Vaughan was a Jesuit, and he resigned his membership of the Society of Jesus in order to join the army. A friend said to him, 'Why, you have only exchanged one form of obedience for another.' 'Not at all, for in the army if you do not like a command given to you, you can abuse the officer in your mind, but with the Jesuits you cannot abuse him even in your mind.' Thus answer indicates precisely the absolute obedience demanded, obedience which meant that every shred of liberty, in thought as well as in deed, must be abandoned.

The power of the general over the novice was absolute. By a brief of Gregory XIV, issued in 1591, it was carefully laid down that no investigation or inquiry whatever was requisite before sentence of expulsion was pronounced against a member of the Society by the general. It was sufficient if he were inwardly satisfied that the probationer was not desirable on any ground. Over the professed Jesuit father it might seem at first that the powers of the general were less, yet even with him the general was allowed to pronounce summary and ultimate judgement on the single ground that in his consciousness he was persuaded of its soundness.

No Jesuit was admitted to the third class till he had reached the age of forty-five, and there is reason to think that the number reaching this class was exceedingly small. No doubt the general could exercise his faculty of dispensation if he discerned special aptitude in any individual, and there have been cases where he has done so. Claudius Acquaviva, for instance, entered the Society at the age of twenty-five. After only fifteen years of service he was promoted to the generalship, a post he held for thirty-four years.

From the newest novice upwards there were minute directions for supervision, which was of the most far-reaching description. In Europe the superiors and rectors of houses had to report in writing to the provincial every week, and those abroad reported at intervals fixed by the

Three classes
of the Society

Promotion by
merit alone

provincial under whom they acted. Vague reports were not tolerated. They were to be of a detailed description not only of persons and matters relating to members of the Society, but also of their dealings with the world at large, 'so that the provincial might contemplate all things as though he had them before him. Once a month the provincial, in his turn, made his report to the general. In order to guard against all possibility of suppression or of misrepresentation on the part of the provincial, all superiors, rectors and masters of novitiates were bound, apart from their reports to the provincial, to send a quarterly report to the general.

These officials were ordered to report directly to the general any matter of moment when it occurred. That is,

the provincials checked

Minute reports on the superiors, rectors
Men and Matters and masters, and in turn were checked by

the superiors, rectors and masters. In fact, check and counter-check formed the custom of the Society, and the only person with all the threads of the ramifying correspondence in his hands was the general. All letters of business must be directed to the general, 'and not to others who are acting with him.' Express precautions were enjoined. We learn that 'in treating matters which demand secrecy, such terms are to be used as can be understood only by the Superiors; the method shall be prescribed by the General.' In truth, the aim of the Society of Jesus was to make every member a wheel in a great machine, and only the general could order the course of the machine.

That the faithful felt the need of combating the Reformation is abundantly demonstrated by the rapid growth of the Society. When Loyola died in 1556 Jesuits could be found in every country in Europe, and at the universities they directed the new learning to the side of the old faith they represented. Nor was their sway confined to Europe, for members of the order were to be met with in the New World as well as in the Old, in the far East as well as the near West. There were altogether twelve provinces with 65 residences and 1,500 members. The imagination responds to the fascination of the

labours of Navier in India and Japan. For if the members of the Company were soldiers, assuredly Xavier was a knight-errant. The sober historian, however, notes that some of the greatest of the Jesuit triumphs were reached in its founder's own country.

After all action there comes reaction. After the struggle of over seven hundred years with the Moors there came reaction, and among the outstanding forces overcoming this reaction were such Jesuits as Araoz and Le Fèvre. They preached and they taught, they visited the sick and they practised the Spiritual Exercises, making friends with men of power and position. Francis Borgia, the grandson of Pope Alexander VI, was one of the chief nobles of Aragon, and the attraction of the Jesuit fathers made him determined to seek admission to their Society. He stayed at Rome, we are told, 'in deep humility and self-abnegation, and in complete obedience and reverence to Padre Ignacio.' True, there was the opposition of Melchior Cano, the Dominican professor at Salamanca, and of the archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain. Such opposition is the very source of life to a new body, and so it proved to Loyola. Against the Reformation the whole force of the Inquisition and the Jesuits was directed. In the emphatic words of Mark Pattison, 'Sparta against Persia was not such odds as Geneva against Spain. Calvinism saved Europe.'

By the Council of Trent the Church of Rome was reformed, and at it Lainez and Salmeron, Jay and Covillon took a prominent part. Lainez influenced the Council **Participation in the**
in 1546 in its decisions **Council of Trent**
on such matters as justification by faith, and we must not forget the fact that when he attended the final session of this Council in 1561 as general of the Society of Jesus he resolutely represented the extreme ultramontane attitude. Jesuits like Bellarmine and Suarez, Molina and Mariana agree that the Church is the most perfect of all governments, and the Black Army of Roman Catholicism, then as now, regards the pope as infallible.

The tone of the Jesuits towards the secular state is as disapproving as it is

approving towards the religious state, yet Suarez represents the state as a secular institution. The tyranny of the sovereign is the object of their perpetual dread. As Machiavelli separated his aspects of the state in practice, so the Jesuits separated theirs in theory, for no writers have more acutely analysed the temporal and the spiritual powers. They allow the king as law maker and the clergy to stand outside the jurisdiction of the secular judge. The power of the pope is unlimited and comes directly from God. The power of the king is unlimited and comes only indirectly from God. Hence every sovereign comes originally from popular appointment. There is a tacit revolt against the Aristotelean notion that men come together in the state in order to realize the good life which otherwise is not possible. Such a view conflicts with the perfectness of the Church. The Jesuits deem that God drives men to union, and from this union unconsciously comes political power.

Political power, so these authors contend, lies with the people, who are by nature all free and equal. Is Adam an obstacle to such a view?

Sovereignty vested in the people Not in the least. For is it not obvious that the patriarch possessed economic, not political, power? The whole community possesses power, which it exercises through the king or the ruling body it elects. Such a condition is more often implicit than explicit. There is the definite original contract between the king, who is assumed to belong to the Roman communion, and the people. The sovereignty of the people precedes all actual rule and it forms part of the 'jus gentium' (see Chapter 78). Hence it is easy to justify the deposing power. As a matter of fact, it was argued, since S. Peter is to feed the sheep of the Church, is it not perfectly certain that such a command carries with it the exclusion of the wolf from the state? Why did Christ say that He came to divide the son from the father if the Church is not to be able to separate sovereigns from subjects when need arises?

Clearly if the deposing power is to be allowed, tyrannicide is also allowed. There are two classes of tyrants—usurpers and

despots. Usurpers may be slain at sight, despots may not be. The whole commonwealth must expressly or tacitly condemn them, though the tacit condemnation opens up a wide field. Mariana asks, in his *On the King and the Institution of the King*, published in 1599: 'Is it right to kill a tyrant?' He answers, Yes. In default of statesmen, 'this right belongs to each individual who means to risk his life for the benefit of the State.' Later he asks: 'Is it lawful to poison a tyrant?' Yes, it is lawful, but the poison is to be given to him in such a fashion that he is not aware of it; for if he is, it is suicide, and suicide is a sin.

The most impassioned supporters of the doctrine of natural right are the Dominicans and the Jesuits. In their views they tend to fall back on the law of nature as they imagine it existed in the days of Adam. The

Doctrine of Natural Right

Jesuits agree, on the whole, that the civil commonalty rests on natural right; that in virtue of natural right, sovereignty belongs to the commonalty; and that the right of sovereignty precedes the commonalty, authorised and, indeed, compelled by the law of nature to delegate it. The positions taken up by Suarez are tolerably common to the Jesuits of the sixteenth century. He defends the people against the sovereign; he defends the poor against the rich; he defends liberty against absolutism; and he teaches the doctrine of tyrannicide. With Calvin, he holds that all power comes from God, and he also holds that the people possess sovereignty.

In his *On the King and the Institution of the King* Mariana sets out with an account of man in the state of nature—a unique conception in sixteenth-century thought—that might readily have been found in the pages of Rousseau. There is not a little in Book III to remind us of chapter eighteen of Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Hope and fear are, in his judgement, as potent as the Florentine deemed them to be. Actual rewards and punishments do not aid the Prince much, but the expectation of such rewards and punishments is very effective. If a subject seeks what you cannot give him, do not send him

away in a state of despair. Suggest that it may be possible, some day, to bestow upon him what he covets. In principle, our author will not allow that it is right to lie or deceive, but a lie or a deception is a present help in time of trouble.

Mariana feels not the slightest hesitation in defending tyrannicide. Resistance of a tyrant's will can be defended on the

Mariana's defence of tyrannicide grounds of the sovereignty of the people and of the natural sense of mankind, as exhibited

in history. The murder of a tyrant—that is to say, of a usurper—offers no difficulty. Jesuit theologians and philosophers are in thorough agreement that the tyrant can be killed by the very first comer without any sort of process, without the intervention of a court of justice or of a political assembly, above all when the assemblies of this class have been destroyed. Nor is there any need to consult public opinion, for such a government should not be permitted to exist for a single day. Sacred and profane history attest the righteousness of tyrannicide. Are there not the examples of Ehud and Judith? If men require more examples are there not Thrasybulus, Timoleon, Harmodius, Aristogeiton and Brutus?

It is but a short step from the theory of Suarez and Mariana to the practice of Clément the Dominican and Ravallac, of Louvel and Cadoudal, of the Gunpowder Plot. According to Mariana, by the assassination of Henry III sovereigns could 'learn, by this memorable teaching, that impious projects do not remain without vengeance.' In 1610, on the assassination of Henry IV by Ravallac, the Parlement of Paris condemned Mariana's teaching as insidious, impious and heretical. Certain of the theories of Suarez and Mariana may have been democratic in tone, but by their advocacy of tyrannicide they undid all the good that the rest of their writings did.

That Jesuit theory and practice in the domain of government coincided in South America is proved by the case of Paraguay at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was to be the age of the benevolent despots of which the Jesuits were the forerunners. In Paraguay the Jesuits

gathered the Indians into townships built round a square. The church and store-houses filled one side, and the dwellings of the Indians the other three. In general, the houses were extremely long, and each family had its own apartments, which were separated from the apartments of the next by a thin partition. The indolence of the Indian was overcome by the patient resoluteness of the fathers, who insisted on the virtue of regular labour.

The plan adopted was semi-communal, to which the large cattle farms lent themselves. The agricultural lands and workshops were practically the property of the community, who worked them under the direction of the two Jesuits who lived in every town. The cattle and the horses were used in common. The surplus capital went in the purchase of commodities from Buenos Aires and Spain. By the inventories taken by Bucarelli, viceroy of Buenos Aires, at the expulsion of the order, it is clear that the Indians mainly wove cotton; sometimes they made as much as eight thousand five hundred yards of cloth in the space of two or three months. Besides weaving, they had tanneries, carpenters' shops, tailors, hat makers, coopers, cordage makers, boat builders, cartwrights and joiners. Nor were the finer arts of life disdained, for the Jesuits had silversmiths, musicians, painters, turners and printers.

The Jesuits thoroughly believed in the principle that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, and their teaching on this head was supported by the laborious life they all led. If an Indian did his work badly, he received no rations till he improved. The festivals of the Church varied the occupations of the Indians, and such days were all the more heartily enjoyed because of the consciousness that the joy and pleasure they afforded had been richly earned. The Indians worked, but they worked under supervision. If we bear in mind their childlike nature, it is easy to see how readily the custom of obedience to every command of the Jesuit was adopted. He came, he saw, he ordered, and it was for the Indian to obey his behest. True, the Jesuit trained some of

Methods of Education

the promising youth, though they obviously could not do much for the education of the mass of their subjects. So far as they could, they impressed habits of industry and good conduct, and this is saying much. On the other hand, it seems as if the excessive inculcation of obedience brought about that blind submissiveness to such despots as Francia and Lopez. Half the population of Paraguay perished in the war of the younger Lopez, the third of the dictators who ruled the country from 1818 to 1870. There is a credit as well as a debit side to the Jesuit method of education.

In his *Letters on Paraguay* Robertson reckons that the average Indian earned at least a hundred dollars a year, and that his food, hut and clothing did not cost fifty. He estimates the total value of a hundred thousand such workers and the property as £5,641,200. When Joseph II visited the famous Jesuit Church at Rome, the Gesù, General Ricci hastened to greet him. As they stood before the solid silver statue of Ignatius, Ricci explained that it was due to the gifts of friends of the Society. Joseph II drily observed: 'Say rather to the profits on your Indian missions.' In the early days of the Society it is quite plain that it

Accumulation of wealth

owed much of its wealth to the offerings made by the faithful, and as the Jesuits paid special attention to the wealthy these offerings attained large dimensions. Large amounts were bestowed in the form of legacies, with the outcome that the fathers became traders on a huge scale. They bought and managed farms; they planted vines and sold wine; and they played their part in commerce, though they did not always play it successfully. At Seville, in 1644, one of their seven residences there failed for no less a sum than two and a quarter million francs. Speculation in shipping proved the downfall of this residence.

It is true that the Jesuits were forbidden to engage in commerce, yet, despite this prohibition, the viceroy of India remarked to John IV of Portugal that they had in that country property worth twenty thousand crowns a year. Von Lang

estimates that a little after the middle of the seventeenth century the 585 members of the Bavarian branch of the Society enjoyed a permanent income of 185,956 florins, and to this sum we must add fees, salaries, gifts and legacies. He calculates that between 1620 and 1700 the Jesuits received 800,000 florins in donations. These, indeed, are only examples of the vast wealth and the still vaster influence possessed by the Society of Jesus.

Such wealth for a time proved their undoing. There was general discontent in Roman Catholic countries due to the commercial operations of the Jesuits. In Portugal Pombal hated them because they opposed his measures of reform and they monopolised what remained of Portuguese commerce with India. In 1759 he deported them to Italy, and confiscated all their property in Portugal. In France there was widespread discredit caused by the failure of the Jesuit traders, and a royal edict abolished the Society in France in 1764. Charles III banished the Jesuits from Spain in 1767, and they were also expelled from Naples in 1767 and from Parma in 1768.

The bull which Paul III gave the Society in 1540 stated that it was formed 'especially for the purpose of instructing boys and ignorant persons in the Christian religion.' Nor did the Jesuit commit what he would have regarded as a crowning mistake in devoting his attention to religious learning. Despite opposition in France on the part of the University of Paris and of the regular clergy, the educationists of the order were to be found in all the Romance countries spending their strength on secular education. From the outside their skill is attested by Bacon as it is attested from the inside by Descartes, who had been their pupil. Here, however, as in Paraguay, their importance is a thing of the past. Their schools still exist, but they nowhere assume the prominent part they assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mode of education was systematised in 1584, when Acquaviva was general, with the result that the Plan and Institution of Studies of the Society of Jesus regulated instruction in all schools until 1832, when the programme

was extended to include physical science and modern languages.

The Jesuits who had taken all the vows spent fifteen to eighteen years in preparation for their labours. How thorough this preparation was is seen in the fact that they spent two years as novices and one as approved scholars, during which they were naturally engaged mainly in religious exercises. Then came three

years devoted to the study of mathematics of professed Fathers and philosophy, four years of theology, and, in the case of the more distinguished students, two years more spent in repetition and private theological study. Nor was the scheme theoretical. At some stage in this arduous course the learners were sent to teach boys. The method of teaching was to be learnt in the training schools, called 'juvenats,' one of which was founded in each province. It is noteworthy that practically all the Jesuits had taught boys. Salmeron and Bobadilla performed this duty in Naples, Lainez in Florence, Francis Borgia in Córdoba, and Canisius in Cologne.

During the period when the Jesuit was a teacher no private studies were to stand in the way of his supreme service, and even his religious exercises were curtailed.

'This one thing I do' formed the motto of the aspiring teacher. With such singleness of aim and such definiteness of method there is no cause of wonder at the success the Jesuit schools achieved. Every teacher felt that he served, no matter in how humble a capacity, that he was a soldier serving the interests of the Church. He was a knight, a champion of the world of religion pledged to fight with all his might the forces animating the Reformation. Ranke admits that the Jesuits were very successful in the education of youth, but he claims that this success can scarcely be credited to their learning or their piety, but rather to the exactness and nicety of their methods. He finds in their system a combination of learning with untiring zeal, of exterior pomp with strict asceticism, of unity of aim with unity of government, such as the world has never witnessed before or since.

There was a rigid system of supervision, beginning with the monitor of the boys and ending with the general of the order. After the general came the provincial, appointed by the general. After the provincial came the rector, also appointed by the general for three years. After the rector came the prefect of studies, appointed by the provincial. The rector and the prefect of studies zealously watched the teachers, and the latter visited each teacher in his class at least once a fortnight in order to hear him teach.

The pupils belonged to two classes, those who were training for the order and the externs, who were merely scholars. Instruction was gratuitous to all. While Loyola had been anxious to enlist the sympathy of the nobility with his institution, in his schools neither poverty nor lowly extraction was allowed to stand in the way of a promising pupil. Nor can we overlook the fact that the Jesuit schools have always been ready to undertake the education of the poor, provided that they show capacity. Until 1832 the subjects taught were entirely literary. According to the ideas of the Renaissance, literature itself meant the Latin and Greek classics. Grammar and rhetoric, poetry and history were the subjects on which the most stress was laid. Reading and writing in the mother tongue might not be taught save on the special authority of the provincial, and such authority was seldom bestowed. Subjects were taught in Latin, and indeed Latin was to supersede all other languages, even in conversation. We have watched a cricket-match played at a Jesuit school, and all the conversation was in Latin.

At a time when corporal punishment was the order of the day, it is much to the credit of the Jesuits that they rather employed emulation and the sense of honour as a spur to endeavour. One lad could pass another in class by his clever answers. Every class was divided into two hostile camps, called Rome and Carthage, which had pitched battles of questions on set subjects. No doubt wits were sharpened by this process, though

the tendency was to make the lads plead for a case and not for a cause. They were advocates, not judges, and the higher faculties are not developed in this fashion. Of course, the whole aim of the training was to encourage the receptive and the reproductive faculties at the expense of the rest of the mental equipment. A thorough mastery of Latin for all purposes, a sound knowledge of the theological and philosophical opinions of the teachers, skill in debate marked by readiness in reply—these were the qualities on which stress was laid by the intensely practical Jesuits, and these were the qualities which gave them their commanding position in the Europe of the seventeenth century. Obedience to the ideal of Loyola must be preserved at all costs, and this meant that originality of mind, independence of judgement, the love of truth for its own sake, the judicial power of framing broad-based decisions—all were discouraged.

Acquaviva forbade every opinion that contradicted the teaching of S. Thomas Aquinas. There have been men like

Sacrifice of independence in announcing the infallibility of conscience, and men like Petavius who first described the evolution of dogma, thereby throwing every system into the melting-pot of history. In spite of the versatility of the Jesuits, they have not produced great scholars, great scientists, great thinkers. Nor was this the aim of the Constitution. Loyola aimed at the production of an average of able men who could preach to the Indians of Paraguay, or teach in the University of Paris. Accordingly, there are not a few Jesuits who attained fame as scholars in such work as the editing of manuscripts, the deciphering of Latin inscriptions, the observation of planets, and the like. The fate of a man of outstanding mark is expulsion, of which the case of Father Tyrrell in 1906 is an instance.

The mass of mankind nowhere attains a high average, and accordingly the self-devotion and the heroism of Jesuit missionaries in America and Asia calls for unstinted recognition. Obviously the novice is a fanatic for his faith, and this

fanaticism for his faith is combined with fanaticism for his order. Ambitionless for himself, he is most ambitious for the success of everything he has been ordered to take in hand. The men who deserve the foremost place on the bead-roll of honour are not the Jesuits who framed the dogmas of the Council of Trent, who planned and plotted the overthrow of the Protestant powers, but the men who devoted themselves to the duty of preaching Christ to the peoples

of Asia and America. **Heroism in the Francis Parkman is a mission field** Puritan of the Puritans,

and yet no one has written with more knowledge and with more praise of the labours, the heroic labours, of the Jesuit missionaries in North America. Who can say enough for the activities of men like Isaac Jogues and Francis Xavier?

In his short life of forty-seven years Xavier taught men as much by his aspirations as by his accomplishments. It Browning's test—'All I aspired to be, that was I worth to God'—be accepted, then Xavier stands out foremost in the sixteenth century. Magellan and Pizarro, Cortés and Cabot, Drake and Raleigh made ventures for men, while Xavier made ventures for God. The spirit of adventure in his life is as transparent as in that of any of the sailors of the age. Recent criticism has shattered the belief that he was the author of the hymn that endears his name to not a few of us ;

My God, I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love Thee not
Are lost eternally.

On March 14, 1540, Ignatius summoned Xavier to his room and told him to leave Rome for Portugal the following day. In the spirit of implicit obedience Xavier accepted the commission by stopping to kiss the feet of his former companion ; afterwards returning to his room to mend his tattered cassock and to prepare for his long journey to India. On passing through the Pyrenees he caught a glimpse of the stately towers of his old home in the Basque country, but, mindful of his general's orders, he avoided a parting scene with his mother, pressing on to Lisbon. The voyage lasted six months, and while it

lasted he seized any opportunity for doing good that presented itself. He tended the sick, he taught the children, and he preached, attracting all as much by the gaiety of his conversation as by the serenity of his soul. At Goa he worked among the Portuguese, though how slow was his work is clear in his letter of January 15, 1544, when he confesses :

They do not know our language, and so they do not know what they ought to believe. And as I cannot understand them, nor they me, because their native tongue is Malabar and mine Basque, I got together the most intelligent of them and sought out some persons who knew both languages. After many meetings and with much difficulty, we translated the prayers from Latin into Malabar, beginning with directions as to the manner of blessing oneself, and confessing that the Three Persons are one God, then the creed, the commandments, the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, and the general confession. After these had been translated into their language and I had learned them by heart, I went through the village ringing a bell, collecting all the men and boys that I could, and after I had got them together, I gave them a lesson twice a day.

Still, much as we may hold the Jesuit belief in the virtues of repetition, it is hard to see how permanent work can have secure foundations laid by even a Xavier when he does not speak the language of the people he is anxious to convert. Zeal is all very well, but it must be a zeal according to knowledge.

In his tattered gown and old black hood he travelled from place to place, facing dangers of travel by land and sea, dangers from marauders and pirates, dangers of fever and pestilence, to say nothing of the dangers from the indifference of the Europeans he encountered. Travancore, the Fishery Coast, Malabar, Ceylon and the Spice Islands were among the places he visited. His letters are among the few human ones we meet in Jesuit annals, and in the yearning to see his friends we note the tenderness and the loveliness of the ascetic who was harsh only to himself. Yet we wonder at the scanty equipment of the missionary who could not speak

any language of the folk to whom he ministered, who knew nothing of their past and little of their present. He spoke to the mass, not to the individual, and he seemed to regard the administration of baptism as the climax of his work. Superficial such toil must be, no matter how severe. Take the case of Bishop Corfe of Korea, who toiled for a generation laying the foundations of his work. Asked at the end of his days if he had made a convert, he answered, 'Thank God, not one.'

In the letters of Xavier we are struck with the acuteness of his remarks on the characteristics of the Brahmans and the Japanese, and his analysis of the abilities and temperament of the latter race is clear-sighted. At the same time the letters also strike us as being as general in tone as was his mission. There is seldom any account of the qualities of a particular native, while there is often an account of the qualities of the race to which he belongs. Nor did he omit to consider the commercial interests of the native who was told that if he became Christian he would, for instance, secure the good will of the Portuguese and live in security, for under the protection of their fleets he could trade and fish freely.

Xavier's experiences in Japan, then in a state of war, led him to make the most of his position as a representative of the king of Portugal. Nor can we deny that with Xavier, as with the Jesuits generally, the sacred and the secular were intermingled. This meddling with politics in Japan led to the persecution of converts by Hideyoshi, the all-powerful ruler, and it also led to trouble in India, where the most lasting work of the great missionary was accomplished. In the desire to be all things to all men, the Jesuit missionaries conceded much to native prejudices, recognizing, for instance, the social principle of caste and allotting a large place to what at best was no more than the modification of Hindu belief and practice. Compromise has at all times and in all places formed the weakness as well as the strength of the followers of Ignatius Loyola.

Francis Xavier's
wide wanderings

Xavier's letters on
lands and peoples

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

How the Idea of State Sovereignty took Shape
between the Days of Machiavelli and Hobbes

By RAMSAY MUIR

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THE sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not only a period of great events and of great changes in the conditions of human life; they were a period also of very active political thinking, when new ideas about the state and government, about the relations of individuals with the state, and about the relations of states with one another, were gradually taking shape. And it is quite impossible to form a true conception of the development of human society without studying this movement of ideas. For men's ideas on such subjects necessarily have the most profound influence upon their actions. How great this influence can be we may judge from the effect upon the course of events which has been exercised in our own time by such theories as those of socialism or self-determination.

In truth, abstract theories about society are among the most potent forces in the moulding of human destiny. It is mere superficiality to think that the only decisive things have been wars and treaties, the policies of statesmen, or even the working of economic forces. Underlying all these external facts, and at all times deeply influencing them, have been the dreams, the ideals and the theories that continually rise and jostle one another in the questing and bewildered minds of men. It is these that set great movements afoot; that cause wars—far more often than the ambitions of politicians; that find a halting and imperfect expression in laws and institutions; that determine the ways in which each generation tries to modify or guide the working of economic forces. The restless and unsatisfied mind of man, always seeking explanations

of the facts of life, and always making plans for mending them, is, indeed, the most vital element in human progress.

It is easy and natural to identify the big governing ideas which have influenced political action with the names of the great men who gave to them the most pointed and forcible expression. For that reason we are apt to speak of Plato or Aristotle, of Machiavelli or Grotius, of Hobbes or Rousseau, as if they were the inventors of the great ideas with which their names are associated in our minds. But this is never a sound view. It is scarcely too much to say that no potent political idea has ever been, in the strict sense of the word, 'invented' by any individual, however great. Always these ideas are inspired or suggested by the social facts and problems of the time to which the thinker belongs.

What the thinker does is to give clear and cogent expression to ideas that are floating in the mind of his generation. By doing so he gives them definition; he turns them from **Expression of** vague notions into intelli- **current Ideas** gible principles or even dogmas; and the extent of the influence which he is able to wield depends not only upon the force and vigour of his own thinking, but even more upon the degree to which he gives point and clarity to ideas that were already dimly present in the minds of his readers. Even the greatest of thinkers cannot get away from the conditions and problems of his own time. When Plato framed his ideal commonwealth he could think of no desirable form of society save a city state like the Athens in which he lived; he could not even conceive of civilized life as

being possible without slavery. Even the very greatest thinkers, then, do not invent wholly new ideas ; it is society as a whole that gradually frames them, and they are in fact inspired by the ever-new questions that are continually being raised by the stream of changing events. So the history of political thought is not merely a history of the ideas of a few outstanding thinkers ; it is, in a real sense, the history of the changing outlook of civilized man on the problems of political organization.

Nevertheless, we are right in concentrating our attention upon the outstanding political thinkers, not only because they

give clear expression to the dominating political ideas of their time, but also because they

are sometimes able to put these ideas with such force and vigour as to secure for them a longer life and influence than they might otherwise have enjoyed. The long prevalence of the lax political morality of the Renaissance was in no small degree due to the genius of Machiavelli ; and the immense and lasting influence of the doctrine of state sovereignty (which has only begun to be weakened in our own time) owes a great deal to the irresistible logic of Hobbes. But while we give due weight to the personal force and genius of great men, we must never allow ourselves to forget that they were no more than the mouthpieces of the thought of their time, which in its turn was shaped and moulded by the course of events. Events produce ideas ; ideas shape events. It is no more possible to say whether events or ideas count for most in the fixing of human destiny than to say whether the hen or the egg came first.

The modern age begins with the intellectual movement known as the Renaissance, the essence of which was a breaking away from the forms and traditions of the Middle Ages and a return to the 'humanism' of the ancient world—to the glorification of human personality and to pride in human power and human reason. This led, on the one side, to a new adventurousness of mind, to an impatience of old forms, in politics as in the arts, to an eagerness to explore new methods and ideas, which produced great

results. The political ideas of the Middle Ages—the idea of the universal spiritual power, vicegerent of God on earth, which limited or qualified the power of all earthly potentates, and the idea of feudalism which in theory regarded the sovereign as having only a limited authority and every social grade as having obligations as well as rights—had become almost dead forms. The pope himself had become simply an Italian prince, warring on equal terms with other princes, though enjoying by custom very lucrative rights as head of the Church. Everywhere princes, great or small, were claiming absolute authority, and paying deference to no earthly superior. Everywhere the old two-sided relations of feudalism were breaking down ; either, as in Germany, the feudal lords were turning into absolute princes, or, as in France, they were being subjugated by the royal power.

Moreover, a new political force of the highest importance, the evolution of which is traced in Chapter 139, was rising into prominence—the national state, bound together not merely by ties

of common obedience, as almost all states had hitherto been, but by the far

Birth of the National State

stronger ties of natural affinity, springing from race, language and customs. Nobody yet clearly recognized the strength of the national bond and the power which it gave to the states which were fortunate enough to be cemented by it. In actual fact, the great nation states—France, Spain, England—had been unified by the ruthless policy of almost despotic sovereigns—Louis XI and Francis I in France, Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, Henry VII and Henry VIII in England ; and these princes were just as merciless and unscrupulous in their methods as were the petty despots in Italy. They had had to fight, and they were still fighting, against the power of feudal barons and the mutual jealousies of long-separated provinces. They owed their victories not merely to the unscrupulousness of their methods, but above all to the fact that they were supported by the vague but strong and growing sentiment of nationality among their subjects. This it was which formed their strength, and which enabled France,

for example, to hold together even after such a crushing disaster as the battle of Pavia (1525). But it was natural that the political thinkers of a generation to which the national idea was still unfamiliar should attribute the greatness of these states primarily to the methods pursued by their rulers.

It is in the light of these facts and tendencies that we must read the work of the political thinkers of the Renaissance period. Two of them especially deserve study, as representing two very different aspects of the Renaissance mind: Niccolò Machiavelli the Italian, and Thomas More the Englishman.

Machiavelli (1469-1527), whose name has become a synonym for the disregard of all moral obligations, was, in fact, a very honourable man, a devoted and loyal servant of the Florentine republic, of which he was a citizen; and, unlike many political thinkers, he never forgot that the end of all politics is the well-being not of privileged classes, but of the mass of plain people. Moreover, he was not only a patriotic Florentine, he was a patriotic Italian, who

Aims of Machiavelli longed for Italian unity and dreamed of an Italy defended against invasion by a national militia, and free to live her own life and develop her own civilization in security. During his own stormy lifetime he had seen Italy invaded and ravaged by the armies of the great national states, France and Spain. He had seen the decline of her brilliant civilization, wherein she had led the world in the fifteenth century; he had seen the distresses of her people, sheep without a shepherd capable of defending them. Only one man had been able, for a time, to hold his own in the confusion; the brilliant, wicked Cesare Borgia, who in striving to build up a state for himself had used all the weapons of lying, treachery and assassination to remove obstacles from his path, but had given peace and good government to the subjects of the petty tyrants he destroyed. These events set Machiavelli thinking and inquiring about the secrets of the strength of states, and the methods by which rulers have made themselves strong and respected. He drew together

examples and illustrations from the range of ancient and Italian history. He was the first political thinker to see the power of the national bond, and he longed to see Italy united by this bond. For all these reasons he deserves to be described as the founder of modern political science.

But when he came to ask himself how a power capable of maintaining peace and justice could be built up, there seemed to be no other answer but that the methods pursued by the princes who had built up the **Characteristics of the Prince** power of other great states should be pursued. The

prince must ruthlessly sweep out of his way all obstacles to his power. He must hold himself to be emancipated from the obligations of private morality. Ethics must be divorced from politics. Otherwise the unity and the firm rule which were essential for the well-being of the mass of men could, it seemed, never be secured. Machiavelli expounded these ideas in a little treatise called *The Prince*, which he wrote in 1513 and addressed to the younger Lorenzo de' Medici, head of the ruling family of his own Florence, in the hope that he might take upon himself the terrible, cruel, necessary task of saving Italy. This famous treatise, which preaches the necessity of treachery and assassination as instruments of politics, was inspired by a fervid and passionate longing for national unity for peace and for good government.

The Prince came to be regarded as a sort of Devil's Bible for politicians. For three centuries it was the cynic's textbook. Yet it is easy to see how the theories it embodied arose, almost inevitably, from the circumstances of the time. And it should be added that there are two great and fruitful ideas implicit in Machiavelli's thinking. He was the first thinker to appreciate the potency of the national idea—the forerunner of his great countryman, Mazzini, in the nineteenth century. And his clear apprehension of the necessity of a strong central power to hold the state together was, in fact, an anticipation of the doctrine of sovereignty, later wrought out more clearly by Hobbes and others.

The gentle and noble Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), who was a junior contemporary of Machiavelli, represents a very different aspect of Renaissance thought. His book, *Utopia* (Nowhere), was published in 1516—three years after Machiavelli's *The Prince* was written. It describes an ideal commonwealth, situated in the newly discovered lands of America: a commonwealth in which poverty is banished, education is universal, religious persecution

Utopia, the ideal state is unknown and government is carried on by elected officers and a prince chosen for life.

It is, indeed, a dream of a better world, unrelated to the actual world, though it contains many shrewd and kindly criticisms of the England of More's day, and of the folly of wars and conquests; the dream of a gentle Radical idealist, in harmony with the hopes and dreams of the Radicals of all ages. What marks it as belonging to the Renaissance is its complete emancipation from the dominance of old traditions and received notions. But it is not in any sense a scientific study of the forces which hold society together in the actual world, or a programme of action for the future. It is the first and the best of the many Utopian dreams whereby men have reminded themselves that an ideal state of justice and happiness ought not to be unattainable by humanity; but like all such day-dreams, it rather withdraws the mind of the reader from the practical task of improving the actual world of society than provides him with clear guidance as to how this task should be undertaken. For that reason, though it has given consolation to many, it has had very little real influence upon the actual development of human institutions. The Anabaptists of Germany adopted it as a sort of text-book in the early days of the Reformation; but they were the kind of visionaries whose fanaticism is an obstacle rather than an aid to progress.

In the next year after the publication of More's *Utopia* Luther nailed his theses to the door of the Wittenberg church; and the great upheaval of the Reformation began. It was to have the most profound reaction upon political thought.

On the one hand, the Reformation was a revolt against traditional and constituted authority, an assertion of the right of private judgement. It was essentially revolutionary. It repudiated the ideas which had been accepted by the Middle Ages about God's scheme for the government of the world through the pope and the emperor. For that reason, it was in some sense the parent of democracy. Among its first results were formidable revolutionary movements among the oppressed peasantry of South Germany, and among the Anabaptists of North Germany; both of whom, in a vague, confused way, went far towards repudiating all constituted authority, civil as well as religious, and dreamed of the institution of a wholly new social order, in which there should be no masters and all goods should be held in common. From these ideas descended, more or less directly, the democratic and socialistic movements of the seventeenth century. Again, wherever the Reformation had to fight for its life, it tended to assume the extreme and militant form of Calvinism; and Calvinism in Geneva, its birthplace, and in Scotland its second home, and later in New England, wrought out schemes of representative government for the Bible commonwealths which it strove to establish—schemes which gave to these lands the forms at any rate of democratic institutions on a far more complete scale than had ever before been seen in the modern world.

Thus, on one side of its influence, the Reformation pointed towards democracy, and supplied some of the models for its later advocates, such as Rousseau, though political democracy in any full sense was not to come into being anywhere in Europe until the era of the French Revolution. This might, indeed, seem to be the natural influence of the great upheaval of the Reformation upon political thought. Yet, strangely enough, its main immediate influence tended in precisely the opposite direction, and contributed, even more powerfully than the teaching of Machiavelli, to strengthen the power of lay princes, by establishing the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Influence of Protestantism

How did this happen? In part it was due to the fact that kings and princes took command for their own purposes of the Reformation movement, and strove to add to their secular authority the immense spiritual power which the popes had wielded in the Middle Ages; while the Reformers eagerly upheld their patrons and supporters, comparing them with Josiah and other God-inspired protectors of the true faith. In part the Reformers were frightened by the excesses to which the revolution they commenced had given rise, and fell back upon the civil power as the divinely ordained means of maintaining order and discipline. This attitude is to be seen in Luther's fevered denunciations of the revolting peasants, with whose grievances he had at first sympathised.

But there was something deeper than this. In repudiating the long established authority, first of the pope (which began when Luther burnt the papal bull of excommunication in 1520) and then of the emperor (which followed the Diet of Worms in 1521), the Reformers had destroyed the long-accepted

Repudiation of papal authority sanctions of earthly power, together with the whole system of law and custom which rested on them. Was it to be believed that God had established no authority on earth whom it was his creatures' duty to obey? The Reformers could not rest in such a position. In place of canon law and the accepted doctrines of the medieval world which they were driven to renounce, they enthroned the Bible as God's rule for the world. What had the Bible to say about the sanctions of civil power, about the authorities which men ought to obey? There was no word there of priestly supremacy. Rather there was, in the New Testament, the text 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's'; and in the Old Testament a multitude of examples of absolute monarchs who were endowed with the authority of God; good kings, who were the very instruments of God's will; bad kings, who had to be obeyed because they were sent as a punishment for the sins of the people.

From the Reformation onwards the Bible was used as a source of authoritative

dicta on politics in a far greater degree than even in the Middle Ages; and all the arguments, in Protestant countries, both for and against monarchy turned mainly upon the interpretation of texts. And in the main (although there was always a current of teaching of another kind) the conclusion drawn was that the civil power, the power of the absolute kings or princes who ruled almost all Europe, was of divine ordination. So the doctrines of divine right and of the absolute sovereignty of the state (however constituted) were immensely reinforced by, if they did not spring from, the Reformation. 'There is nothing on earth more noble than the state,' said Melancthon, Luther's ablest coadjutor; and that phrase, which anticipates Hobbes, and justifies Louis XIV, but which could never have been enunciated in the Middle Ages, is the measure of the change which had been wrought in men's ideas. Luther shares with Machiavelli and Hobbes the credit of having been the chief propounder of the essential ideas upon which the modern state has been built up.

The Reformation also raised, in an insistent form, a difficult question upon which controversy has raged from that day to this—the question of the relations of State and Church. Hitherto the state and the Church had been regarded as simply two aspects of the same society, of which the Church was the higher. But in the new order, when the sovereignty of the state was being loudly proclaimed, what ought their relations to be? Ought the Church to be subject to the state, as in the England of Henry VIII? Ought the state to be subordinate to the Church, as in the Geneva of Calvin? Or ought the two powers to be equal and co-ordinate, as, in theory, some attempt was made to make them in Scotland? On the whole, the Reformers (except Calvin) were inclined to take the first view; but the conclusions which seemed to follow were difficult to accept. At Augsburg in 1555, and finally, after long wars, at Westphalia in 1648, the supremacy of the state was accepted in the extreme form embodied in the phrase '*cuius regio ejus religio*'—the

The Bible as supreme authority

religion of a country must follow the religion of its ruler within the limits of the three recognized faiths. But no one would have been prepared to follow this theory to its logical conclusion, and to admit that if a prince should become a Mahomedan he could force this faith upon all his subjects. The problem of Church and State did, in fact, raise the question of the limitation of the rights of sovereignty in its most acute form and, in spite of the attitude of most of the Reformers, kept alive the challenge to the despotic power of kings (which for two centuries to come was to be the accepted political system of most of Europe) more effectively than any other force.

Even in Roman Catholic countries, where it might have been supposed that the doctrine of the limitation of the lay power by the superior authority of

The doctrine of
Absolute Sovereignty

of the spiritual power
would have been kept

alive, this period saw the general acceptance of the doctrine of the absolute and unlimited power of the sovereign. When in the middle of the century the great Catholic revival or counter-Reformation began, the Church was too dependent upon the lay power to be able to fight its claims; and because Philip II remained a loyal Catholic he was able to use the Inquisition as a tool of his absolute authority. Even the Republic of Venice, in a dispute with the pope over the exclusion of the Jesuits from its territories, asserted the absolute power of the lay power as strongly as did ever Protestant despot; and Fra Paolo Sarpi held the lists against the papal apologist Bellarmine, in defence of this doctrine (see page 3048).

In short, the main effect of the Reformation in the political sphere was to strengthen the doctrine of absolute power, and to reinforce it with the sanction of divine right. Not only did the despot seem to provide (as Machiavelli held) the only practical means of maintaining order and peace; he was now armed also with the sanction of divine authority. The currents of free thinking, which also sprang from the Reformation, were as yet, in the main, undercurrents. But they were to emerge with new force during the long period

of religious wars which the Reformation brought about.

The wars of religion, which raged during the second half of the sixteenth century in France, Scotland and the Netherlands, and which also menaced the national existence of England, gave rise to a great deal of searching discussion. Had kings or governments a right to impose their edicts upon bodies of their subjects who held strong convictions which they believed to be in accord with the will of God? If not, how could the state be held together? Might a minority resist the authority of the state when it believed it to be wrong? If so, might not the very existence of organized society, and of civilized life which depends upon it, be imperilled? Was religious unity essential, as western Europe had hitherto believed? Could society hold together if its members held violently opposed views upon the most fundamental questions?

These momentous questions were raised in the sharpest way in France, where the embittered conflicts of the two faiths threatened to bring anarchy, and to break up the hard-won unity of the nation. The character of the great debate varied as the character of the struggle changed. At first the Protestant (Huguenot) minority were fighting for their very existence against the national government which permitted the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. In order to justify their resistance to authority, the Huguenot thinkers worked out a theory of the limitation of the powers of government which was in sharp conflict with the prevalent doctrine of the divine right of kings. Then the Protestant leader, Henry IV, became by hereditary succession the legitimate king. He was supported not only by Protestants but by the party of the 'Politiques'—Catholics who were willing, in order to save the state, not only to support the legitimate king, but to grant a reluctant toleration to Protestantism. The 'politique' thinkers worked out a new form of the doctrine of divine right and state sovereignty, based upon the belief that the absolute power of the crown was the only means of avoid-

Religious friction
in France

ing anarchy; and the Huguenots, now that their leader was king, forgot their advocacy of the right of resistance. But the extreme Catholics, who refused to accept a Protestant king, and placed their loyalty to the Church above their loyalty to the state, took up the cause which the Huguenots had abandoned, and worked out a doctrine of popular sovereignty far more sweeping than the Huguenots had ever maintained, in order to justify their attitude. Thus the circumstances of the time brought out in sharp conflict the rival doctrines of state sovereignty and of popular rights, in a series of treatises which profoundly influenced the political thinking of the next century.

Among the Huguenots, in the first period, some writers (notably the great jurist Hotman, in a book called *Franco-Gallia*) laboured to prove from history that the power of the king was limited by the powers of other bodies in the state—just as, in the next century in England, the great lawyers argued that the common law and the rights of Parliament were independent of the power of the crown. These writers thus tried to base the limitation of arbitrary power not upon abstract right, but upon historical evidence. Other writers (notably the author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, probably Duplessis-Mornay) made a bolder challenge. They asserted the right of resistance against rulers who defied the will of God (but who was to interpret the will of God?) or who threatened to ruin the state. They maintained that every state existed by virtue of an implied covenant between God and the people, whereby God gave prosperity so long as His will was obeyed; and that every king existed by virtue of an implied contract with his people, which would be broken by bad government. Here was emerging the sort of doctrine which led in the next century to the execution of Charles I.

The Catholic writers, in the later years of the long struggle, were even bolder in the assertion of popular rights. In such a book as Althusius' *Politics* (1603) the ultimate and inalienable sovereignty of the whole people is clearly proclaimed;

all governments, whatever their form, are declared to be derived from the people's assent, and are conceived of as holding their power by a contract with the people, on condition of giving good government. But people and governments alike are subject to 'natural law'—the moral law—which is conceived of as being prior to all other law, and as giving it validity. Natural law is, indeed, the law of God, im-
Supremacy of Natural Law
 planted in the hearts of men, and the claim put forward for the Church and the pope is that they interpret the 'natural law,' and can therefore, when it is broken, excuse peoples from the obligation of obedience to their governors.

Thus, from Protestant and Catholic sources alike, ideas were being diffused which, as they slowly worked upon the minds of men, were in the long run to give birth to the theory and the institutions of democracy. But these ideas were not yet powerful. They were propounded only by the parties which were (in the judgement of most people) menacing peace and order, turning the world upside down, and making stable and decent social life impossible. Weary of civil anarchy, men turned to the only authority which seemed likely to keep it in check. In this period of active speculation, the school of thought which had the deepest and most far-reaching influence was that which taught that absolute authority was indispensable for the health, and even for the existence, of the state. Even in England, with her parliamentary traditions, this was so; Bacon and Sir Thomas Smith saw in the sovereignty of the crown the only safeguard against anarchy, and sometimes wrote as if they regarded parliament as no more than an advisory council. All this prepared the way for the claim of divine right put forward by James I in his *True Law of Free Monarchy*.

The ablest and most convincing advocate of these doctrines was the French 'politique' philosopher, Jean Bodin (1530–1596). Bodin's *Republic*, published in 1577, may be described as the first systematic treatise on political science since the days of Aristotle. It had a very great influence. When Bodin visited

England, he found that his book was being used as a textbook at Cambridge, and the ideas which he propounded had an immense and continuing influence.

Bodin's greatest contribution to political thought was the doctrine of sovereignty, of which he was the real initiator; and down to our own time this doctrine has been accepted as one of the axioms of political thought. In every state, Bodin argued, there must be an ultimate, supreme, sovereign authority, whose power can neither be limited nor divided

nor alienated; it must be above law, because it makes law. Indeed, a state is a state precisely because it has a recognized authority which makes laws that everybody must obey; and if or when the sovereign fails to obtain obedience, the state dissolves in anarchy. No doubt this sovereign power is subject to the natural or moral law; but there is no way of enforcing its obedience. Civil law is a different thing from 'natural' law, and may be in conflict with it; civil law derives all its authority from the sovereign power which enforces it. There are many things which it would be unwise or unpractical for the sovereign power to enforce. Bodin thought that, in the circumstances of his time, religious uniformity ought not to be enforced, though the state would have been stronger if it had been possible. Yet the authority of the sovereign power must be, and cannot but be, absolute and unlimited—there must be a final deciding authority if the state is to exist at all.

Of course, the sovereign power may take different forms: it may be a representative democratic body, like the 'King in Parliament' in modern Britain. Bodin himself preferred that the sovereign power should reside in a monarch, because then it could act freely and vigorously, though he recognized that it might reside in a republic, as in Venice. But wherever it resides, no rival authority can check or limit it. Bodin would have nothing to do with vague assertions of the sovereignty of the people. For him the one essential was that there should be a definite power able to issue orders which would be obeyed,

and the one vital question was, who constitutes this power?

The doctrine of state sovereignty was to have a very important influence upon the development of political thinking; the argument that, in every state, there must be some final deciding authority was too cogent not to be generally accepted even by those who resisted absolute monarchy. And the form which Bodin and his followers gave to this doctrine immensely reinforced the growth of monarchical power in all the European countries. Supported both by the sanctions of religion, which treated the civil power as sacred, and by the teachings of political philosophers, absolute monarchy became the normal form of government in western Europe, everywhere save in Britain and Holland, down to the time of the French Revolution; and almost everybody believed that it afforded the one sure means of giving strength and stability to the state. Yet, all the time, the contrary set of ideas, the theory that the power of government ought to be limited, and that ultimate sovereignty must reside in the people, continued to influence many minds; and the course of events in England gave encouragement to these ideas.

The Reformation had brought into the world 'not peace, but a sword.' It had been followed not only by desolating civil wars between adherents of the rival faiths, which threatened dissolution to the states which had suffered from them; it had led also to furious and continued wars between states which recognized no superior authority capable of holding them in check, and no law higher than their own desires. Christendom seemed to have fallen into a state of anarchy; and this anarchy came to a height in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), starting in Germany, drew into its orbit almost every European state.

Wars had been frequent enough in the Middle Ages; but, at least, in that period there had existed in theory a supreme power (or two supreme powers), the pope and the emperor, the representatives on earth of the majesty of God; and at least

it had always been assumed that there was a body of law which all peoples ought to obey, and of which the pope and the emperor were the authoritative exponents. Freely as it was disregarded, this body of law—the law of nature and the law of nations—was not without influence; it secured, at the least, a general acceptance of such principles as the sanctity of treaties and the inviolability of heralds or ambassadors. In the breaking-up of old traditions and old loyalties which resulted from the Renaissance and the Reformation, Europe found herself without any common authority, and even the idea of a general obligation to observe the law of nature had become faint. The sovereign state, which was being set up as the supreme object of veneration—the ‘noblest thing on earth,’ as the reformer Melancthon called it—and its despotic

masters, monarchs by divine right, were unwilling to recognize the existence of any authority superior to their own. When Bodin propounded the doctrine of state sovereignty, he paid lip-service, indeed, to the old theory of natural law, admitting that even sovereign princes ought to obey it; but he went on to say that there was no way of forcing them to do so. For him, as for Hobbes after him, the only law that deserved the name of law was that which derived its validity from the edicts of a sovereign able to enforce it; and since there was no power able to enforce obedience upon the masters of sovereign states, there could be no means of enforcing between states that reign of law which states existed to secure for their citizens.

But it was not easy for men to rest content with these conclusions, or to believe that the law of the jungle was the only law for states and their masters. In this age, when the absolute sovereignty of the state was being asserted, and when it was expressing itself in constant warfare, an opposite idea began to gain prevalence—the idea that there ought to be a body of international law binding upon all states, and that there ought to be some sort of authority able to enforce it. And these ideas have been working alongside the idea of the sovereign state from that

day to this, when they have culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations.

The first notable proof of the uneasiness which the anarchy of Europe was creating was provided by the duc de Sully, chief minister of the French king Henry IV. In his *Memoirs*, written after his retirement, Sully asserted that his master had intended to persuade Europe to adopt a Grand Design, whereby all the states were to be grouped together in a common Sully and his organization, whose business Grand Design it would be to maintain peace and international justice. It is improbable that Henry IV ever seriously entertained such a design; most likely it was the offspring of Sully's own brain. But the fact that a statesman of Sully's wide experience should have entertained a project which implied a limitation upon the absolute sovereignty of individual states, and was therefore in conflict with the reigning ideas of the time, shows how uneasy many thinking men were about the state of anarchy into which these ideas were helping to plunge Europe. Sully's Grand Design, of course, came to nothing; the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, which was beginning as he wrote, formed an ironic commentary upon it. But it was the first of a series of projects of the same kind which exercised the minds of dreamers and thinkers during the next two centuries, and which led, in the long run, first to the experiment of the Holy Alliance in 1815, and then to the League of Nations in 1919. The doctrine of the absolute and sovereign state was the ruling political doctrine of the modern age. But it was never unchallenged; on the one hand, it was challenged by theories of popular sovereignty and the limitation of power within individual states, and on the other hand it was challenged by the belief that there ought to be some superior authority representative of civilization as a whole to check or limit the lawlessness of sovereign states in their relations with one another.

A far more potent expression of this latter idea than impracticable schemes like Sully's was afforded by the growth of international law, which was one of the most remarkable features of the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The honour of being the father or originator of international law has been generally assigned to the great Dutchman, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), whose greatest book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, published in 1625, is certainly one of the landmarks of political thought.

Grotius did not invent the ideas which he set forth. The idea that there was a natural or moral law independent of civil law, and binding upon all

The principles of Grotius men just because they were men, was, as we have seen, one of the common-

places of all political thought during this age. Even the idea of applying these principles to the relations between states was not original to Grotius; he borrowed wholesale from a number of Spanish scholastic writers, notably Ayala and Gentilis, who had laid down rules for the guidance of Spanish statesmen and commanders, drawn from the jurists of the Middle Ages. What was significant about Grotius' work was that, being himself a Protestant, and writing at a time when the doctrine of unlimited state sovereignty was in the ascendant, he brought back into politics the idea of the obligation of ethical law. And what was even more remarkable still was that although the principles defined by him and by the writers on international law who succeeded him had never been laid down by any sovereign power, and were never enforced by any supreme authority, they were nevertheless generally accepted and observed. In the treaties of 1648 which ended the Thirty Years' War reference is made to the 'public law of Europe' as something of unquestioned validity; and although there were no international courts to enforce it, it was in fact enforced in the courts of every civilized state.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Thirty Years' War was raging and the theories of international law were being brought to birth, the great debate upon the nature and meaning of the state and the foundations of social order was carried on unflaggingly. In Europe the high Catholics fought a losing fight against the growing strength of absolute monarchy, as in the treatise

of Suarez (1617; see page 3687), who rejected the doctrine of divine right, and asserted the right of both Church and people to depose bad kings; but absolutism was becoming the accepted mode of government, because it seemed to be the surest safeguard against disorder; and a second-rate treatise like Lebreton's *Souveraineté du Roy* (1632) represented the generally accepted view. On the continent of Europe, indeed, the long debate was practically at an end, and it was not to be seriously reopened until the philosophers of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu and Rousseau, prepared the way for the French Revolution. Under deadening despotism, political thought became quiescent, except on the question of the relations of State and Church, whereon fierce controversy raged between the upholders of papal supremacy and the French defenders of national independence in spiritual matters, or 'Gallicanism.'

It was in England that free and bold thinking about political questions now found its home. England had hitherto contributed **Free thought** comparatively little to the **in England** common stock of European thought upon these issues, because, in her characteristic way, she had been content to maintain a working compromise, and to let sleeping dogs lie. But under the Stuart kings she found herself plunged into a very searching discussion upon fundamentals; the conflict between Crown and Parliament, and the demand of the Puritans and the sectaries for freedom to follow their own way of life whatever government or parliament might say, raised discussions which became more intense as the years passed, until they culminated in the Civil War and in the execution of Charles I—a challenge to the prevailing doctrines of absolutism which startled all Europe. From this time onwards England became not only the model of the world for the development of ordered liberty and constitutional government; she became also the main seed-plot of political thinking, and the seeds were blown by all the winds into the new world of America, where they sprouted vigorously, and into the old world of Europe, where for a long time they could not thrive,

yet lay hidden in the crevices of the soil, ready to germinate when favouring circumstances came.

It is impossible here to give any full account of the long series of books and pamphlets on these great subjects which were published both in England and in Scotland between the accession of James I (1603) and the Restoration of Charles II (1660). On the one hand there were defences of divine right, or of royal prerogative, by King James himself, and by lawyers and divines. On the other hand, there were attacks upon these doctrines, from two points of view—from religious writers who claimed freedom of thought in spiritual matters; from political writers who denied the rights asserted for monarchy. As the years passed and the controversy became more bitter, the assertion of popular rights became more vigorous and unqualified. At first the appeal was rather to history than to philosophy; and the claims of monarchy were refuted not by an appeal to abstract principle, but by an assertion of the ancient inherited liberties of England. Coke asserted the sovereignty of the common law; Selden furbished up the 'ensigns armorial' of parliamentary power, the learned and unreadable Prynne collected all the mediæval precedents upon which a claim for the sovereignty of Parliament could be based. (See also Chapter 141.)

In all this, however, there was no direct appeal to principle—no assertion of doctrines applicable alike to all peoples and all times; and these anti-libertarian quarian arguments contributed, directly, very little to the political thought of the world. Such arguments might form the foundation of the claim to the liberties asserted in the Petition of Right for Englishmen, but they were valid only for England. The fifteenth-century precedents for limiting the power of kings or for deposing them were really irrelevant to the main debate. They did not answer the questions whether it was not necessary for the existence of the state that there should be an unlimited sovereign power, or how that power should be constituted. In actual fact, the fifteenth-century experiments had led to

the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses, which had only been healed by the despotism of Edward IV and Henry VII; and now the similar experiments of the seventeenth century were also leading to anarchy and civil war. Historical precedents were not in themselves convincing, and when the conflict reached its crisis men were driven back upon the assertion of abstract principles. When the Civil War broke out, and still more when the execution of the king was followed by the abolition of the old historic constitution, purely historical arguments fell into the background, and the argument about sovereignty and where it resided was canvassed as eagerly in England as it had been in France during the Wars of Religion.

Sovereignty had been claimed for Parliament as against the king. But what validity was there in this claim? In 1644 the Scottish divine, Samuel Rutherford, in a crabbed treatise called

Sovereignty of the people

Lex Rex, tried to demonstrate that the only valid sovereignty was that of the whole people, king and Parliament being alike instruments of their will. Yet more trenchantly, John Lilburne and the Levellers took up the same position in the later years of the Civil War, and their bold challenge to all established institutions, to all the hierarchy of class and to all the securities of property, aroused the same kind of alarm as the Jacobinism of the French Revolution.

There was no end to the visionary schemes for the reconstitution of society to which the years following the execution of Charles I gave birth. They ranged from the fanatical theocracy desired by the Fifth Monarchy men to the system of communism proposed in Winstanley's *Law of Freedom* (1652). Once the established power of a recognized sovereign had been broken down, there was no firm ground on which to build the structure of a new social order, no security of life save what was given by the despotic power of the army—a despotism far more unqualified than the Tudors had ever wielded, or the Stuarts aspired to possess. It was in vain that the army chiefs tried to lay down the lines of an unalterable constitution in the Instrument of Government; the terms

of the constitution were promptly challenged by the parliament elected under it. Despite the ability of Cromwell and his colleagues, insecurity attended the whole Commonwealth regime, and this very insecurity seemed to demonstrate the necessity of a strong sovereign power for the very existence of ordered society.

There is not much of the abundant political writing of that time which anybody now reads. Occasionally, perhaps, a reader glances at Harrington's *Oceana* (1656)—a plan for a republic under aristocratic government, which in many ways anticipated modern ideas. Milton gave all his power for twenty years to this profound debate; but

The Political Works of Milton Areopagitica, his nobly eloquent plea for freedom of the press, is the only one of his political writings which is still much read. The two powerful *Defences of the English People*, which he wrote in Latin (1651 and 1653) to confute the Dutch scholar Salmasius, provided the clearest and most trenchant arguments on the responsibility of monarchs and on popular sovereignty which had yet been written. But they were ahead of their time, and for that reason exercised less influence upon the trend of political thought than many treatises of less intellectual power. That generation was not willing to listen to the arguments of revolution, however nobly phrased. And the mere facts that the Commonwealth, despite the ability of its leaders, could not get itself established in security, that it depended wholly upon the will and mind of one man, that it collapsed swiftly after his death, and that it made way for a restoration of the old regime, seemed to provide the strongest of arguments in favour of the doctrines of absolutism. Charles II, when he returned from his travels, was indeed far from being an absolute monarch. In fact the limitations of royal power established by the Long Parliament remained intact, and the English monarchy was very definitely a limited monarchy thenceforward, with limits far more clearly defined than they had ever been before. But in theory the doctrine of divine right was triumphant after the Restoration—so triumphant as

to deceive James II and tempt him to his ruin; and the characteristic political philosophy of the Restoration period was that expounded in Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680), wherein he traced the divine right of kings from the power granted to Adam by God.

Out of all this confused discussion, however, there emerged one great book which was to be one of the landmarks of political thought. This was *Leviathan*, or the Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth, by Thomas Hobbes, published in 1651, in the midst of the anarchy that followed the execution of Charles I.

Hobbes' main purpose was to prove that the cause of anarchy, now and always, was the failure of a sovereign power to enforce its absolute obedience; and that the only safeguard against anarchy was the resolute enforcement of such obedience. Hobbes, who was by nature a sceptic, cared not a jot how the sovereign power was constituted so long as it was strong. He was utterly indifferent to the usual arguments in favour of 'divine right' by hereditary succession; for him the power that could enforce obedience was the only real sovereign. As for the 'sovereignty of the people,' that seemed to him a meaningless phrase, because it could not be realized. For him the sovereign was the power (whether vested in one man or a body of men) which sprang from a controlling will and could issue definite orders.

Being by nature not only a sceptic but a materialist, Hobbes did not rest his argument upon appeals to texts of Scripture, or his- **Hobbes' appeal to reason** torical precedents, or any other external authorities, but solely upon reason. Half contemptuously, indeed, he made play with texts and historical references; but his real argument depended upon a cogent chain of reasoning which, once his premises are granted, is irresistible. And he is master of such a nervous, athletic, pellucid style that even when the reader is in revolt against the conclusions to which he is being drawn, he finds it difficult to resist them.

Hobbes took two widely accepted ideas, and gave them a new twist. First he took the law of nature, and reduced it, in

the last resort, to man's instinct of self-preservation. From this root he derived a series of eighteen lofty moral principles, all tending to bring about a state of peace and justice such as would make life safe and happy. But the reader has an uneasy feeling that Hobbes has his tongue in his cheek as he sets forth these unimpeachable orthodoxies. Suddenly he turns upon you and points out that these laws of nature are binding only upon men's consciences, and that every man is his own judge as to whether they conduce to his well-being or not. Their validity depends upon a degree of general enlightenment which never exists. They are not really laws, but 'conclusions or theorems concerning what conduceth to the conservation' of life.

Next Hobbes took the theory of social contract—the theory that a contract or agreement is implied in the existence of any state—and to this also he gave a new turn. Like many writers before him, and many after him, he imagined what

man would be like in a 'state of nature'—that is to say, without the restraints and protection of the state. The idea is, of course, inconceivable, for it is part of the definition of man that he is a political animal—that he does not become fully human until he is a member of a political society. But, accepting the hypothesis, Hobbes' account of pre-social man is less unreal than that of other writers. He saw that, apart from society, it was folly to conceive of man as a noble creature, governed by the laws of nature. In that condition, all men would be equal, and all would have an equal right to all things, including one another's lives and possessions; all would live in constant dread of their neighbours; and their lives would therefore be 'nasty, brutish and short.' Therefore they must be driven by the fundamental law of nature—the desire for self-preservation—to abandon their ruinous liberty, and by a compact of all with all to set up a common sovereign, a single will in place of their many conflicting wills; only on this condition could they hope for peace or law; only by giving up absolute liberty could they hope for

security. But the compact thus made (which is implicit in the existence of any organized state) is irrevocable, and the sovereignty it establishes must be unlimited and indivisible. There must be a real and permanent substitution of one will for many wills. The one will may be that of a monarch, or that of a small group, or that of the majority among a large number of voters; but somewhere there must be a final, decisive, illimitable and indivisible authority, from which all lesser authorities, set up for convenience, derive their validity. This is the essence of the state. Unless one great personality ('Leviathan') has been substituted for many conflicting personalities, the state does not exist; and if the sovereign power is in any way invaded or broken down, anarchy will return.

Hobbes was as well aware as anybody that there never had been a moment when all the members of a state held a meeting and adopted a solemn resolution to set up a sovereign power. He was merely using the forms of speech of his time to express the idea that in the very existence of a state there is implied a common acceptance by all its citizens of its sovereign authority. And at the least his view of the original contract is less unreal than that of most other writers who have made play with this notion. His view that the citizens of a state must be regarded as having agreed to set up its sovereignty, and to subordinate their wills to its will, is less unreal than the theory that they have formally agreed to set up a certain kind of state, or that they have made a definite agreement with the sovereign as to the limits within which his power is to be exercised. If we are to make use of the artificial notion of a contract at all, as a means of explaining the tie that holds a society together, the form given to it by Hobbes is less unsatisfactory than the other forms which it later assumed in the philosophy of Locke or of Rousseau.

Nor does Hobbes identify his 'sovereign' with a monarch; he assumes throughout that the 'sovereign' may be an assembly, and, in the case of a limited monarchy, he insists that the real sovereign

is not the monarch, but the power (however constituted) which is able to limit the monarch, who is, in fact, no more than a subordinate officer of the real sovereign. If he has a definite preference for monarchy, it is solely because he feels that under monarchy sovereignty is likely to be more efficacious in action; and his deepest conviction is that, for social health, it is essential that the sovereign, however constituted, should be swiftly and easily operative. His doctrine is therefore equally true (or false) for all forms of government, and his supreme contribution to political thought is the doctrine of state sovereignty, of which he is the greatest exponent: the doctrine that the power of the state must be absolute if civilization is to exist; that resistance to it is the worst and most fatal of crimes; that in every state sovereignty is by its nature unlimited and indivisible; and that the healthiest state is the state in which the sovereign power is most clearly defined, and most able to exercise its power.

Hobbes was quite unflinching in his logical deductions from his premises. He insisted that the laws made by the sovereign are the sole source of right, and that justice consists simply in obedience to the laws. He would allow of no qualification of the absolute power of the state. Whatever the sovereign decrees is right, because the sovereign decrees it, for there is no higher authority. The state has an absolute right to dictate the opinions which its subjects shall hold if it sees fit to do so. And, since all law and justice depend upon the state, there is no law or justice in the relations between states; in regard to one another states are in the 'state of nature,' all being equal, and all having an equal right to everything, limited only by their power.

The doctrine of state sovereignty, thus unflinchingly defined by Hobbes, was too uncompromising ever to be completely accepted by the majority of men. But it has had a profound influence. It has coloured the greater part of political thinking, down to our own day. Whatever changes have come about in forms of

government—that is to say, in the actual allocation of sovereignty—men have always been ready to assert the sovereignty of the state, both in regard to its own subjects and in its relations with other states; and democracies have been even more emphatic in their assertion of sovereignty than monarchies. In spite of the continual claims, especially of the churches, for liberty of conscience, in spite of much vague talk about the rights of minorities, State Sovereignty in spite of a growing uneasiness about the lawlessness of international relations, the doctrine of state sovereignty has in fact been the ruling idea of modern politics throughout the Western world, ever since the older idea of a Republic of Christendom, ruled by the human spokesmen of the Will of God, was broken down by the Renaissance and the Reformation; and of all modern writers Hobbes has set forth this doctrine in its starkest form.

We have argued and fought as to who should wield this unlimited sovereignty; we have worshipped the sovereignty of Parliament; we have proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; we have fought for or against the sovereignty of the proletariat. Again, we have argued as to whether the sovereign power was rightly or wrongly used. But there have been, until our own day, few who have seriously attempted to question the sovereign power of the state in relation to its own citizens or in relation to other states. On one important branch of political thought, therefore, Hobbes, with all his curious formalism, summed up the predominant attitude of the modern mind. He gave logical precision to the conclusions towards which the thought of Machiavelli, of Luther, of Bodin, and of James I were all trending; and for that reason we may break off, with him, our study of the growth of political theory. Later thinkers—Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, Marx—have concerned themselves with theories as to the forms and functions of government; they have not seriously impaired the doctrine of state sovereignty which reached its culminating expression in Hobbes.

CROMWELL AND THE PURITANS

Diverse Forces of religious and political Discontent
Controlled by the Personality of a great Englishman

By J. COURTENAY LOCKE

IN the year 1564 the English people remarked the emergence of a new element in the uneasy welter of the national life, and were sufficiently interested to give it a name. It was during that year, according to Fuller's *Church History*, that the word 'Puritan' was first applied to 'the opposers of the Hierarchy and Church-Service, as smacking of superstition. But profane mouths quickly improved this nick-name, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people.' Three points about this quotation deserve careful attention: first, that the word 'Puritan' was originally a technically descriptive term and nothing more; secondly, that people who were not pious quickly twisted it into an insulting name for those who were; and thirdly, that Fuller says 'pious,' and not 'sham-pious.'

Now, as both an ardent Royalist and a clergyman of the Established Church, Fuller suffered a good deal at the hands of Puritans, but he does not call them hypocrites. The omission is striking, in view of the marked propensity to do so on the part of most other opponents of theirs, a propensity which has so muddled the wells of history—none too crystalline, perhaps, at the best of times—that an historian dealing with the period is almost forced to the task not merely of judging Puritanism by its ostensible aims and apparent achievements, but of ascertaining whether the Puritans were, in fact, reasonably honest fellows or a set of sour and canting rogues. In pursuing this investigation a useful preliminary is to trace the early history of the word 'Puritan' itself as we find it in contemporary authorities.

First comes the question of dates. The whole trouble began in 1559 with Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which split the Church into the two hostile camps of those

who were more or less content with the situation produced by the act and those who were not content and wished the Church more drastically purified from the traces of popery. These latter were the Puritans, and in saying that the name was first applied to them five years afterwards in 1564, Fuller is quite probably correct. It is certain, at any rate, on the authority of Stow, the chronicler, that a London colony of Anabaptists had adopted the word and were calling themselves Puritans somewhere about that time.

By 1572 we find the word well launched on its career of insult. In that year John Jones, in his *Baths of Bath*, says: 'Puritans are they named; pure I would they were.' Jones Views on the Puritans was a physician who seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of popular repute; as he was also very much a quack his moral judgements do not, perhaps, call for too careful consideration. In the same year Whitgift—afterwards archbishop of Canterbury—in his Answer to an Admonition to the Parliament, says acidly to his opponents: 'This name Puritan is very aptly given to these men, not because they be pure . . . but because they think themselves to be more pure than others, and separate themselves from all other Churches and congregations as spotted and defiled.' Poor Whitgift had borne much baiting, and may be excused for straying somewhat from the narrow path of strictly logical controversy and mixing the technical with the purely abusive, especially as Thomas Cartwright, the author of the Admonition, was the bitterest of all the baiters.

Next year, 1573, Cartwright continues the debate with his Reply to Whitgift, in which he says: 'If you mean those are



BROAD-MINDED ROYALIST DIVINE

Thomas Fuller (1608-61), English ecclesiastical historian and divine, was renowned for his learning and wit. Although an ardent Royalist, he did not denounce the Puritans as hypocrites, for he had vision capable of seeing both sides.

Permission of the Rt Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge

Puritans who do set forth a true and perfect platform of reforming the Church, then the mark of this heresy reacheth unto those which made the Book of Common Prayer,' which was too uncomfortablely true for Whitgift.

The two clerical packs—Puritan and anti-Puritan—are now in full cry, and we see from the evidence of moral John Jones that the non-clerical populace had pricked its ears at the sound of a desirable new word amid the angry snarlings, and straight adopted it. Twenty years later it was in general use as a handy jeer to sling at a foe, with little regard for fitness of application and none at all for theological opinions. Robert Greene, the poet, pamphleteer and dramatist, was one of a group, including Nash, Peele and Marlowe, which led the wildest of lives and held a common stock of theological views regarded by the shocked public opinion of the day as rank atheism. Greene paints a grim picture of his own profligate life in his *Repentance*, written in 1592, in the course of which he says: 'When I sorrowed for my wickedness they fell upon me in jesting manner, calling me Puritan.' It is difficult to imagine a man to whom the name could be less fitly applied.

Another twenty years on, and in 1614 we find Barnaby Rich, in his *Honesty of*

This Age, saying: 'He that hath not for every word an oath . . . they say he is a Puritan, a precise fool, not fit to hold a gentleman company.' Rich was a soldier of fortune before he was a hack writer, and devoted to royalty and the nobility always, so he cannot be suspected of a prejudice either against swearing or in favour of Puritanism; he just states the fact for what it is worth as part of the manners of his age.

Lucy Hutchinson, writing about fifty years later, but speaking of the reign of James I, goes into the same matter at some length, and part of what she says squares curiously with the testimony of Rich, although she was his opposite in every personal respect. Her famous *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* contains this: 'If any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom. . . or the unjust oppressions of the subject . . . he was a Puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land or stood up for good order or government, he was a Puritan; all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the lewd nobility—



A ZEALOUS PURITAN

Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535-1603) attacked the constitution of the Anglican church and aroused the bitter enmity of Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury. In 1572 Cartwright strongly urged the 'Admonition to Parliament' which set forth the programme of the Puritans.

From S. Clark, 'Lives of Eminent Persons'

whoever could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, derision of the Word of God and the like—all these were Puritans—and if Puritans, then enemies to the King and his government, seditious, factious, hypocrites, and finally, the pest of the kingdom.

Singularly echoing the last extract is this from a speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard's at the beginning of the Long Parliament, in the autumn of 1640. 'Whosoever,' said Sir Benjamin (and he was a Royalist), 'squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the king's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece now, is to make all those of the religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom.'

A final quotation from the poet Milton brings the history of the word back to the theological arena in which the strife began and to the period of Laud's supremacy. In his *Reform of Church Discipline* Milton writes: 'All those that found fault with the decrees of Convocation . . . straight were branded with the name of Puritans.' After eighty years the clerical enemies of Puritanism had evidently gone far upon the road from theological disagreement to autocratic tyranny. Our group of quota-



PURITAN AUTHORESS

This charmingly attired lady is Mrs Lucy Hutchinson, withal a rigid Puritan. She wrote her husband's memoirs wherein appears a graphic description of the insults and jibes endured by people who held moral views

From a family portrait in 'Memoirs' 1715

tions will be seen to afford a skeleton outline of the growth of popular hostility to Puritanism and a progressive history by hints, as it were, of what, in the popular view, the Puritans were. Before proceeding to a stricter examination of the justice or injustice of this judgement, it will be illuminating to ascertain briefly how such persons as Puritans came to exist at all.

That peoples, and consequently the historical reactions of peoples, are largely moulded by their geographical and climatic conditions is a conclusion to which the science of to-day is irresistibly and increasingly led. Those who inhabit Great Britain can readily understand that this should be so. They have ample experience of the changes of mood induced by changes of weather, and a racial characteristic is only a mood made hereditary.



AUSTERE SIMPLICITY OF A PURITAN FAMILY

The sternly simple atmosphere of the Puritan mode of life and outlook is clearly conveyed by this family group. The picture forms the frontispiece of a music book published in 1563 which is entitled *Tenor of the Whole Psalms in 4 Parts*. Its object was 'the abolishing of other wayne and tryflynge ballades'

The results of this formative influence are so uniform that, without risk of serious inaccuracy, we may generalise by saying that at the southern end of the European geographical scale you find gaiety and at the northern gloom.

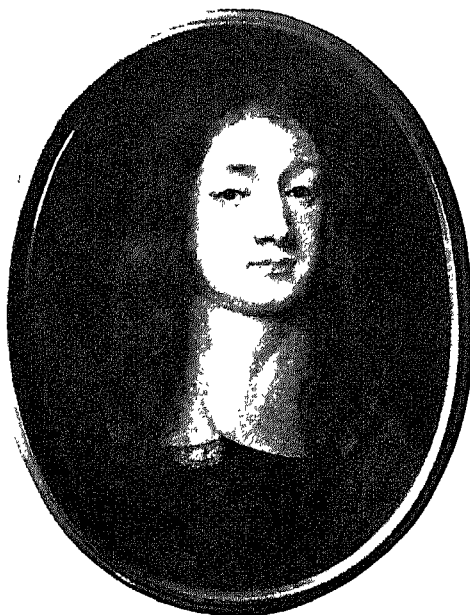
The contrast is well seen if we compare, for instance, the ancient Greeks with the immediate forefathers of the English-speaking race—that vague assemblage of Teutonic peoples whom we call the Anglo-Saxons. Both were historically of the same blood; both were concerned, as all men are, with the eternal problem of human destiny, but the Greek in his vivid and sunny land probed its dark mysteries with a mental vivacity which enabled him to lose sight of their menace in the intellectual delight of working out their scientific details and their philosophic import. The Anglo-Saxon—child of a bleak and forbidding land, shaggy with savage forest, rain-chilled and mist-shrouded—had no intellectual delight whatever in his searchings. His concern with Fate was to armour himself against its pitiless sword-strokes or, failing that, to bear his wounds with grim fortitude.



ELIZABETHAN POET

The writings of Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–99), author of *The Faerie Queene*, embody the hitting melody and riotous fancy that characterise Elizabethan literature as contrasted with the Puritans' more sober strains.

Courtesy of the Earl of Kinross



JOHN MILTON AS A YOUNG MAN

This miniature of the Puritan poet, John Milton (1608–74), demonstrates the truth of the report of his personal beauty, as well as the fact that it was often impossible to distinguish from outward appearance between Puritan and Cavalier.

Courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch

In the early Teutonic literary remains—*Beowulf*, and *The Complaint of Deor* may be cited as express instances—we have clear and ample evidence that such was the general attitude of the Anglo-Saxon in this regard, and if we describe it as a stoical fatalism, sombre though not despairing, we have, as exactly as need be, the general characteristic of the Puritan—his hereditary mood. In other words, the Puritan, in being a Puritan, was exhibiting the normal instincts of his stock.

And here we find our comparison with the ancient Greeks useful and relevant in another way. Formal Christianity was the product of Greek thought; the Western Christian church organization was the product of the kindred Latin thought; with neither product was the Puritan spirit ever quite at home. A Francis of Assisi has never arisen in the Teutonic world; it is unthinkable that one should.

These considerations make it easier to understand why at the great liberation of the Renaissance the English turned their freed minds first and chiefly to religion

rather than to learning, philosophy or the arts; why the form of religion they ultimately found suitable to their needs was sternly Hebraistic rather than Christian; why the Latin church organization was so heartily thrown overboard; and why the dread doctrine of predestination had no marked acceptance as promulgated by the Greek Augustine, but was swallowed with greedy relish when it had passed through the transmuting medium of the French Calvin's sardonic mind—a mind most Latin in its implacable logic, but by virtue of that very quality producing, in this instance, a doctrine exactly palatable to Teuton religious gloom.

English mentality, thus dyed in essence, had been lit with fires strange to it during the Elizabethan Age; existence then, bodily and mental, had blossomed into



COSTUMES AT THE COURT OF CHARLES I

The elegance of Cavalier dress in Stuart times is caricatured by a broadside of 1646 (left) which is entitled *The Picture of an English Anticke* (i.e. grotesque fellow). The drawing of a richly attired court lady on the right is one of a series by W. Hollar depicting women's dress under Charles I.

intense and bewildering colour, into an enormous exultance and the glory of adventure; men were drunken with the mere joy of life. In the Puritan Age they



PRIDE AND MAGNIFICENCE OF NOBLES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Cavalier love of fine apparel is well exemplified in these portraits of two prominent noblemen. Prince Rupert, nephew of Charles I, arrayed in princely splendour, is revealed (left) by Lely's brush as the embodiment of aristocratic arrogance. He held important military and naval commands during the Civil War. Right: the portrait by Honthorst shows George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, ill-starred favourite of James I and Charles I, with flowing locks and rich raiment.

National Portrait Gallery, London

were growing sober, finding bitter dregs in the cup, discovering painfully that life could not be only joy. It was an age of winnowing succeeding to an age of garnering, and the winnowing, for the most part, resumed the old tools of religion.

Although Elizabeth died in 1603 we may, without distortion of fact, consider the typically rich portion of her age as extending from 1579 to 1611. To the earlier year belong Lyly's *Euphues* and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*; to the later, Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*. If we call the period from 1611 to the Restoration the Puritan Age, we shall see in the contrasted literature of the two ages the change passing over men's minds.

In the Elizabethan age the glowing colours, the shifting jewel-lights, the singing melodies and rich romantic luxuriance of Spenser; the wild and impious daring, the defiant challenging of Marlowe; the thrilling lyric ecstasy of both, had merged in the vaster genius of Shakespeare, who added a more exuberant and many-sided joy in life, a fuller and more varied music, a deeper searching into the dark profundities of human passion and human fate, and ended, with all the doubting and all the questioning done, on a note of lovely and sun-bathed serenity. But in that note of serenity the gigantic reach of Shakespeare went beyond his age. The men who came after him stopped short at the doubts and questions, and either despaired or found religion the one refuge.

Shakespeare saw the beginning of change. The year 1611 produced not only *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*, but Cyril Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*. The last has this passage:

Then, if Death casts up
Our total sum of joy and happiness,
Let me have all my senses feasted in
The abundant fullness of delight at once,
And with a sweet insensible increase
Of pleasing surfeit, melt into my dust.

This is the old 'Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die.' Shakespeare might have created a character who would have spoken such words, but the point is that from Tourneur, as proved by the whole of his works, they come as his own thoughts, not as the thoughts of a character. They are the characteristic beginnings of the coming age.

The complete poems of John Donne were published in 1633, but although many of them were written earlier, in spirit he belongs entirely to the Puritan age. In the dark splendours of his love poems we find a tortured seeking for a light that never shone clearly, and in the strivings and agonies of his religious verse

a desperate struggle to attain what was not so much a healing peace as an uneasy cessation of strife. Vaughan and Herbert, who wrote at about the same time, did at last find haven in the stormless waters of religious mysticism, but their voyage had withdrawn them completely from the coasts of the every-day world.

Somewhat later there were, indeed, such gayer spirits as Herrick, Suckling and Lovelace, who poured out a delicious dancing ripple of untroubled music; but these brushed only the surface of things with a feather-light touch, and there are clear signs that they too had felt the change. Their delight has little passion; they are mirthful but not exultant; their clear piping never throbs to a deeper note; they are, in a word, more sober. In Lovelace's



DONNE IN HIS WINDING SHEET

This effigy of John Donne (1573-1631), designed by himself, in S. Paul's Cathedral is one of the few that survived the Great Fire. His religious poetry is full of an ardour for spiritual life

Photo, W. S. Campbell



ROBERT HERRICK

Swinburne described the poet Robert Herrick as 'England's greatest song writer.' Gay as are the songs in his *Hesperides*, of which the frontispiece is here shown, yet the influence of the sober spirit of the age can be discerned.

two finest lyrics—To Althea from Prison, and To Lucasta, on Going to the Wars—there is an echo of the gravity which tinges the shining beauty of Milton's earlier poems and, more strongly, all Andrew Marvell's non-satirical poetry.

Finally, John Bunyan gives us a complete explicit picture, drawn with the most lucid simplicity, of the prevalent spiritual problem of the age, and its characteristic solution. In the *Pilgrim's Progress* man tests all the delights of the world and all the resources of the intellect, rejects them all as dangerous or inadequate, and finds religion the only sure road through life, though even that is beset with doctrinal dangers. We have variations on the theme in *The Holy War* and an intimate autobiographical version in *Grace Abounding*.

An important illustration of the fact that Puritanism affected the nation irrespective of political or class distinctions emerges from the list of writers we have just instanced, all of whom, with the exception of Milton, Marvell and Bunyan, were completely Royalist and either courtiers or of courtier habit; and no possible extension of our list would be found to result differently.

So much, then, for this profound spiritual and intellectual change, which we are regarding not as actual change, but as a reversion to normal after a temporary aberration which the impulse of the Renaissance was no longer able to support. The Renaissance itself was no other than just such a reversion to normal on a vaster scale. Man's noble eagerness to know had been submerged in baser preoccupations by the fall of the Roman Empire, and his slowly-garnered accumulations of knowledge shut away from him when the storehouse of the classical tongues was buried in barbarian wreckage. When the series of accidents which we call the Renaissance had laid bare once more that rich treasury of mental food, man at first over-ate himself and suffered



COURTIER POET

Among his many accomplishments, Sir John Suckling (1609–42), knighted in 1630, had the gift of literary expression, and his poems are both witty and imaginative.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



JOHN BUNYAN'S DREAM

This picture appeared as the frontispiece to the fourth edition of his *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1680. Above the sleeping tinker is the allegorical figure of Christian, typifying man struggling on through the difficulties of life.

from indigestion; thereafter he fed more temperately and industriously continued his harvesting, as, on the whole, he has ever since done.

Viewed in this light the course of the Renaissance in England or elsewhere no longer appears as a succession of violent dislocations, nor its issue in Puritanism as a phenomenon both bewildering and only laboriously explicable; but the questions of what the Puritans were and why an extremist section of them should ultimately be found in one political camp rather than another do still call for explanation. The two questions can be answered concurrently.

With a people recovering from a kind of intellectual orgy, those who are the first

sober will naturally view with disgust those who remain drunk. In the beginning of our Puritan age this disgust had its focus in the court of James I, which, in no merely metaphorical sense, but a very literal one, was an extremely drunken court. Sir John Harrington, Elizabeth's old courtier-godson, gives us, in his *Nugae Antiquae*, some illuminating details. In July, 1606, Christian IV of Denmark visited his brother-in-law, James I, and Harrington has this to say about the resulting festivities:

The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, in such plenty as would have astonished every sober beholder. . . . I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles, for those whom I could never get to taste good liquor now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety and are seen to roll about in intoxication.

He describes a masque of Solomon's Temple and the Queen of Sheba that was to have been held after dinner; it did not go quite smoothly. The Queen of Sheba was so drunk that she fell up the steps of



PURITAN OF PURITANS

Sadler's portrait of John Bunyan (1628-88), most zealous of Puritans, proves that even the most ardent members of his sect did not necessarily abjure the long hair sometimes believed to have been an exclusively Royalist fashion.

National Portrait Gallery, London

the dais into Christian's lap, well bespattering him with her presents of wine, cream, jelly and other rich-nesses. Partly cleansed, he forgivingly tried to dance with her, but fell down himself and was carried away to bed—to the much-deilement of the bed. Hope, Faith and Charity came next—also drunk. Hope was only able to excuse herself before withdrawing hurriedly, and Faith staggered after her. Charity was little better and quickly returned to Hope and Faith, who were both sick in the hall. Victory followed, but being unable to speak her part was led away and laid to sleep on the steps of the antechamber; while Peace forgot her character and beat the attendants about the head with her olive-branch. Small wonder that Harrington concludes:



POET AND POLITICIAN

Andrew Marvell (1621–78), seen in this painting by Adriaen Hanneman in the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull, ranks among the great Puritan poets. In 1657 he became Milton's secretary. Some of his poetry breathes deep admiration for Cromwell.

By permission of the Corporation of Hull



FIGURES DESIGNED FOR COURT MASQUES

The masque, a popular court entertainment under James I and Charles I, frequently took the form of a gibe at the sectaries. This figure of an Anabaptist (left) sketched by Inigo Jones was inspired by such an attitude. Right, a group of figures sketched by Jones for a masque entitled *The Fortunate Isles*.

See under, The New Shakespeare Society

I ne'er did see such lack of good order, discretion and sobriety as I have now done . . . The great ladies do go well masked, and indeed it is the only show of their modesty.

From the deilement of such a court, thick, moreover, with scandals like the horrible affair of Robert Carr and the infamous Countess of Essex, the soberer part of the nobility withdrew, to share their disgust with the merchant class and the smaller landowners and to receive, in common with most of them, the opprobrious name of Puritan. That this was the usual sequel to any appearance of sobriety, whatever its form, our opening group of quotations showed us abundantly.

A glance at this aspect of the matter through the tolerant eyes of Shakespeare provides a good deal of instruction. In his *Twelfth Night* (which belongs to the year 1600) Malvolio reproves Sir Toby, with much justification and good sense, for his vinous rowdiness; Sir Toby retorts with: 'Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?' A few lines later Maria says of him: 'Marry, sometimes he is a kind of puritan . . . an affectioned ass . . . crammed, as he thinks, with excellencies.' Malvolio was, without doubt, a conceited ass, but some of the excellencies were real; there was a smattering of nobility in him. The Countess Olivia, his mistress, could



A NOTORIOUS COUPLE

The constant scandals which denuded the court of James I inclined many towards Puritanism. The countess of Essex, who did not stop at murder to gain her ends, is here shown with her second husband, the earl of Somerset.

From 'The Conne ion' 1672

tell him 'You are sick of self-love, Malvoio, and taste with a distempered appetite', yet she valued him, 'oo, and later, when she thinks him ill, says 'Let some of my people have a special care of him. I would not have him mis-carry for the half of my dowry.' So we have it—a most worthy fellow, but too conscious of his own worth and indisposed to concede the merits of cakes and ale—such a man, Shakespeare thought, might well be called Puritan.

Richard Baxter, in his *Life*, shows us that not only Shakespeare, but the yokels of a Shropshire village thought the same thing. He says

When I heard them speak scornfully of others as Puritans whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the lies and slanders wherewith they loaded them. But when I heard my own Father so reproached, and perceived the drunkards were the forwardest

in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice. For my Father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies nor spake against Bishops—but only for reading Scripture when the rest were dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying in his house and for reproving drunkards and swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the life to come, he was reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, precisian and hypocrite.

The picture is clear enough—the merely grave and sober man was, by popular consent, lumped with the technical Puritan and called by his name, though he might agree with him in nothing but a gravely religious outlook and a habit of reading the Bible. As a natural result the two by degrees made common cause, and by the time of which Baxter writes—about 1625—the technical Puritan was most strenuously scrupling common prayer and ceremonies and speaking against bishops very loudly indeed.

Prayer books and bishops are not in themselves necessarily detestable—they may be even very highly commendable—yet both were widely detested. To trace this detestation to its true source would lead us back over a very long and difficult trail ending in John Wycliffe, but we shall not stray essentially if we take a short cut and say that Wycliffe had



PURITAN DIVINE

This portrait by an unknown artist shows Richard Baxter (1615–91), the eminent Puritan divine, who was an earnest preacher and a prolific writer. In his *Life* he gives a poignant description of the anti-Puritan attitude.

National Portrait Gallery, London

planted in the English mind an abiding contempt for the mass the priest who performed it and the whole hierarchy to which the priest belonged, from the pope downwards. He also began the habit of reading the Bible and regarding it as the sole spiritual authority, and originated the series of translations which made the habit possible. The contempt was inflamed into a general hatred of all things popish by the fires of the Marian persecution, a hatred kept fresh by the memories enshrined in Foxe's immensely popular Book of Martyrs and intensified by the imminent fears springing successively from the assassination plots of Elizabeth's reign, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the horrors of Spanish rule in the Netherlands, the menace of the Spanish Armada and the revelations of the Gunpowder Plot. Now, bishops were suspect as advancing claims to



PURITAN SATIRES ON THE ROYALISTS

The bitterness of Puritan feeling towards Cavalier outrages and repacity is manifested in this caricature of 1646 entitled *England's Wolf* left purporting to represent the Royalist character. A broadside (right) shows the unpopular and warlike Bishop Williams between his cathedral and his war horse.

powers not miraculous indeed, for those had vanished with the daily miracle of transubstantiation, but still dubiously akin to those of Rome this was one cause of their unpopularity.

Another was that study of the Bible had convinced certain of the reformers that Presbyterianism and not Episcopacy was the divinely sanctioned order of the Church. The leader of these in England was Whitgift's old opponent, Thomas Cartwright, who returned from his studies at Geneva with a fanatical faith in Calvin's system of Church government, which he proclaimed unceasingly from the Margaret Chair of Divinity at Cambridge, the rule of bishops, according to Cartwright, was begotten of the devil.

Yet a third cause lay in the numberless obscure sects—another legacy of Wycliffe's—which sprang up among the humbler folk and of which Ben Jonson has given us



SATIRE ON LAUD'S UNPOPULARITY

This illustration in a Puritan tract of 1641 caricatures the popular dislike of Archbishop Laud and his methods. Entitled *Triple Episcopacie*, the satire depicts Laud as representing the apostle of 'man' and of 'the devil'. A Puritan minister is represented by the figure labelled 'of God'.

British Museum



CONSPIRATORS PLANNING GUNPOWDER PLOT

The hatred and fear felt by the Puritans towards Papists was intensified by the discovery of a Roman Catholic plot to blow up Parliament on November 5th, 1605. This engraving 'from the life' by Crispin Van der Passe shows the conspirators in conference. Third from the right is the unfortunate Guy Fawkes.

National Portrait Gallery, London

caricatures in the Tribulation Wholesome and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy of The Alchemist and Bartholomew Fair. These might have their eccentricities but they were always sincere—they, or the class from which they sprang, provided 230 of the 277 persons burnt by Queen Mary—and they agreed that bishops were begotten of the devil, although they went further and said that presbyters were, too. Such an array of foes might have seemed enough for even the tough and bellicose

bishops of those days, but in a manner worthy 'the wisest fool in Christendom' King James set carefully to work to find them more, if more were to be found.

On his first progress from Scotland to his new kingdom James had received the Millenary Petition, which set forth with reason and moderation certain concessions and adjustments whereby the security of the conformist Puritan clergy within the established Church might be assured. At the Hampton Court conference in January, 1604, James dealt roughly with

the Petition and closed the proceedings in a heated outbreak. 'If you aim at a Presbytery,' he burst forth, 'it agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil. . . . How the Scottish Presbyters used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it—No Bishop, no King. . . . If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform themselves or else will harry them out of the land.' James



PLETHORA OF RELIGIOUS SECTS THAT EXISTED IN STUART ENGLAND

Diverse interpretations of the teachings of Wycliffe were largely responsible for the variety of religious beliefs and practices current in England in 1644, the date of this print. Twelve types of sectarianism are illustrated. The Libertines (extreme top right) were Antinomian Anabaptists. The Adamites aimed at a return to the primitive state of innocence, and to this end appeared unclad. The Divorcers (extreme bottom right) 'would be quit of their wives for slight occasions.'

remembered how, in his youth, Andrew Melville, the chief of the Scottish Presbyterians, had publicly shaken him by the sleeve and exhorted him as 'God's silly vassal.' For this and other humiliations even a king less vain might well have ceased to love Presbyterians; but it was at least tactless of him to respond in such terms to men who were Puritans but not necessarily Presbyterians, and to begin without delay his work of harrying them out of the land by ejecting three hundred from their benefices.

Even more remarkably tactless was James's persistent policy of conciliating both the English Catholics and Spain. Gunpowder Plot or no, the English Catholics were after all English; but Spain was by now the traditional enemy of England and, in all Protestant eyes, the very embodiment of hated Rome. Yet to Spain Sir Walter Raleigh was directly sacrificed and, indirectly, James's Protestant son-in-law, Frederick, elector palatine and luckless Winter King of Bohemia; the attempt was made, amid humiliating circumstances, to marry Prince Charles to a Spanish princess; for Spain's sake aid was withheld from Protestant belligerents in the Thirty Years' War, and finally by Spain, through the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, England was largely governed, or, rather, shamefully misgoverned. The natural upshot was that the court was regarded as a nest of papistry as well as a hotbed of carnal vice. To support these two things is clearly no part of the accepted functions of Anglican bishops, nor need James's bishops be supposed to have favoured them privately; but as their only powerful supporter must of course be self-preservatively supported in return they did use the pulpits of the established Church for the persistent advocacy of James's theory of 'divine right,' and thus shared in the odium of the court.



DISAPPOINTED SUITOR RETURNS HOME

This broadside depicts the return of Prince Charles, son of James I, from Spain in 1623. The negotiations for his marriage with the Spanish Infanta had failed—to the regret of his father and the joy of the nation, who regarded with disfavour the prospect of an alliance both Catholic and Spanish.

Society of Antiquaries

The offences of the Prayer Book were mainly two—it was admittedly derived largely from popish sources and full of insidious papistical compromises, and it assumed the existence and hierarchic powers of bishops. But it was at least passive in its offences; it could not, in the nature of things, enforce conformity by arrogant persecution or preach such theories as divine right. Furthermore, its moving beauty and venerable associations made it only less dear than the Bible itself to many who had no love whatever for bishops, and this diversity of sentiment was later to operate as a considerable factor in Puritan disruption.

But Puritan disruption was not yet, while Puritan cohesion was rapidly becoming a solid fact. The theological Puritan who desired only a modified Episcopalian church; the Puritan who wished to make that church Presbyterian; the Puritan by sobriety who cared specially for neither theological party; the sectarian who scorned or hated both and was hated by both; the mob who howled for joy when Prince Charles returned still a bachelor from his wife hunt in Spain—all these were drawing together into a unity of antagonism to the king and his bishops. And the divine-right theory gave them Parliament as another ally.

A king who came to the throne—as James did—in defiance of two acts of

Parliament might plausibly be imagined to have some contempt for parliaments and their acts; a tactful king, however, would certainly have concealed it. With no tact at all James told his first parliament that:

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called gods. . . . They make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and death; judges are they over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to God only . . .



'THE WISEST FOOL IN CHRISTENDOM'

Tactless and bigoted, James I alienated his parliaments by his insistence upon the doctrine that monarchs rule by 'divine right.' This portrait of the king was painted by Van Somer about 1620, and through the window can ominously be seen a view of the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

Hampton Court Palace; by gracious permission of His Majesty the King

As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do in height of his power. I will not be content that my power be disputed on. . . . You derive all matters of privilege from me, and sit, not of your own right, but of my grace.

To the English Parliament, which in its time had made and unmade kings, these may well have been sufficiently unpalatable propositions, but it swallowed them as best it could, with no further protest than the reply: 'We hold it an ancient, general and undoubted right of

Parliament to debate freely all matters which properly concern the subject and his right or state; which freedom of debate being once foreclosed, the essence of the liberty of Parliament is withal dissolved.'

So James was able to hand on to his son the antagonism of what was in effect a united Puritan party, consisting of all the Parliament and many of the people. Charles spent all his reign in estranging that party still further.

He warned Parliament to 'remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be.' He rewarded with the bishopric of St. Davids Roger Manwaring, who preached, 'that if any King shall command that which stand not in any opposition to the original laws of God, nature, nations and the Gospel (though it be not correspondent in every circumstance to laws national and municipal), no subject may, without hazard of his own damnation in rebelling against God, question or disobey the will and pleasure of his sovereign.'

He sold the monopoly of his subjects' common com-



KING WHOM HIS PEOPLE SLEW

This miniature by Matthew Snelling portrays Charles I two years before his execution. His reign was a period of perpetual friction with parliament over questions of finance and religion, culminating in civil war and death

Victoria and Albert Museum

modities of existence so thoroughly that an exasperated member of parliament was driven to say, with pungent truth:

It is a nest of wasps, or swarm of vermin, which have overrept the land, I mean the monopolers and polers [pillagers] of the people. These, like the frogs of Egypt, have got possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them: they sip in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl and powdering-tub, they share with the butler in his box, they have marked and sealed us from head to foot.

He dipped an illegal hand so deeply into their pockets that the anger of it thrilled, as a contemporary notes, 'not only in the merchant's breast, but in every small vein through the kingdom.'

He corrupted and suborned the judges until Chief Justice Finch could declare that 'Acts of Parliament to take away the Royal power are void. They are void Acts of Parliament that bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any

difference'; and by these corrupted judges he sent his subjects to prison when they would submit no longer to be robbed or pillaged. He set his bishops to dragoon men's consciences so ardently that even the Cavalier Lord Digby was enraged into saying, 'I am so inflamed with the sense of them that I am ready to cry out "Down with them! Down with them! even unto the ground."'

And yet men remained loyal. Their sole conception of government was still a monarchy modified by parliament. They blamed the king's counsellors rather than the king, and it was again the Cavalier Digby who said that Strafford was 'that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other'; while Lord Essex the Puritan gave the grim assent: 'Stone-dead hath no fellow.'

It is significant to find Cavalier and Puritan speaking on the same side. As yet, in actual fact, there were no Puritans and no Cavaliers as members of opposed



PICTURE OF A PATENTEE

The sale of patents, i.e. monopolies, was an unpopular form of revenue. W. Hollar's satire on a patentee shows an animal with screws for legs and hooks for fingers, holding privileges for tobacco, soap, wine and other articles.

parties; there were only members of one Puritan Parliament, speaking with one voice—the voice of freedom. In the noble utterance of Sir Robert Phelps we can hear its passion still:

I can live, although another without title be put to live with me [billeting, he means]; nay I can live though I pay excises and impositions more than I do; but to have the liberty which is the soul of my life taken from me by power, and to be pent up in a gaol without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged to perish . . . if this be law, why do we talk of our liberties? . . . Let the House consider to prepare our grievances fit for His Majesty's view, and then we shall think of such a supply as never Prince received, and with our moneys we shall give him our hearts and give him a new people raised from the dead.

But that people was not to be raised from the dead until it had passed through the bitter fires of civil war, and the divisions which caused the war arose over the question of religion.

There was no thought of letting England relax into a conglomeration of Independents. All wished to retain an established Church, but those most thoroughly sick of bishops wanted to make it Presby-



CHIEF JUSTICE FINCH

Sir John Finch, appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas in 1634, zealously upheld the royal prerogative. He was chiefly responsible for the judges' decision that ship money was constitutional. Janssen painted the portrait from which this engraving was made.

From Clarendon, 'History of the Rebellion,' 1732



THE LORD DIGBY

This engraving after Van Dyck's portrait shows George Digby, second earl of Bristol (1612-77). Brilliant and accomplished, he was also imprudent and unstable. It was he who urged on Charles I to the folly of arresting the five members.

From Clarendon, 'History of the Rebellion,' 1732

terian in form, while those who loved the Prayer Book only less than the Bible, and who saw Scottish Presbyterianism degenerating into a sour and relentless tyranny, wished to retain Episcopacy, though in a modified form. Debate grew so high, we find in Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, 'that we had like to have sheathed our swords in each other's bowels.' The breach was widened by the growing powers which Parliament was forced to take to itself, in its efforts to find safeguards against a king who would not deal honestly and never kept his word. Those who justly feared the innovation of sovereignty transferred to Parliament from the king began to cling to him as to the lesser evil. Debate grew higher yet; passed beyond hope of reconciliation, and at last flamed out despairingly into the Civil War.

We can read the despair in Sir Edmund Verney's words to Hyde:

I have eaten the King's bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure I shall do—to preserve and defend those things which

are against my conscience to preserve and defend; for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for Bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists.

He died, as he had sadly foretold, in the first shock of battle, nobly Puritan in spite of all, while his son Sir Ralph, a spirit as noble and gallant as his father, was fighting for the Parliament. Such division took place in innumerable families; while many a cautious father divided his sons between the two sides and himself remained neutral at home. The sorrowful hesitation that racked all finer minds is felt in the letter of Sir William Waller the Parliamentarian to Sir Ralph Hopton the Royalist on the eve of battle:

My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship. We are both upon the stage, and we must act the parts assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities.

A war begun in such hesitation, such reluctance, such doubt; between enemies so weakly divided; with forces so ill-organized and unskilled; under so mistaken a belief that the contest would be short ('We all thought one battle would decide,' Richard Baxter confessed after

the drawn fight of Edgehill), was little likely to run other than an indecisive course, lacking a sterner motive or a stronger man. Both were soon at hand: let Sir Philip Warwick, Royalist member for Radnor, show us the man:

The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought myself a very courtly young Gentleman (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning unto the House well clad, and perceived a Gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country-tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable and his eloquence full of fervour.

Add to this, ashen-grey hair worn in long curls, and eyes of a keen steely blue, profoundly sad, with a spark of pain in their depths, and we have the outward portrait of Oliver Cromwell.

This rough, plain figure, carelessly clad, was born in April, 1599, of sound knightly



FATHER AND SON WHO FOUGHT ON OPPOSITE SIDES IN THE CIVIL WAR

The tragedy of divided loyalties occurred in many families during the Civil War when men had to make their choice between King and Parliament. The portrait on the left by Van Dyck shows Sir Edmund Verney, whose religious beliefs were Puritan. He had been in the service of Charles I for nearly thirty years and his unflinching loyalty to the king kept him faithful to the Royalist cause. He fell at Edgehill in 1642. Sir Ralph Verney, his eldest son (right) fought for the Parliament.

From 'Memoirs of the Verney Family'

commoners' rights in Fen drainage schemes and gained the title of Lord of the Fens, and that, with this title as his sole claim to public note, he again sat for Huntingdon in the Short Parliament of 1640 and finally, as member for Cambridge, in the Long Parliament.

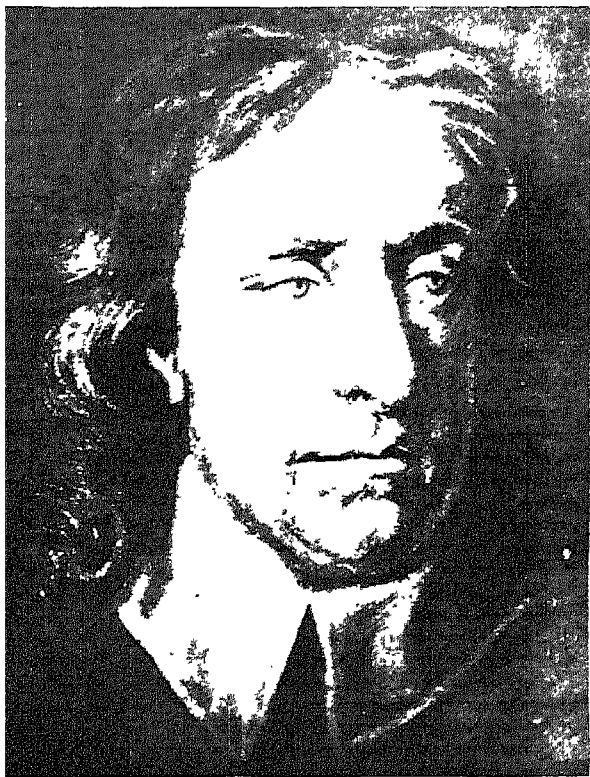
Of his personal life during this secluded period we can only surmise that he underwent a long and severe spiritual stress and emerged with strong religious convictions wrought into his very essence and saturated with the thought and language of the Bible. As he stands up in our eyes to-day like some vast oak, not smooth or very comely but immensely strong, so must these spiritual changes have been accompanied by much harsh rending; the fibres of oak do not yield easily. In 1638 he writes to his cousin, Mrs. St. John:

I live, you know where—in Meshac, which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, which signifies Darkness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. . . . Blessed be His Name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine. You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me.

Cromwell's sins may have been of the grosser sort or only such as those of John Bunyan. We have no means of knowing, but what Bunyan says about himself is informing. In *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* he tells us:

My sins did so offend the Lord that even in my childhood He did scare and afflict me with fearful dreams and did terrify me with dreadful visions . . . of Heaven and Hell. . . . When I was but a child of nine or ten years old these things did so distress my soul that then in the midst of my merry sports and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted therewith; yet could I not let go my sins.

These sins, then and thereafter, consisted of a love for tip-cat, hockey, bell-



PURITAN SQUIRE WHO MADE HISTORY

This portrait of Oliver Cromwell, frequently considered to be the best likeness, was painted by Samuel Cooper and the original is at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. A Parliamentarian and a fervent Puritan of the mystical type, he emerged during the Civil War as a great leader and organizer.

Photo, Stearns and Sons

ringing and swearing—the last cured by one rebuke from an old woman. As Dr. Simcott, Cromwell's physician at Huntingdon, told Sir Philip Warwick, that 'for many years his patient was a most splenetic man and had fancies about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight and such unreasonable hours very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe that he was then dying,' it seems probable that he was much such a visionary as Bunyan and not necessarily more of a sinner. The death of his eldest son, Robert, in 1639, appears to have deepened his natural melancholia. His attendant, Harvey, reports that in 1658, a few days after the death of his daughter Elizabeth, he had read to him the passage in Philipians which ends: 'I can do all

things through Christ which strengtheneth me,' and remarked at its conclusion: 'This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest son died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.'

From his obscurity and his wrestlings with the stubbornness of his own soul

Cromwell emerges into the light of history the figure we have seen him through Warwick's eyes. Another portrait of him, in a letter of John Maidston to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, goes somewhat deeper:

His body was well-compact and strong, his stature under six feet (I believe about two inches), his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed by those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to God himself, of which there was a large proportion. Yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers. A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was.

Cromwell's compassion and tenderness were quickly stirred, whether by great griefs or the small oppressions of the humble or injuries to men's conscience. To his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, hot from Marston Moor, he writes:

Truly England and the Church of God hath a great favour from the Lord in this great victory. Give glory, all the glory, to God. Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. . . . Sir, you know my own trials this way; but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. . . . He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. . . . He is a glorious Saint in Heaven wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. In 1646 he writes to a Royalist, Thomas Knyvett:

Sir,—I cannot pretend any interest in you for anything I have done nor ask any favour for any service I may do you. . . but

I am bold to ask your favour on behalf of your honest poor neighbours of Hapton, who, as I am informed, are in some trouble, and are likely to be put to more, by one Robert Browne. . . . Truly nothing moves me to desire this more than the pity I bear them in respect of their honesties and the trouble I hear they are likely to suffer for their consciences. And however the world interprets it I am not ashamed to solicit for such as are anywhere under oppression of this kind, doing even as I would be done by. Sir, this is a quarrelsome age, and anger seems to me to be the worse where the ground is difference of opinion—which to cure, to hurt men in their names, persons or estates, will not be found an apt remedy. Sir, it will not repent you to protect these poor men of Hapton from injury and oppression.

The poor men were probably Sectarians, for whom very few spoke in that age. After reporting the victory of Naseby to Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons, he enters another plea for the Sectarians:

Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience and you for the liberty he fights for.

There is here, perhaps, some evidence of that largeness of spirit Maidston talks of; there is certainly nothing small or niggling about it. Of that other side of Cromwell's compassion—mercifulness to the enemy in the field—we may see something as we go along; it will be useful to touch here upon another point of Maidston's tribute.

Cromwell's courage is, of course, apparent in the whole of his public career; one or two explicit instances of it may be interesting. At Winceby Fight, as John Vicars chronicles, 'Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy; his horse was killed under him at the first charge and fell down upon him, and as he rose up he was knocked down again by the gentleman who charged him, but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands and bravely mounted himself again.' The enemy were routed by that first charge and few of their three thousand got away. Cromwell does not report Winceby Fight at all in any document now extant; he does report the Storm of

Cromwell's Courage and Modesty

Drogheda very fully and memorably, but he says no word of something he did there; we find out about it from the *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, a remarkably honest man, though in the end no friend to Cromwell. At Drogheda 'two reasonable good breaches' were battered in the walls and a fierce attack was made but driven back with heavy loss, 'yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt; wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the enemy and forced him to quit his entrenchments.' Thus far Cromwell, reporting the matter to the Speaker; but Ludlow says that Cromwell, 'resolved to put all upon it, went down to the breach, and calling out a fresh reserve of Colonel Ewer's men put himself at their head, and with the word "our Lord God" led them up again with courage and resolution, though they met with a hot dispute.' There never was any taint of self-advertisement about Cromwell.

This was the man who, at the age of forty-three, learned his drill from Colonel Dalbier, a Dutch veteran, Cromwell as a Soldier and turned himself into a soldier. He had the soldier's eye and instinct ready-made, and with them was able early to see and understand the lessons of the ramshackle war. What these were, and how his soldiering began, he told long afterwards in a speech to one of his Protectorate parliaments; here is the characteristic story:

I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to make my instruments help me in that work. . . . I had a very worthy Friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out I saw our men were beaten at every hand. . . . 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit; and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that will go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still.' . . . I told him so; I did



A CROMWELLIAN OFFICER

Painted with Dutch precision of detail, this portrait of Nathaniel Hennies gives about the best representation extant of the dress of a Puritan officer. It will be observed that not all Puritans disdained personal adornment.

Courtesy of Lord Saxe and Sels

truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it; and I raised such men as had the fear of God before them; as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually.

It was a proud and a true boast. These men of religion were never the whole sword of the Parliament, but they were the edge and point of the blade. Cromwell found them down in his own East Anglia, and we get interesting outside glimpses of their growth. Whitelocke says: 'He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel, and under Cromwell. And thus, being armed within by the satisfaction of their consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and charge desperately.' Baxter says: 'He had a special care to get religious men into his troop. These men, making not money, but that which they took for the public felicity to be their

end, were the more engaged to be valiant : as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an enemy.'

The numbers had grown by May, 1643 ; a news-letter of that date informs us that ' Colonel Cromwell hath two thousand brave men, well disciplined ; no man swears but he pays his twelve-pence ; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse ; if one calls the other Roundhead he is cashiered.' Reading between the lines of this, it is quite evident that by now all were not men of equal religion. Although Cromwell writes early in the following

September : ' My Troops increase. I have a lovely company ; you would respect them, did you know them. They are no " Ana-baptists " ; they are honest, sober Christians : they expect to be used as men ' ; yet at the end of the month he writes : ' Many of those men which are of your County's choosing are so far from serving you

that—were it not that I have honest troops to master them—I may justly fear they would cut my throat.'

But it was Cromwell himself who did the mastering, and out of many mixed metals, some of doubtful temper, he forged the terrible weapon which laid all England, all Scotland, all Ireland—almost all Europe—at his feet. Rupert dubbed Cromwell ' Ironside ' at Marston Moor, and from him the fine name passed to his troopers, and from them, again, loosely to all the cavalry of the New Model, of which at first they formed only a small part ; the rest were chiefly volunteers from the militia and train-bands, pressed men and deserters from the Royalist forces, who were judged to be among the best of the recruits. Elements so various had political and religious views as varied, yet they were welded into the single-hearted army of veritable Ironsides which at Dunbar routed headlong a Scottish army more than twice as numerous, well-found, inflamed by frantic Presbyterian preachers, and led by Alexander Leslie, the masterly veteran of the Continental wars. The Scots lost three thousand slain and ten thousand prisoners ; the English, not above two hundred men all told.

Partly it was Cromwell's great leadership which wrought the miracle, partly



TYPES OF MEN WHO FOUGHT EACH OTHER IN THE CIVIL WAR

' Cromwell House ', Highgate, had no sort of connexion with Cromwell or any of his family. Nevertheless the carved wooden figures on the staircase are genuine representations of military costume—clearly Royalist rather than Puritan—of the Civil War period. From left to right this selection shows a pikeman, an infantry officer, a musketeer, a targeteer and a caliver man. The reconstruction at the top represents a soldier of the New Model Army, equipped with steel gauntlet and breast plate, barred helmet and leather gloves.

his iron discipline. His soldiers did not like the discipline, but they endured it at his hands because they knew him, though stern, for patient, just and merciful, careful of their wants, mindful of their human dignity; because he 'used them as men.' And when, moved by political passion, they once mutinied, at his unsupported word they stood forth from their ranks to be shot or hanged, because they felt in him the subduing majesty of a natural king.

Cromwell's rule of the army was an epitome of his rule of the nation; there were the same various and conflicting elements similarly controlled or harmonised, by methods similarly endured for similar reasons. The people as a whole by no means loved him, but they recognized, grudgingly, that them also he 'used as men.' Their complaint, in general, was that he used all as men and not merely some of them.

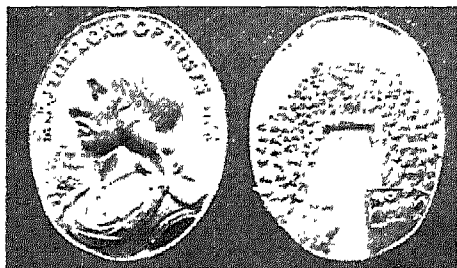
A conception and practice of toleration immensely superior to any obtaining until our own day gave rise, indeed, to not a few of Cromwell's troubles.

Broad tolerance of Cromwell The Presbyterians were the dominant religious party, and what uncurbed Presbyterianism meant we may guess from the words of Thomas Cartwright, chief of the English Presbyterians some eighty years before:

I deny that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.

In Scotland, Presbyterianism actually had travelled this bitter and pitiless road; in England it would have and did, so far as it dared; but Cromwell would have none of it. We have the problem and the principle upon which he tried to solve it presented well enough in his own words:

'Mercy and Truth shall meet together'?—Here is a great deal of 'truth' among professors, but very little 'mercy'! They are ready to cut the throats of one another. . . . Look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of interests in this Nation, civil and religious—if they be worthy the name of interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be



IN COMMEMORATION OF DUNBAR

This medal, which commemorates the victory of Cromwell and his Ironsides at Dunbar in 1650, was the work of the famous medallist, Thomas Simon. Cromwell is shown on one side with the House of Commons on the reverse.

British Museum

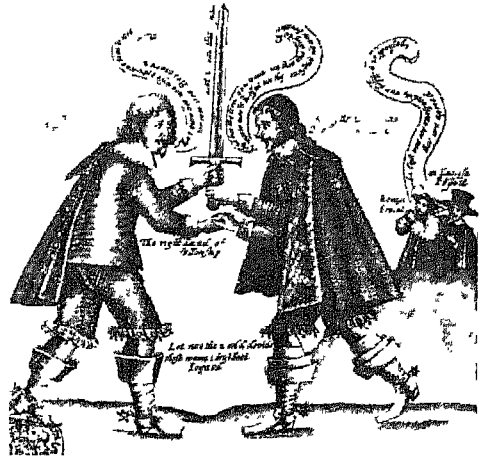
but one Cain in England if God did not restrain! We should have another, more bloody, Civil War. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people may be uppermost? That every sort of men may get the power into their hands? Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. Every sect saith: 'Oh, give me liberty'! But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience,'—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! . . . If a man of one form will oppress one of another, I will not suffer it in him. My practice since the last Parliament hath been, to let all this Nation see that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; and not to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. And truly I am against all 'liberty of conscience' repugnant to this. . . . If men will profess—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgement simply, or of the Presbyterian judgement—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they plainly continue to be thankful to God and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences. . . . This, truly, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes of the ear, and rebukes on the one hand and on the other—some censuring me for Presbytery, others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. . . . Presbyterians, Independents, all have the same spirit of faith and prayer; they agree in this, have here no names of difference; pity it is they should in anything be otherwise! All that believe, have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual. For being united in forms, every Christian will for peace-sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren in

things of the mind, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason. The Ministers in England are supported and have liberty to preach the Gospel though not to rail, nor, under pretence of preaching to overtop the Civil Power or debase it as they please. And a pretended fear lest hereby Error should step in is like the man who would keep all the wine out the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge!

And he was as good as his word. So long as they would be peaceable and reasonably unostentatious about their modes of worship, even Catholics and Episcopalians were suffered, so that Cavalier Evelyn was able to attend church service performed according to the Book of Common Prayer, and Cromwell could write with truth to Mazarin that, though state toleration was as yet impossible,

under my Government Your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion, making a difference and plucking many out of the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences and encroached by an arbitrariness of power over their estates.

He was better than his word; for even when Presbyterians, red-hot Republican Anabaptists, Catholics and Episcopalians



A RELIGIOUS COMPACT

The desirability of Protestant unity was emphasised by this broadside of 1647 entitled 'a pious and seasonable perswasive'. A dissenter and Presbyterian are clasping hands to the discomfiture of Rome and the Jesuits (right)

British Museum.

joined in Royalist insurrection and assassination plots, he bridled them with a very merciful hand and still suffered them. It is exactly true that if, in his attitude towards Catholics, Cromwell's lights were not so very bright, at least they were brighter than those of his contemporaries, or of his successors for many generations, and none had to intercede with him on behalf of Catholics as he had to intercede to end the persecution and massacre of the Vaudois Protestants.

As in tolerance, so in mercy, Cromwell was in advance of his age. When a beaten foe lay in his hand he literally laboured to spare him, except where the needs of actual battle made sparing folly and a greater cruelty. His campaign in Ireland provides no exception to this. An excessive quantity of shuddering picturesqueness has been expended upon it, a little calm consideration of facts would have been juster and more illuminating. In refusing the offered terms of surrender—they were good terms, and

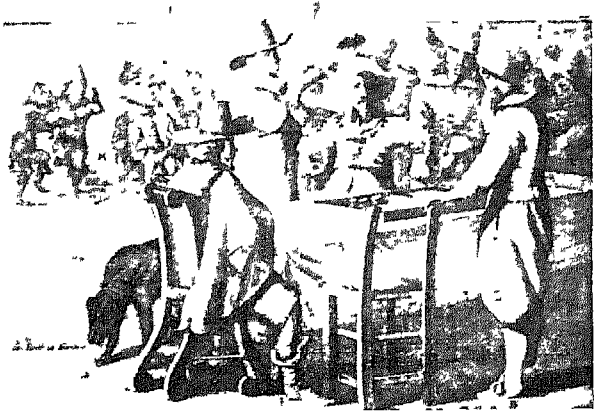


SUFFERINGS OF A QUAKER FOR HIS RELIGION

This engraving, attributed to W. Hollar, depicts the persecution of a Quaker, James Nailor, who was whipped by the hangman and had his tongue bored through with a hot iron. Cromwell, with a tolerance in advance of his age, intervened on Nailor's behalf, and likewise in many other cases showed compassion.

when accepted, in later sieges, were perfectly observed—Drogheda and Wexford laid themselves open to the usual penalty of sack and slaughter following a storm, a custom of war which endured until Wellington's day. The only difference between the storms of Drogheda and Wexford and that, for example, of Badajoz is that in the former cases the slaughter was confined to the armed garrisons—who, at Drogheda, were mostly English renegades. Cromwell challenged his foes the Irish prelates to give 'an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms massacred, destroyed, or banished. The challenge was not met then, and never has been since.

Cromwell's settlement of Ireland, as distinguished from his conduct of the subjugation, has been often accounted a heavy blemish upon his reputation. Countless would-be settlers of Ireland—both English and Irish—have ended their toils with heavily blemished reputations, and in any case Cromwell's settlement was not so much his as the Parliament's, although he certainly approved of it and did have it carried out, and not so much the Parliament's as part of the traditional

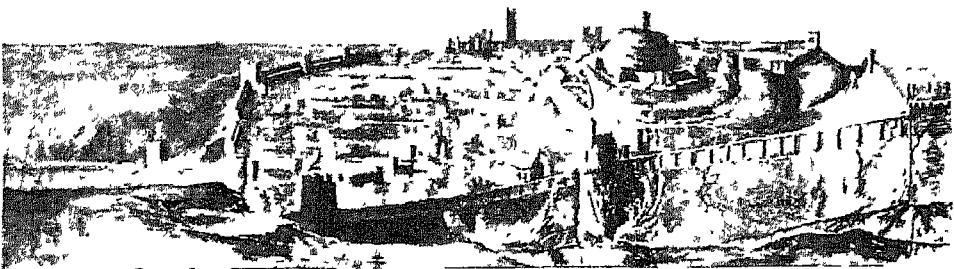


DUTCH SATIRE ON THE NAVIGATION ACT

Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651 prohibited importation of foreign goods in ships not of the country producing them—a damaging blow to the Dutch carrying trade. This contemporary Dutch print satirises the situation as a curious game of back-gammon between Cromwell and the European powers.

British Museum

policy of England. It was strictly in accordance with tradition that it should prove to be a mistake. If any English policy in Ireland had ever been other than a mistake it would be easier to point out where the error lay. No excuse can be offered for these unfortunate facts, unless it is the excuse which the bull would doubtless make for tossing the banderillero. From the days when she first provoked Henry II's intervention by her heavy



IRISH CITY THAT SUCCUMBED TO THE MIGHT OF CROMWELL

Few incidents have caused greater controversy about Cromwell's methods in Ireland than his treatment of the garrison of Drogheda, which was stormed by him in 1649. Sack and slaughter were the recognized penalty for obstinate resistance, and Cromwell claimed that his drastic methods would certainly 'tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future'. Above is a view of Drogheda, drawn about 1680. The fortifications were extant until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

British Museum

accumulation of English slaves Ireland was long industrious in sticking barbed darts into her burly neighbour's neck.

It is a characteristic of the larger statesmanship that its policies succeed only, if ever, at a date so postponed that they are already obsolete. Cromwell was a statesman of the lesser kind; he concentrated on the needs of the moment and his policies succeeded at once and immensely. His domestic policy was that epitomised by himself, 'Healing and Settling,' and he wholly enforced it upon a nation boiling with virulent animosities; the appropriate comment is in the words of an enemy: 'All England over, these were Halcyon days.' If Scotland be included within the domestic circle we may fittingly consider that other comment of Bishop Burnet, also an enemy: 'We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity.' His foreign policy was



THE PROTECTOR'S SEAL

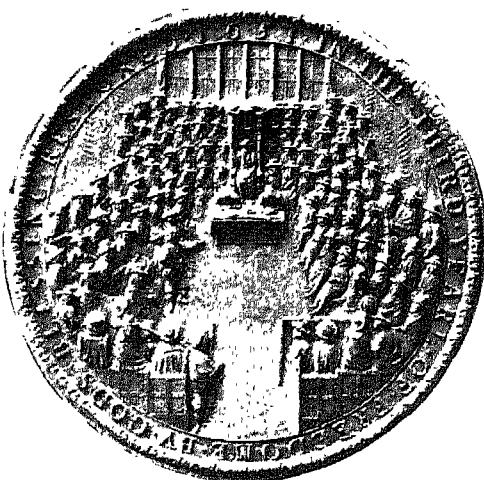
Oliver Cromwell was installed at Westminster as Lord Protector on December 16, 1653. One side of his seal in the new office shows him on horseback, with a view of London.

British Museum

designed to restore England to her former greatness among the nations; actually, he erected her to a supremacy she had never known before and has never approached since. 'There is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you,' he was able to tell his parliament; it was proudly true, but it was much understating the case. The unfriendly Clarendon was nearer the true facts when he wrote that 'it

was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries; there is nothing he could have demanded that any of them would have denied him.'

Revolutions breed both anarchy and the despots to correct it, so Cromwell was the inevitable despot of his hour. But he was the very unusual kind of despot who is always striving to divest himself of his despotism. Fortunately, perhaps, for England, he strove in vain. Had he once been



GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH: A WORK OF ART

The skill of Thomas Simon, who held the post of engraver to the Mint during the interregnum, was responsible for designing the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, which is remarkable for its ambitious yet simple design. The date upon the seal is 1651, 'the third year of freedom by God's blessing restored.' On the obverse appears a map of the British Isles with her guardian fleet of warships patrolling the seas. On the reverse the House of Commons in session replaces the king's effigy.

British Museum



'BE GONE, YOU ROGUES, YOU HAVE SATE LONG ENOUGH!'

This satirical Dutch print shows the scene of chaos and confusion that attended Oliver Cromwell's summary dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653. The Parliament, which met in 1640, was seeking to prolong its tenure of power, and Cromwell resolved upon his masterly coup d'état to prevent this. Lambert, Strickland and Cooper accompany the Protector, while Harrison forcibly removes Lenthall, the Speaker, from his chair. The British lion is travestied by a small poodle.

Catalogue of Political Satires, British Museum

able to gather a parliament which would do anything beyond squabbling over technicalities he would certainly have been able to build an enduring constitution and England would now probably be enjoying the doubtful blessings of a republic. Of personal ambition he had no discoverable trace; of the vulgar egotism of a Napoleon assuredly not the least speck. 'As an officer,' says Waller, 'he was obedient, and did never dispute my orders or argue upon them.' When he ungirt the soldier's sword he had borne in the field for ten years he laid aside with it a splendour of achievement and a height of power matched by few princes or commanders, surpassed by none, and for nineteen months obeyed the ghost of a parliament with its shadow of legal authority as unquestioningly as he had obeyed Waller. In the end, to ward off anarchy, he stepped into the supreme place, but he did so with most reluctant feet. He told his parliament afterwards:



ANTI-CROMWELLIAN SATIRE

Urged on by a spirit, Oliver Cromwell is shown in this contemporary Dutch print delivering a sermon. Through one window a battle, probably Worcester, is seen; through the other, a conference. The panel on the pulpit represents Charles I rising from his grave.

I have lived the latter part of my age in the fire; in the midst of troubles. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what hath lain upon me. I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertake such a Government as this—a burden too heavy for any creature. . . . I am a man standing in the Place I am in, not so much out of hope of doing any good as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil; for truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish.

The conception sounds almost flatly modest; in reality it shows a gigantic common sense and sanity possible only to the very greatest men. In its very nature a destruction of the intolerable and a

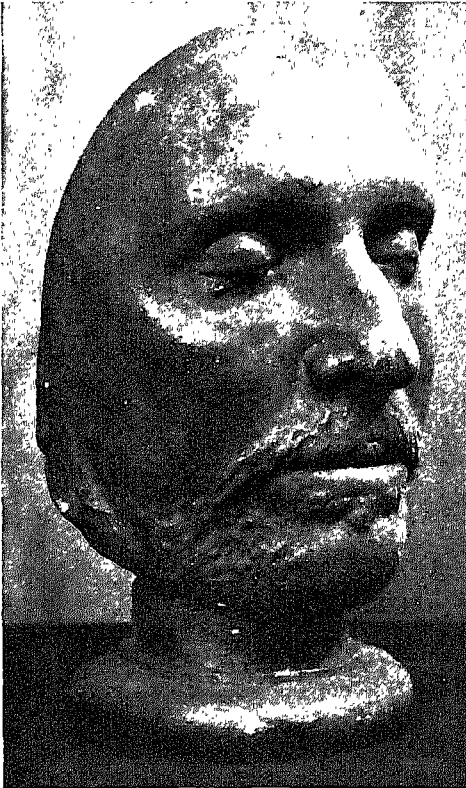
search for the tolerable, every revolution has a period when its supreme need is just such a good constable, who will keep order while as yet no new machinery has been devised to replace the old destroyed; in all history only the Puritan Revolution found one. Others have produced in plenty high-flown dreamers who became disordered fanatics, and grandiose dictators who became tyrants. What chaos resulted in their 'parish' we may see in a book by Dr. Figueiredo, living in modern times amidst the results of the Portuguese revolution. These were the results:

Public authority discredited, intelligence and character persecuted as irritating obstacles, strange new values created, Governments concerned only to last from day to day, and to insinuate themselves into finance and bureaucracy. In sixteen years we had over forty revolutionary, party, or coalition Ministries, with nearly five hundred Ministers belonging to twenty parties; eight Parliaments and over twenty revolutions and pronunciamientos.

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With a slight adjustment of figures that might have been written of the French, Russian or German revolutions, or of any revolution so far known; that it could not have been written of the Puritan revolution is due to the one fact that it possessed its Cromwell and that he was of his own surpassing stature.

Thus it was that when Puritanism passed into a derided memory its work remained, and it was exactly the work it had set out to do—to ensure that in England a ruler should never again oppress a subject in mind, body, or estate. A dynasty had to destroy itself before it was known how well the work was done. The man who saw to it that it was so done was broken at last by his 'burden too heavy for any creature,' and died muttering: 'It is not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.' It was ironically fitting that it should be Samuel Pepys, in the crowding national shames of the Restoration, who made him a very stately epitaph: 'It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him.'



DEATH MASK OF CROMWELL

This striking relic of the great Protector has been handed down in the Frankland family from an ancestor who married Oliver Cromwell's granddaughter. This death mask, which gives so definite an impression of a man of strong character, was exhibited for the first time in 1928.

Courtesy of Messrs. Spink & Son

Eighth Era

THE PRIMACY OF FRANCE

1660—1815

Chronicle XXVI—THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV, 1660-1713

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| 145. India under the Moguls
<i>Demetrius C. Boulger</i> | 147. The Birth of Modern Science
<i>W. C. D. Dampier-Whetham, F.R.S.</i> |
| 146. Buccaneer and Pirate: A
Phase of Sea History
<i>E. Kettle Chatterton</i> | 148. The France of Louis Quatorze
<i>Roger H. Soltan</i> |

Chronicle XXVII—DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT POWERS, 1713-1789

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Adams, LL.D., Litt.D.</i> |
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<i>Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson</i> |

Chronicle XXVIII—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC AGE, 1789-1815

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| 155. Ethics and Economics of the
Revolution <i>H. D. Dickinson</i> | 157. Napoleon: His Aims and
Achievements
<i>Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt.D.</i> |
| 156. The Men who Made the
Revolution <i>Prof. Emile
Bourgeois, D.-ès-L.</i> | 158. John Wesley and Nonconformity
<i>Sydney G. Dimond</i> |
| 159. English Life in the Eighteenth Century <i>Arthur J. Ireland</i> | |

DURING the century and a half preceding the moment at which our era opens, the main troubles of the European states, international and internal, arose from religious animosities. That phase has passed. In the new era, beginning with the personal autocracy of Louis XIV and ending with the downfall of Napoleon, continental politics revolve round French ambitions; while all Europe is dominated in thought, art, literature and manners by France. But it is also the era in which Great Britain establishes her supremacy on the seas and eliminates French rivalry in India and America, though paying a heavy price in the loss of her American colonies; the era in which first the Ottoman power is broken, then the Russian empire is created by a barbarian of genius, and then Prussia thrusts her way into the front rank of the European powers. And it ends as the period of the great social and political upheaval of the French Revolution, and of the first stage of the no less momentous economic revolution wrought by the invention of power-driven machinery.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVI

- 1680 Louis XIV m Maria Teresa, takes control on Mazarin's retirement
Restoration of Charles II in England
Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen
- 1681 Ahmed Kiuprili grand wazir
England acquires Bombay from Portugal
- 1682 Colbert's financial maritime and colonial policy inaugurated in France
- 1684 Turkish defeat at St. Gothard on Ratis Au tre
Turkish truce of Vasvár
French East India Company established
- 1685 Second Anglo Dutch war
Portuguese independence established
Leopold I m Margaret Teresa of Spain
Philip IV d, acc Carlos II of Spain
- 1687 Anglo Dutch Treaty of Breda
Louis invades Netherlands, Devolution War
Milton's Paradise Lost
- 1688 Secret Treaty of Louis and Leopold Triple Alliance of England Holland and Sweden
Louis accepts Peace of Aix la Chapelle
- 1689 Fall of Candia ends Turco Venetian war
Poland John Casimir the last Jagellon abdicates
Michael Wiesznowiecki elected k
- 1690 Secret Treaty of Dover (Louis and Charles II)
Rise of Louvois, superseding Colbert's influence
- 1692 Louis and Charles declare war on Dutch murder of the De Witts William III declared stadtholder and captain general French advance checked by opening the dykes
Turks, at war with Poland checked by John Sobieski
- 1693 Dutch formal defence league with German states
Molere d
- 1694 John Sobieski king of Poland
England withdraws from Dutch war
Turenne's campaign in Alsace French seize Franche Comte
- 1695 Tokoli's insurrection in Transylvania
Turenne killed at Saltzbach
The Great Elector, Frederick William, defeats superior Swedish force at Fehrbellin
- 1696 Kara Mustafa succeeds Ahmed Kiuprili as grand wazir
India Aurangzib revives poll tax on Hindus
Spinoza d
- 1697 Treaty of Nimwegen (Nimeguen), marking the height and the limit of Louis' power
- 1699 Treaty of St. Germain en Laye deprives the Great Elector of the fruits of his victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin
Louis sets up the Chambers of Reunion to enforce French interpretation of disputed questions in the Rhineland
- 1680 India Sivaji founder of the Maratha power d
- 1681 Breach between Louis and the pope Louis begins persecution of Huguenots
Louis occupies Strassburg
- 1682 Russia Acc Ivan V and Peter (the Great), the government in the hands of Sophia
- 1683 Kara Mustafa lays siege to Vienna, John Sobieski comes to the rescue, joins Charles of Lorraine, and shatters Turkish army Imperial troops continue the war
Colbert d
- 1684 Cornielle d
- 1685 Revocation of Edict of Nantes, great emigration of fugitive Huguenots
England Charles II d, acc James II
- 1686 League of Augsburg among German princes
Venetians reconquer Morea
- 1687 Parthenon at Athens accidentally destroyed
Publication of Isaac Newton's Principia
Charles of Lorraine defeats Turks at Mohacz
- 1688 English statesmen of all parties invite intervention of William of Orange
Louis attacks not Holland but Palatinate by advice of Louvois William lands in Torbay, James flees to France leaving throne vacant
Great Elector d, acc Frederick
Mustafa Kiuprili grand wazir
- 1689 William III and Mary II proclaimed king and queen in England and Scotland, where Jacobite resistance collapses after Killiecrankie
- 1689 Ireland siege of Derry by Jacobites
League of Augsburg develops into Grand Alliance
Imperialists take Belgrade from Turks
Russia Peter displaces Sophia
William defeats Irish Jacobites on the Boyne
French defeat English fleet off Beachy Head
- 1691 Capitulation of Limerick
Louvois d
- 1692 Decisive English naval victory of La Hogue
- 1694 Turks recapture Belgrade
Voltaire b
- 1696 Peter the Great takes Azov from the Turks
Allies recapture Nimur
- 1697 Treaty of Ryswick (a set back for Louis)
Fugitives victory over Turks at Zenta
Peter the Great's journey in western Europe
Charles XI of Sweden d, acc Charles XII
- 1698 First Spanish Partition Treaty between Louis and William, electoral prince of Bavaria the principal heir
Augustus of Saxony elected king of Poland
- 1699 Treaty of Carlowitz between Austria Russia and Turkey
Northern league against Charles of Sweden
Racine d
Electoral prince d
- 1700 Second Partition Treaty by Louis and William
Carlos II d leaving the whole Spanish inheritance to Philip Louis accepts
Charles XII routs Russians at Narva
- 1701 Louis takes possession in Spain, Netherlands and Italy, William draws together new Grand Alliance
Austrians open Italian campaign
Frederick of Brandenburg crowned first k of Prussia
Alles declare war William d, acc Anne
Marlborough captain general of British and Dutch in Netherlands, Eugene commands for the allies in Italy
Charles XII invades Poland
- 1703 Marlborough pushes France back in Netherlands
French campaign on the Danube spoilt by attempt to master Troil, but Vendome forces Eugene back to the Alps from Italy
Portugal joins the Allies who claim Spain for Archduke Charles
John Wesley b
- 1704 Marlborough conceals Blenheim campaign with Eugene While the French armies are massing on the Danube, he throws himself by a surprise march between them and Vienna and wins decisive battle of Blenheim
Rooke captures Gibraltar
Charles XII enforces election of Stanislaus Leszcinski in Poland
- 1705 Leopold I d, acc Joseph I
- 1706 Marlborough wins Ramillies Eugene drives French out of N Italy by victory of Turin
Charles XII imposes treaty of Altranstadt on Augustus of Saxony
- 1706-7 Incorporating union of England and Scotland
- 1707 French under Berwick win Almanza against English under (Huguenot) Ruigny earl of Galway
India Aurangzib d Disintegration of Mogul Empire sets in
- 1708 Marlborough wins Oudenarde British under Stanhope capture Minorca
Charles XII invades Russia
- 1709 Marlborough's last victory at Malplaquet
Charles XII, defeated at Pultava, escapes to Turkish territory where he remains
Augustus of Saxony recovers Polish crown, renewed attack on Swedish territories
- 1710 Turks declare war on Peter
Conference at Gertruydenburg fails
Victories of Vendome in Spain
- 1711 Fall of Whigs and recall of Marlborough
Joseph I d, acc Charles VI
Peter, trapped on the Pruth, is granted peace by the Turks, and joins in dismembering Sweden
- 1712 Virtual suspension of hostilities
- 1713 Peace of Utrecht
Frederick I of Prussia d, acc Frederick William I

Chronicle XXVI

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV: 1660-1713

IN 1660 Louis XIV, being twenty-one years of age, took over into his own hands the control of France from Mazarin, and married the eldest daughter of the king of Spain. For the next fifty years his ambitions dominated all the international relations of Europe, and, apart from political rivalries, France became during his rule, the dictator or the model of all Europe in thought, in art, in literature and in manners. Mazarin had completed the work of Richelieu. France was consolidated and her government centralized as it had never been before. Her armies were led by the two greatest captains of the age, her frontiers had been extended and strengthened, she held the passage to Italy, the passage to Spain and the entry to Germany, her diplomatists were unequalled, she had no rivals who could contemplate aggression against her.

France safe from Foreign Aggression

IN enfeebled Spain had lost her hold on Portugal, and was ruled by an elderly king who was soon to be succeeded by a half-imbecile boy, Germany was depopulated, bled almost white by the Thirty Years' War, with no more unity than was given by the official presidency of an emperor over a crowd of princes each of whom was practically an absolute ruler in his own territories, and the emperor himself was threatened by Magyar insurrections and Turkish aggression in his Hungarian kingdom. Sweden was remote and reckoned among great powers only when her king happened to be a great captain—and at the moment her king was a child of four. England had just restored a king who was the French king's cousin and could not afford to quarrel with him. The last thing to be anticipated was an attack on France by any foreign power, or any development of power which could be a menace to France. There was no existing excuse for France to turn her own power to aggressive purposes.

Nevertheless this position did not satisfy the inordinate egotism of Louis XIV.

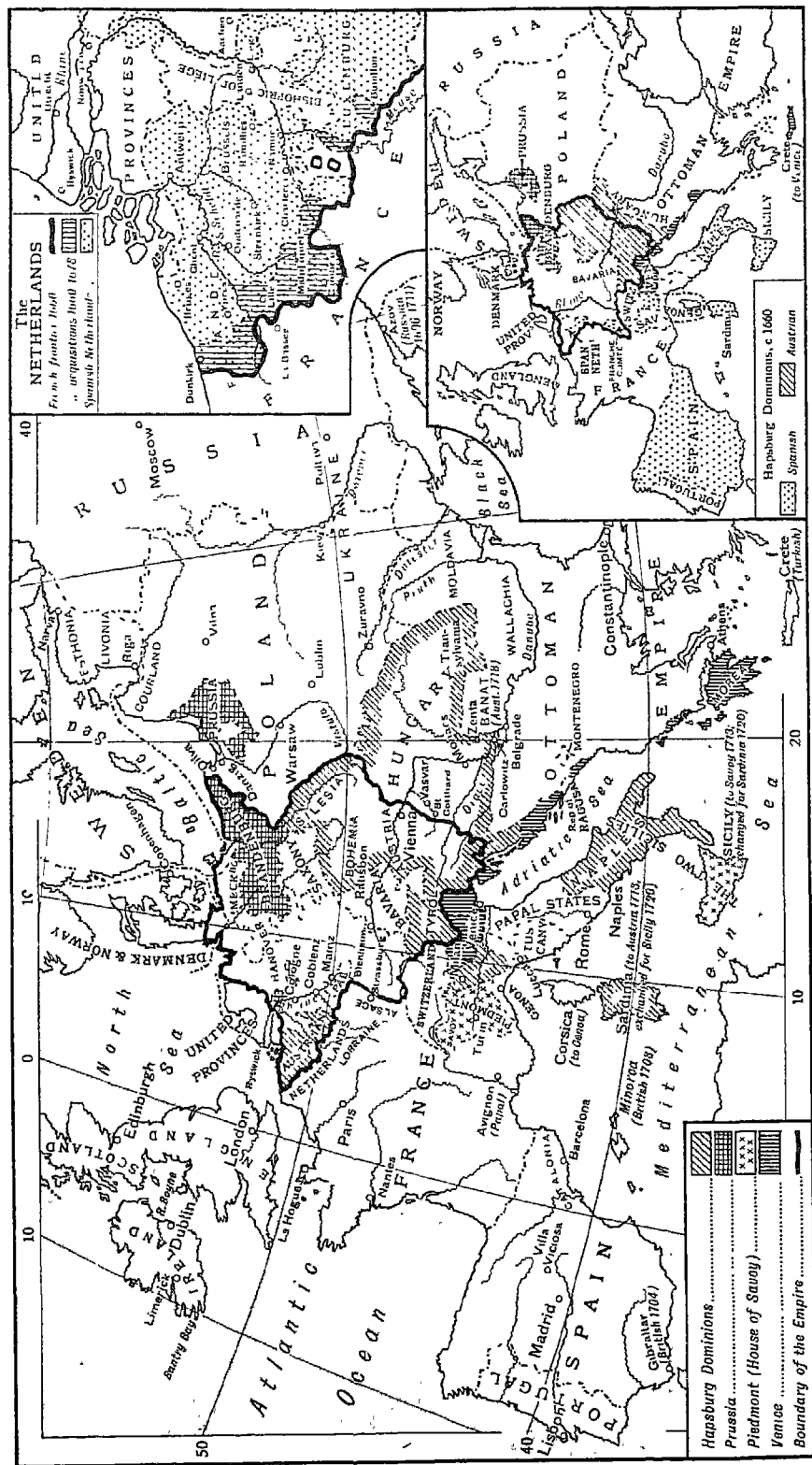
From the outset he was determined to make good the old French claim on *Franche Comte* and the new French demand for the 'natural' boundary on the Lower Rhine in other words the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, to which France had no pretence of a title. Beyond that was the determination to dominate Europe, making Holland and the western German principalities into dependencies of France. All these ambitions he had apparently formulated when Mazarin resigned. At this stage the final ambition to make Spain a Bourbon instead of a Hapsburg monarchy can hardly have presented itself even as a dream.

Colbert's financial Reforms

ACTIVE aggression, however, demands at least something which the aggressor can put forward as a pretext with some appearance of plausibility. Awaiting such a pretext, Louis' immediate concern was the further internal consolidation and development of France herself. The man for the work was Colbert. Louis, wholly lacking in originality himself, had a genius for finding men with ideas which he could up to a certain point appreciate, and to whom, so far, he gave a free hand.

Henry IV and Sully had reorganized French administration and finance. Richelieu and Mazarin had preserved the basic idea of their administration—that it should be in the hands not of powerful nobles but of professionals from the bourgeoisie or the minor nobility, directly responsible to the crown. But Sully's rigid economy and strict supervision had disappeared with his retirement, and the old evils had revived. The restoration of the national finances was Colbert's first task. Strict supervision was once more the order of the day, and a development of industries much more vigorous than under Sully, who suffered from the prevalent conviction that the only form of wealth production which really mattered was agriculture.

But Colbert was the first and almost the only French financial minister to realize



SCENE OF THE CONFLICTS THAT DISTRACTED EUROPE DURING THE REIGN OF THE GRAND MONARQUE

Aggressions in the Netherlands occupied Louis XIV from 1660–78, and the shifting of the frontier effected in that period is shown in the upper inset. Further ambitions involved him in the war of the Spanish Succession, ending in his abasement by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). In central Europe a dominant incident was the westward expansion of Turkey as far as Vienna from which the Empire was delivered by Sobieski of Poland. In the north-east there was conflict between Russia and Sweden, Peter the Great defeating Charles XII at Pultava in 1709. The period also witnessed the foundation of Prussian power by the Elector of Brandenburg.

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that the wealth of England and Holland was derived from their maritime expansion; and he entered upon a rivalry with them in the field of oceanic, colonial and naval development with a success which was the more remarkable because its vitality depended entirely on his personal energy. While he was allowed his own way, the wealth of France increased rapidly—though it was presently to be dissipated on his master's 'grandiose schemes. Two things no man could do: redistribute the burden of taxation with any approximation to justice, because the classes that were prac-



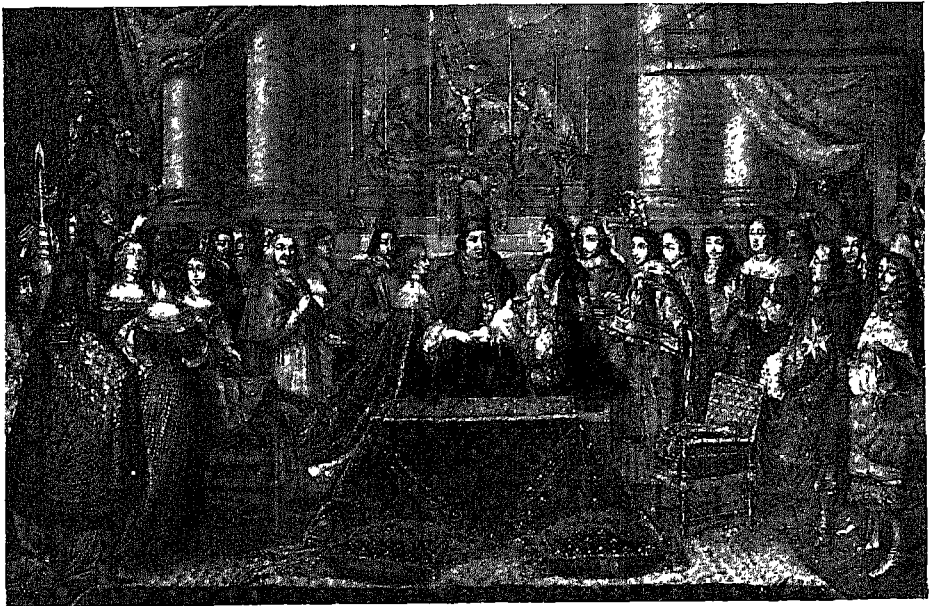
ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

Louis XIV was born September 5, 1638, and became king in 1643. This portrait by Nicolas Mignard was painted in 1663, when the king was in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Engraving by Kühner

tically immune, the nobles and the clergy, were too strongly entrenched to yield up their privileges; and break down the barriers to internal trade which local short-sightedness persisted in maintaining—though here a real advance was made by the development of groups of communities adopting free trade between themselves, greatly to their advantage. (See also Chap 148.)

Louis' marriage with the Spanish Infanta, Maria Teresa, was a stroke of policy on the part of Mazarin which provided the king with a starting point for his ambitions. The heir to the Spanish throne was



NUPTIALS OF LOUIS XIV AND THE INFANTA MARIA TERESA

An essential clause in the Peace Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659, stipulated for the marriage of Louis XIV to Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV of Spain, the bride renouncing all rights of inheritance from her father in consideration of payment of a large dowry. Mazarin's idea was that the renunciation would be invalidated by default of the money payment, with consequent advantages to the French party to the contract. The marriage was celebrated at St. Jean-de-Luz, June 9, 1660.

Engraving after painting by Charles Le Brun



PHILIP IV OF SPAIN

Philip IV (1605-65) became king of Spain in 1621, but delegated the administration to Olivarez and other favourites, devoting himself to sport, pleasure and dilettantism. He was a patron of Velasquez, who painted this portrait of him.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

a sickly little boy, the son of Philip's second wife. Maria Teresa was the daughter of his first wife. There were no brothers. But in certain provinces of the Netherlands succession went to the children of the first wife, whether boys or girls, in priority to any children of a second marriage. On this principle Louis chose to argue that when Philip died the succession in the Netherlands would go, of right, to his wife, not to the boy Carlos, though in Spain the right of the latter was of course indisputable.

King Philip died in 1665, having just married his second daughter, Margaret Teresa, to the emperor Leopold. If the boy king should die without issue she, not Maria Teresa, would be his heir, because the latter's resignation of all right of

succession in Spain had been a condition of her marriage to Louis. Still, there was a possibility that some ground for asserting her claim might be forthcoming. This, however, was as yet a contingency too uncertain to affect practical politics.

But Philip's death gave Louis his opportunity for putting forward his claim in the Netherlands. Until now he had been content to foster antagonisms between his neighbours which might weaken them. He had encouraged a renewal of the war between English and Dutch which Cromwell had stopped in 1654—the more Dutch and English fleets hammered each other, the better for Colbert's schemes—and had helped Portugal to establish her independent monarchy under the house of Braganza, an aim finally achieved by the Portuguese victory at Villa Viciosa in 1665.

Louis at once pressed his claim. Diplomacy naturally failed. In 1667, at the moment when Dutch and English, tired of obstinate and indecisive fighting, were coming to terms, Louis dropped diplomacy and sent Turenne to take forcible possession of the Netherlands in what is known as the War of Devolution. Turenne's

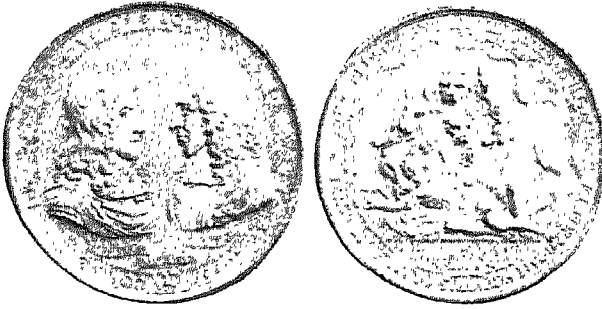


LEOPOLD I

The reign of Leopold I (1640-1705), German king and emperor, was spent in continual resistance to the aggressions of Louis XIV. He was father of the Austrian and grandfather of the Bavarian claimants to the Spanish succession.

Engraving by Bartholomäus Kilian

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MURDER OF THE BROTHERS DE WITT

In August 1672 the Grand Pensionary, John De Witt, and his brother Cornelius, leaders of the anti-Orange party, were seized by an Orange mob and savagely murdered. This silver medal shows their busts on the obverse, and on the reverse an allegory of madness rending them in pieces.

British Museum; photo, Oxford University Press

success was so rapid and complete that England, Holland and Sweden took alarm, and formed a Triple Alliance to induce Louis by force, if diplomatic pressure failed, to make peace with Spain on reasonable terms. Louis meanwhile had taken his own measures. A surprise invasion of Franche Comté gave him complete mastery there; he had secured the neutrality of the German princes, and made a secret compact with Leopold as to an ultimate partition of the Spanish dominions. So with a fine display of magnanimity he acceded to the demands of the Triple Alliance, restoring Franche Comté, but retaining in the Netherlands an almost impregnable chain of fortresses stretching from Dunkirk to Charleroi.

The next step was to be the domination of Holland. There the republican government of De Witt had held the house of Orange in depression for twenty years; its restoration to power in the person of the young William would place the country practically at the disposal of his restorer, the king of France. The English fleet would be useful; William was the English king's nephew; Charles had domestic

projects of his own which he could only carry out by his cousin's financial aid, and was quite ready for a bargain, though its terms could not be confided to his ministers. The bargain was duly struck, and in 1672 France and England declared war on the Dutch Republic.

Unfortunately for the scheme, an internal revolution overturned and murdered the De Witts and made William stadtholder and captain-general. Instead of securing a dependant, Louis by attacking Holland had raised up the

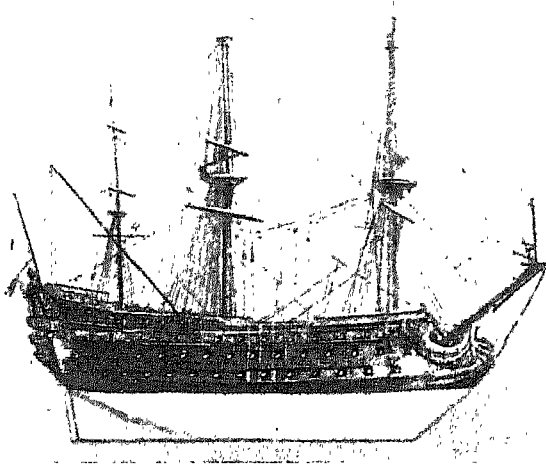
implacable foe who wrecked his ambitions. Whatever the odds, William never faltered in the intensity of his resolve to devote his life to fighting against Louis. The English fought the Dutch by sea; neither could decisively beat the other, and Charles took the earliest opportunity to extricate himself from the conflict. The French fought the Dutch by land, and



LOUIS XIV CROSSING THE RHINE

This picture by Joseph Parrocel shows Louis XIV fording the Rhine at Tolhuis, June 12, 1672, on his way to join Condé's forces in the Dutch campaign. Although in Napoleon's estimation a fourth-rate military operation, this incident provided the subject for numerous poems and paintings.

The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques



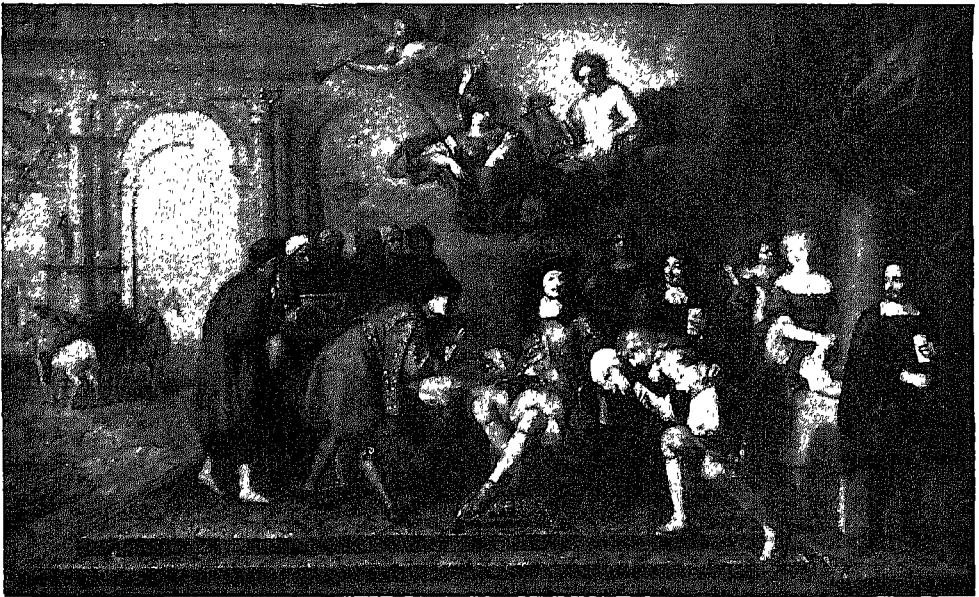
ONE OF COLBERT'S BATTLESHIPS

In the French navy as reorganized by Colbert, the principal type of vessel was the three-masted line-of-battle ship. They were divided into five classes, ranging from 192 feet in length with 49 feet beam to 114 feet in length with 26 feet beam and armament ranging from 100 to 30 guns.

Musée de la Marine, Paris

William turned the sea itself upon them by opening the dykes.

Moreover, Louis' aggressive aims were now so thoroughly unmasked that Frederick William of Brandenburg took alarm—he, not Louis, ought to have the leadership of West Germany—and drew together a coalition to resist France, whose only ally was Sweden. From 1673 to 1678 France was fighting almost single-handed against a circle of foes, who, happily for her, had no unity of plan and no generals in any way comparable with Turenne. She won victory after victory even after Turenne was killed in 1675; the fleet Colbert had created even beat the Dutch; but against such odds the victories could mean no more than that she was holding her own with a small



RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF NIMWEGEN BY LOUIS 'THE GREAT'

With the conclusion of the Dutch War in 1678 Louis XIV was definitely arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Peace was made with the United Provinces by the Treaty of Nijmegen (Nimeguen), signed August 10, 1678, a historical event commemorated in this painting by Charles Le Brun. A second treaty was signed with Spain, Sept. 17, 1678; and on Feb. 5, 1679, Leopold accepted Louis' terms. The pacification was completed by supplementary treaties with Brandenburg, Denmark and Sweden.

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Budapest; photo, Hanfstangl

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margin of advantage. Both sides became exhausted; William and William alone was set upon a fight to a finish, and in Holland itself his popularity was waning under the tremendous strain. One after another of the belligerents dropped out, making their separate terms, Holland first, then Spain, then Leopold, whose belligerency, owing to Turkish and Hungarian embarrassments, had always been half-hearted. The group of treaties which terminated the war are known as the Peace of Nimwegen, or Nimeguen (1678).

Frederick William of Brandenburg had made use of the war mainly for the decisive defeat of Sweden; but he was not allowed to profit thereby, since Louis would not desert his ally. France alone had achieved solid gains, which were mainly at the expense of Spain. She took Franche Comté and added to the number of her fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. She had proved the adequacy of her military organization to face odds which ought to have overwhelmed her. In the hour of his triumph the monarch on entering his capital was enthusiastically hailed as Louis the Great. Had he died then, posterity might have endorsed the title.

Louis at the Zenith of his Career

BUT Louis was not satisfied with his achievement; as concerned Holland at least, he had created not a dependency but an irreconcilable enemy, and that enemy had just married the heiress presumptive to the throne of England. Colbert's influence had waned and that of the great militarist minister of war, Louvois, was in the ascendant. Colbert the economist detested wars of aggression except for the depression of a commercial rival; for Louvois, the only use for economy was to provide means for wars of aggression. For a time, however, while Louvois was training a great standing army and raising its organization to an unprecedented perfection, Louis abstained from further military adventures, effecting his aggressions by pacific methods.

The successive treaties had brought into Louis' hands various towns and districts 'with their dependencies'—a highly disputable term, which he inter-



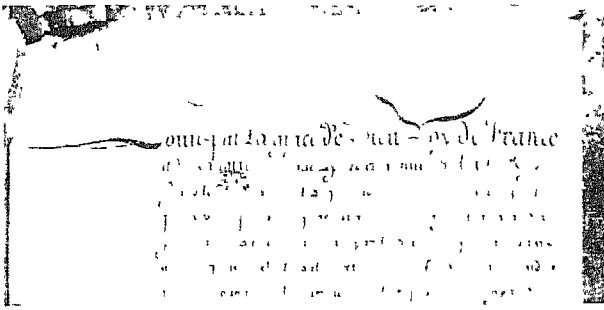
ORGANIZER OF WAR

This portrait by Mignard shows the marquis de Louvois (1641-91), war minister of Louis XIV. He possessed a genius for military organization, and, eager to use his perfectly drilled army, urged on his sovereign to wars of aggression.

Musée de Reims; photo, Levy-Neurdein réunis

preted as covering Strassburg, Luxemburg and much else that had hitherto belonged to various West German princes. Louis settled these questions to his own satisfaction by setting up French courts called 'chambers of reunion' to decide the points in dispute; what the French courts decided to be French territory he forthwith treated as French; and as yet there was no one who durst say him nay. There were protests, but they were silenced by the ingenious proposal, confirmed by a diet at Ratisbon, that the discussion of the legality of Louis' action should be postponed for twenty years. Colbert's son Seignelai was allowed to maintain the navy in a state of high efficiency, against the time when it might have to serve against the Dutch. France, in fact, was constantly and increasingly prepared for war as no other country was prepared—as a guarantee not against attack but against resistance when next she should assert aggressive claims.

Now, the old policy of Henry IV and Richelieu in the rivalry to the Hapsburg



REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

The wise policy of religious toleration inaugurated by Henry IV of France was reversed by Louis XIV, and after 1681 repressive measures were enforced against the Protestants culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 17, 1685. Above is the preamble of the decree signed by Louis XIV.

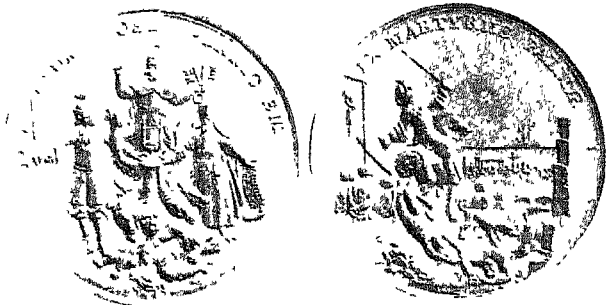
Archives Nationales

power had been to unite the forces of Protestantism with a France posing as the champion of toleration, in opposition to the aggressively Catholic Hapsburgs. The Hapsburgs were no longer aggressive Catholics; the religious question had ceased to be an international cause of quarrel; but Louis went out of his way to revive it by the religious policy he pursued in France—making himself appear as the zealous enemy of Protestantism while the Hapsburgs could assume the tolerationist rôle. His religious policy may be more fully studied in Chapter 148. Here it is sufficient to remark that it opens upon a conflict with the Papacy, on the question of authority in the Gallican church, which conflict in Louis' eyes imposed upon him the necessity of simultaneously demonstrating the rigidity of his own orthodoxy.

No better proof of it could be given than the severe repression of heresy, though Richelieu had transformed the Huguenots into the most loyal and financially valuable element of the population. Louis attacked the Huguenots, first by excluding them from the public services, then by further penalising measures, especially the 'dragonnades,' beside which the almost contemporary persecution of the Scottish

Covenanters was anaemic, and finally by revoking the Edict of Nantes altogether (1685). These measures had no countenance from the Papacy; they did not draw Catholic princes to the side of the king of France; but they did excite extreme alarm and hostility in every Protestant state. The small West German principalities, once the protégés of Richelieu, set about forming a secret defensive league, which was presently to develop into the European League of Augsburg.

In the same year died Charles II, the 'Merry Monarch.' The Stuart restoration meant in the result the restoration at once of the prestige of the crown and the authority of parliament. For twenty years Charles, masking consummate political astuteness by an apparently reckless frivolity, strove to recover the effective power of the crown, and did actually in the end recover it for himself, but only on a basis in which there could be no permanence—his own French pension, the purchase price of his overt or covert support of Louis' designs. But the king's power to levy taxes had gone for ever, the parliament's claim to control expenditure as well as taxation was secured, and no future minister charged with misconduct could hope to find shelter from



TRIUMPH OF FIERCE INTOLERANCE

Savage satire distinguishes this Dutch medal commemorating the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The obverse shows the pope riding a monster that devours a man, woman and child, and supported by a Jesuit and a dragoon. On the reverse a woman swings from a gibbet and others are being maltreated.

British Museum; photo, Oxford University Press

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punishment by plucking the king's robes

Charles was succeeded by his brother, James II, an avowed Romanist, whose intention of restoring Romanism in England was very soon manifesting itself. James's heiress was his Protestant daughter Mary, the wife of William of Orange, who was also his nephew and stood next to her and her sister Anne in the line of the English succession. To William England would certainly turn if James carried his Romanist policy too far—since the late king's illegitimate son Monmouth, William's only possible rival, perished on the scaffold after an abortive rebellion before James had been six months on the throne. With a modicum of tact James could have procured a considerable extension of tolera-



ENGLAND'S 'MERRY MONARCH'

The Stuart line was restored to the English throne in 1660 in the person of the amorous, intriguing Charles II. His sardonic features are cleverly reproduced in this bust by Honor Pelle dated 1684, the year before the king's death

Victoria and Albert Museum



JAMES II OF ENGLAND

It was the firm determination of James II, a zealous Roman Catholic who succeeded in 1685, to secure toleration for his co-religionists and to catholicise the government. His scheme failed, and he fled the country in 1688.

Painting by J. Riley, National Portrait Gallery

tion for Romanists and a secure position as a constitutional monarch; he flung his chances away by reverting to arbitrary methods and alienating the stoutest of the crown's traditional supporters, the high Anglicans, lay and clerical. If James persisted in alienating his subjects it was in the interest both of James and of Louis that William should be too thoroughly occupied elsewhere to answer any appeal for intervention in England—an appeal which was at once made, on the unexpected birth of a son to King James in 1688: half England believed that the thing was a shameless fraud for the provision of a Roman Catholic heir.

So Louis reckoned that the time had come for him to strike before the League of Augsburg, with its wide ramifications and complicated interests, was ready; for nearly all the powers great or small



REBEL CLAIMANT TO THE ENGLISH THRONE

James duke of Monmouth illegitimate son of Charles II sought to succeed his father on the throne in 1685, but being defeated by superior forces at the battle of Sedgemoor he was captured and executed at the order of James II. This portrait of him after death was painted by Sir G. Kneller
National Portrait Gallery, London

had by this time joined it. But James had offended him by refusing the terms on which Louis offered his help against William. To give his cousin a fright and teach him a lesson, Louis opened his attack not on Holland but on the Palatinate, avowedly in order to maintain the claim of his own favoured candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne against the candidate favoured by Leopold and nominated by the pope.

Holland was secure for the moment. William sailed for England, James, finding his supporters deserting him, took flight to Paris, an ignominious collapse which Louis had not anticipated, and both England and Scotland offered their crowns to William and Mary. The offer was accepted (February, 1689) on the terms—the 'Declaration of Right'—which thenceforth became the statutory text book of British constitutional principles. William required a free hand for his foreign policy as the condition of remaining in a country which

needed him but to him was of no use for any other purpose, he realized that for the avoidance of political deadlocks, ministers must be appointed who were in harmony with the parliamentary majority. Party government was inaugurated, though not established till the next reign. Incidentally the annual meeting of parliament for the voting of supplies and the continuance of the small standing army, the independence of the judges, and the new system of national finance, the national debt and the Bank of England, all acquired during his reign a permanent place in the law and practice of the constitution. Louis had brought England into the war

on the top of all his other enemies to the English the 'War of the League of Augsburg' had become the 'War of the English Succession'.

For three years William was engaged in establishing himself in his new kingdom. The Jacobites (James's supporters) rose in Scotland under 'Bonnie Dundee,' but after



JAMES II'S FLIGHT TO FRANCE

Romeyn de Hooghe's engraving shows James II escaping from the land that had wearied of his arbitrary methods and called in William of Orange in his stead. The embarkation here depicted represents the king's second, and successful, attempt at flight to the Continent which was connived at by William.

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his fall in the hour of victory at Killcrankie (1689) the rebellion broke down completely. Ireland was for the most part in arms for James, but the Ulster Protestants stood out. James came over

in person, but after the defeat of his forces at the Battle of the Boyne went back to France. His supporters held out heroically in the south, but with the capitulation of Limerick (1691) up on



WILLIAM OF ORANGE LANDING AT BRIXHAM AT THE REVOLUTION

Growing detestation of James II led to some influential noblemen dispatching an invitation to William of Orange to 'bring over an army and secure the infringed liberties of England,' and on November 5, 1688, he landed at Brixham in Torbay. An inscription on the picture (part shown here) by an unknown artist in Hampton Court Palace gives the date of the event incorrectly, but otherwise the details are accurate as far as can be judged and the painting is a valuable document.

By permission of the Lord Chamberlain

Chronicle XXVI. 1660=1713

terms which the victorious government soon afterwards broke shamelessly, resistance collapsed and was made impossible for the future by the penal laws which rendered the Catholic population helpless.

In that year William was able to return to Holland; in 1692 he was again in command of the Dutch armies. Hitherto the French fleet had more than held its own against the British, on which it had inflicted a minor defeat off Bantry Bay and a very heavy one off Beachy Head; but in 1692 it suffered itself a still heavier defeat in the battle of La Hogue, after which no attempt was made to restore it, and the English and Dutch fleets held complete command of the seas.

THE attack on the Palatinate had set William free for the English adventure, because it at once brought upon Louis the attack of the entire circle of his enemies, which included Spain, the emperor, Savoy, the West German princes and Sweden, as well as Holland. France was without a single ally; with her troops engaged on every frontier, she was actually on the defensive from the outset. Her fortresses had been made virtually impregnable by the great engineer Vauban, but between her and Holland lay another chain of fortresses which had been made equally impregnable by Cohörne. The French generals, Luxembourg in the north and Catinat in Italy, won brilliant



SCENE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY AT THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY

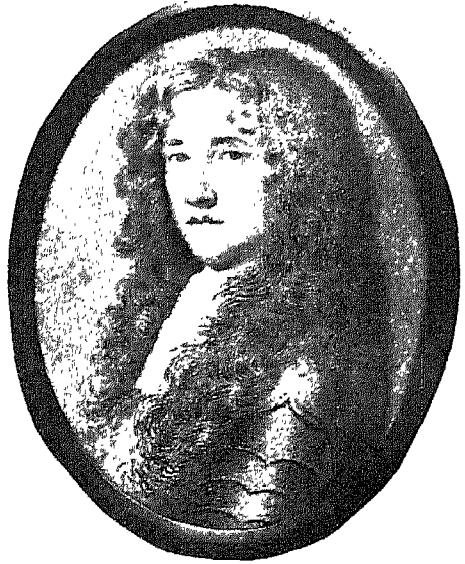
The skill of the distinguished Dutch artist Romeyn de Hooghe in grouping the figures present at a large assembly is well exemplified in his etching of the coronation ceremony of William and Mary in 1689. This is a portion of a larger etching showing various scenes on the wedding day. There had been much controversy as to whether William or Mary should be supreme monarch, but a satisfactory compromise was finally reached by their being crowned joint sovereigns.

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victories in the field but could turn them to no further account. The Palatinate was mercilessly ravaged in the first year of the war, but the struggle was thereby embittered without anything being gained.

After Seignelai's death in 1690 the artificial navy of France began to be neglected and did not survive the defeat of La Hogue. Louvois died in 1691, leaving to Louis the purely military policy which no successor could carry on with equal efficiency. After William's return to the front the struggle went on drearily, but with little enough prospect of decisive success on either side—a war of sieges and of battles fought for the relief of sieges, one fortress or another occasionally changing hands. Both sides were becoming exhausted and weary of indecisive battling; and the war was brought to a conclusion by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.

THE peace definitely meant the defeat of Louis. He had to give up all that had come into his hands since Nimwegen except Strassburg, and also the Italian frontier fortress of Pinerolo, which he had held before; he had to allow the Dutch to garrison a chain of frontier fortresses within the Netherlands; and he had lost his control in Lorraine. Also he had to withdraw his support from the exiled Stuarts (James II and his son James),



BONNIE DUNDEE

John Graham of Claverhouse (c. 1649–89) was created Viscount Dundee by James II in 1688. An enthusiastic Jacobite, he died for his cause at the battle of Killiecrankie. This miniature of him in pen and ink is by David Paton.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery; photo, Annan

and to recognize William as king of England and the succession as laid down in England, which excluded the claims of all Roman Catholics.

He had fought Europe single-handed and had been not by any means crushed but quite definitely beaten. And he was



DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

The annihilating defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue in 1692 by the British navy under Admiral Russell dealt a severe blow to the hopes of the Jacobites and effectively crushed France's erstwhile endeavours to become a great naval power. This contemporary engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe represents the final destruction of Tourville's fleet at the end of a struggle which had lasted for six

Admiral Russell's squadron can be seen on the horizon (right).

British Museum



GREAT FRENCH ENGINEER

Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707) attained fame in the wars of Louis XIV by his genius in supervising the defences of the French fortresses, having more than 160 under his charge. This painting is by Largilliere.

Musée de Versailles; photo, Giraudon

also in a worse position for future conflicts than he had been at the beginning of the war, because the fleet which had then been a match for the English had since been virtually wiped off the seas. But unhappily he himself saw in his defeat nothing more than a check, to be retrieved at the first opportunity. The biggest of the wars for which his ambition was responsible was still to come.

Events in Northern and Eastern Europe

THE battle with Louis, however, had not been the only concern of Europe during the thirty-seven years since the Treaty of Oliva (see page 3602). Turkish aggression had been as menacing in the East as French aggression in the West; and modifications of great importance for the future had been taking place in the position of the Baltic states.

Throughout these years the 'Great Elector' Frederick William was laying the foundations of the power of the future kingdom of Prussia, until his death on the eve of the War of the League of Augsburg, in 1688. Before the treaty of Oliva he

had reorganized and centralised his rule over Brandenburg itself and the scattered provinces attached to it, developing its resources by encouraging commerce and industry. In this latter object he was materially aided, in the closing years of his life, by the great Huguenot emigration of fugitives from the French persecution, who were welcomed in Brandenburg as a century earlier the Flemings, fleeing from Alva, had been welcomed in England. After the treaty of Oliva he established his autocracy in his Prussian duchy, by methods more astute than just.

The troops from Brandenburg had played no distinguished part in the Thirty Years' War; Frederick William organized and trained a small but highly efficient army, which displayed its quality in the war with Sweden by routing a Swedish force twice its size—the Swedes had never before been defeated by inferior numbers—at Fehrbellin (1675), the starting point of Brandenburg-Prussia's military reputation. He did not thereby add to his territory, because he was robbed of the fruits of his victory by the interposition of Louis and the acquiescence therein of Leopold, following upon the peace of Nimwegen—one of the grievances against the Hapsburgs for which they were to pay dearly at a later day. But before his death he had made Brandenburg the best ordered state in Germany. In the War of the League of Augsburg his son and successor, Frederick, played his part respectably but without distinction. Thirteen years after the Great Elector's death Frederick achieved his great ambition and was allowed to assume the title of king of Prussia (1701).

Sweden, on the death of Charles X, had fallen under the sway of a few powerful self-seeking magnates. She joined the Triple Alliance of 1668, but was as ready as Charles II of England to sell herself to Louis; paying the penalty in her conflict with Brandenburg, but reaping the inglorious fruits when the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye followed that of Nimwegen, in 1679. By this time, however, Charles XI had grown up. Denmark, which had now sunk to insignificance, had seized her opportunity during the war to

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attack Sweden, but was defeated—and owed her defeat to the unexpected energy of the young king. Charles, however, had the wisdom to perceive that what Sweden needed was not martial exploits but sound government, to which end the first necessity was the suppression of the self-seeking oligarchy. When this was accomplished, he devoted the remaining years of his reign, till his death in 1697, to the development of industry and commerce. The boy who succeeded him on the throne, Charles XII, was of an altogether different type.

In Poland John Casimir, the antagonist of Charles X, abdicated in 1669. There was no successor of his house; the Polish crown was theoretically elective, and from this time the 'Polish succession' was an endless bone of contention, European powers backing this or the other candidate for the crown, in pursuance of their own interests. On this occasion the choice of the Polish nobles fell upon one of their own number, Michael Wiesnowiecki, not so

much because he was supported by Leopold as because his rival candidate was supported by France. Five years later he was succeeded by John Sobieski (1674-97).

The great reviver of Turkish aggression, the wazir Mohammed Kiuprili, died in 1661, and was succeeded in office by his son Ahmed, at the time when he was aiming at the subjection of Transylvania, and the Transylvanian patriots were appealing to Leopold for support. In 1664 Ahmed was heavily defeated by Leopold's general Montecuculi at the battle of St. Gothard (on the Raab); but the peace of Vasvár which followed was a diplomatic triumph for the defeated commander. Turks and imperialists alike were to evacuate Transylvania, which was to be autonomous under its own prince but was to continue paying tribute to the Turk. There was to be peace for twenty years.

Ahmed, temporarily checked in Hungary, next set about the completion of the reduction of Crete, which the fall of Candia



FREDERICK OF BRANDENBURG ENTHRONED AS FIRST KING OF PRUSSIA

As a reward for military service rendered to the emperor Leopold, Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg, was elevated to royal rank and, on January 18, 1701, crowned himself at Königsberg as Frederick I of Prussia. This engraving by Johann Wolfgang shows the king enthroned with his queen consort Sophie Charlotte. This lady was his second wife and one of the most cultured princesses of the age. She was a sister of the English king George I and the mother of Frederick William I.

From 'Der Königlich-Preussischen Crönung hochsauerliche Solemnitäten, 1717'

in 1669 transferred from Venice to the Ottoman empire. This being accomplished, Poland, where Michael had just been elected, was the Turk's next objective. Here he was occupied till his death in 1676 in fighting with John Sobieski, first as Michael's general and then as king of Poland. The war ended just before Ahmed's death with the peace of Zuravno, which John was forced to accept—his brilliant feats of arms being more than counterbalanced by the enormously greater forces at the disposal of the Turks.

Meanwhile Leopold had been engaged in a contest of his own in Hungary, seeking to establish his effective autocracy in defiance of the traditional liberties and rights of the Magyar aristocracy, and at the same time zealously persecuting the Hungarian Protestants. But he was simultaneously involved in that conflict in the west which was to be suspended by the peace of Nimwegen. Unable to concentrate on either quarter, he failed to bring the Hungarian insurgents under Tököli to subjection; and when the peace came he found that he had already driven Tököli into the arms of the Turk.



TERROR OF THE TURKS

The relief of Vienna, invested by a vast Turkish host, was accomplished by the brilliant generalship of John Sobieski, king of Poland, in 1683. He afterwards completely liberated Hungary.

From Erdmannsdörffer, 'Deutsche Geschichte'



UNFORTUNATE TURKISH WAZIR

Mohammed IV's grand wazir, Kara Mustafa, had more ambition than capacity. His grandiose scheme to form a Moslem empire in the west was frustrated by his defeat by Sobieski at Vienna, and he was beheaded at Belgrade in 1683.

Engraving by J. Cole

Ahmed Kiuprili had been succeeded by his kinsman Kara Mustafa, whose ambition aimed at nothing less than Vienna. The conflict with Poland had delivered the Cossacks of the Ukraine to Turkey; the Cossacks revolted and appealed to Russia; and Kara Mustafa had not been able immediately to escape from this entanglement. But in 1681 a peace was patched up, and he was free. He had made his bargain with Tököli; Leopold would get no help from France; Sobieski, it was believed, would not act against France's wishes. The peace of Vasvár was on the point of lapsing, and proposals were put forward by Kara Mustafa for its renewal, which amounted to a declaration of war.

The pope, Venice and sundry German states did what they could to send aid to Leopold, whose position was more than precarious. In the spring of 1683 a vast Turkish host was assembled on the Drave. In July Vienna was invested. The garrison held out valiantly, but the field army under Charles of Lorraine could not engage the enormously superior forces of Mustafa. The rescue came from Poland.

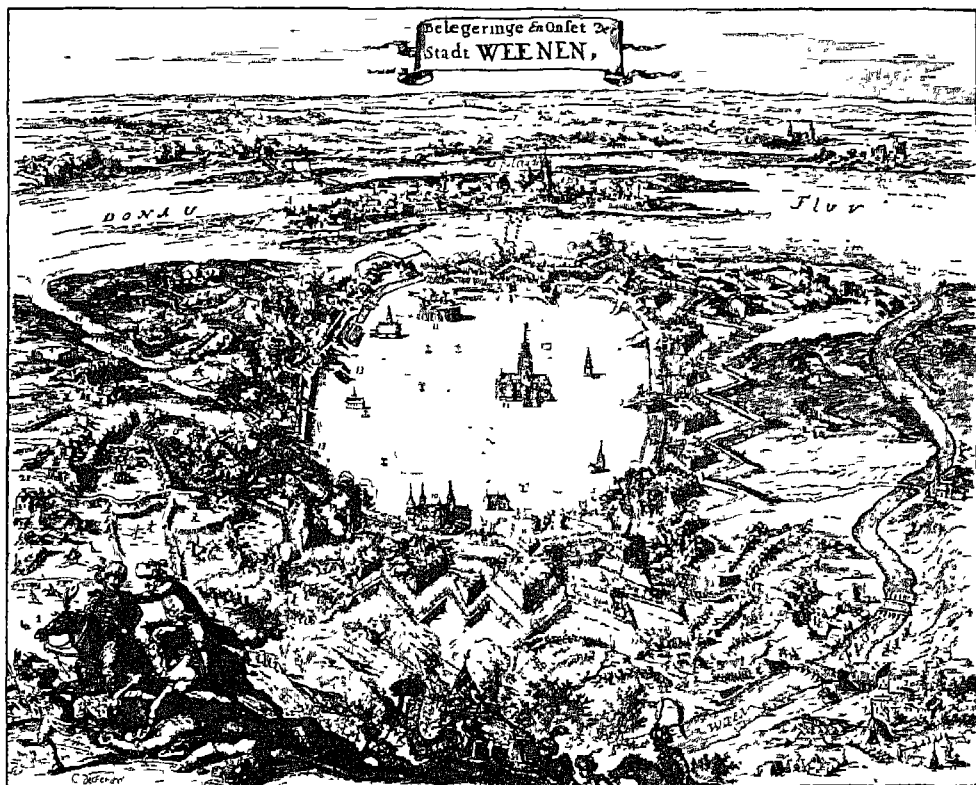
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John Sobieski, whose name was held in terror by the Turks, declining to be a tool of Louis, effected a junction with Charles of Lorraine, and on September 12 fell upon the besieging army and put it utterly to rout. Vienna was saved. The fall of Vienna would have compelled the West to unite in a desperate struggle against the triumphant Ottomans, and to do so under the leadership of France, and the victory of the West would have meant the universal empire of Louis. But there was no fear of a universal empire under the Polish saviour of Europe.

The delivery of Vienna was the turning of the tide. Kara Mustafa paid for his failure with his life. Some years passed before the Turks again came under the capable direction of another Kiuprili, Mustafa. They were continuously pressed back on the Danube by the imperial troops

under the command of Charles of Lorraine or Lewis of Baden, while the Venetians under the leadership of Morosini, who had maintained the defence of Candia for so many years, reconquered the Morea and captured Athens (at the woeful cost of the destruction of the Parthenon), though then hold there could not be kept for long. Imperial Hungary withdrew its resistance on terms, and recognized the hereditary title of the Hapsburgs to the crown; Transylvania acknowledged the Hapsburg suzerainty, and the Turkish power was broken in Turkish Hungary at another battle of Mohacs.

In 1689 Mustafa Kiuprili became wazir, and Louis in the west had opened battle with the League of Augsburg. Again Leopold and the German princes were distracted between the needs of the war in the east and of the war in the west.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS

This plan, engraved by C. Decker and published in Amsterdam in 1683, shows the siege of Vienna in progress. Contingents of Turks are attacking on all sides and there are strong Turkish entrenchments on the banks of the Danube shown in the background of the picture. Batteries to left and right of the walls were erected by Rudiger von Starhemberg, whose gallant defence enabled the besieged to hold out until the arrival of the Poles and Germans under John Sobieski.



EXPLOSION THAT SHATTERED THE PARTHENON

In 1687 the Venetians, under Morosini, laid siege to Athens, which had been in Turkish possession since 1458. One of the besiegers' shells fell among a Turkish powder supply stored in the Parthenon and caused the explosion here depicted. The middle of the temple and its side columns were destroyed.

From Fandili, 'Atene Attica'

Belgrade was captured and lost again. Hungary was stirred up anew, gravely hampering the operations of Lewis of Baden. Then, on the one side Kiuprili was killed, and on the other Lewis was withdrawn to the western war, his place being taken by the young Augustus 'the Strong' of Saxony. In 1697 the western war was ended by the peace of Ryswick, John Sobieski died and the Polish diet bestowed the crown upon Augustus the Strong; and the Turkish war was carried on under the leadership of a captain who was now emerging from the second to the first rank, the landless Prince Eugène of Savoy (of a junior branch of the ducal house), who had placed his sword at the service of Leopold after it had been declined by Louis.

Before the year was out Eugène utterly shattered the Turkish forces at the decisive battle of Zenta, and in January, 1699, the Treaty of Carlowitz ended the Turkish war, though not without possibility of renewal. Its actual concluding stage was postponed for sixteen years. The Ottomans still held Belgrade and the neighbouring province called the Banat of Temesvar; otherwise they were driven completely out of Hungary, the whole of which now acknowledged Leopold. Venice held the Morea, and Azov was ceded to the young Russian tsar who had captured it while the war was in progress—Peter the

Great. At last Russia had come on the field as a European power. The last great Ottoman expansive effort had been maintained for fifty years; it had broken down and Ottoman aggression was never again a serious menace.

EUROPE was now face to face with a long impending problem. King Carlos of Spain was childless and sickly, very much in the hands of his immediate entourage. His life could not last much longer. Who, then, was to inherit the great Spanish Dominion, which included Sicily, the greater part of

Italy, and the Netherlands, besides half the world on the other side of the Atlantic? No indisputable law of succession could be produced which would meet the case: even if there had been an indisputable law, half the states in Europe

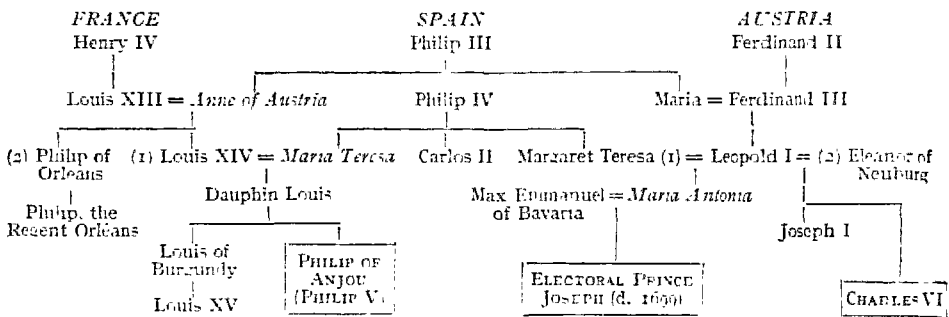


PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY

Possessing a genius for the art of war, Prince Eugène of Savoy (1663-1736) had a glorious military career. His name is closely linked with that of Marlborough, with whom he co-operated during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Engraved by J. Smith after D. Richter

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE SHOWING CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE

This table explains the genealogical relationships on which the French, Austrian and Bavarian aspirants to the Spanish throne based their claims. The names of the princesses who resigned their rights to it upon marriage are given in italics, while those of the three claimants appear in capitals. Attempts at a partition were defeated by Louis XIV's acceptance of the Spanish king's will leaving the entire inheritance to Philip of Anjou; and the War of the Spanish Succession ensued.

were so deeply concerned that the law would inevitably have been challenged.

The king's sisters had been married to the reigning king of France and the reigning emperor respectively. His father's sisters—there were no brothers in either generation—had been the mothers of those two monarchs respectively. The two French queens had formally resigned their rights of succession, the two empresses (both younger sisters) had not; while in other respects the terms of Maria Teresa's marriage had not been carried out, and Margaret Teresa's daughter had been required to resign the rights descending to her on her marriage to Max Emmanuel, the elector of Bavaria. On the other hand, no bar could be raised (save these questionable prior claims) to the claim of the emperor Leopold himself and his sons by a later marriage.

Such was the problem as a question of law. As a question of public expediency Europe could not afford to allow that whole vast dominion to be added to the dominions of either the Hapsburg emperor or the Bourbon king, or even to pass to a Hapsburg or a Bourbon cadet. Public expediency and the dubious answer to the question of law both called for compromise and partition—the partition which would be least disturbing to the European balance of power. But a partition was precisely the thing to which the Spanish monarchy itself would not consent.

It was Louis who had the wisdom to take the initiative in seeking a settlement

by consent before the crisis—the death of Carlos—should actually arrive. Leopold, Louis and their heirs apparent being obviously out of the question from a European point of view, any partition would have to be arranged between three claimants—the infant son of the elector of Bavaria, the younger son of Leopold (the archduke Charles) and the younger grandson of Louis (Philip duke of Anjou). For



CARLOS II OF SPAIN

The extreme delicacy of Carlos II (1661–1700), king of Spain, is apparent in this portrait by Coello Claudio. His childlessness made the Spanish succession a question of intense interest to the monarchs of contemporary Europe.

Prado, Madrid; photo, Anderson

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European peace the best security would be obtained by agreement on the terms of settlement between Louis and William, king of England and stadtholder of the United Provinces. If they were at one, no other could resist their combined decision. In 1668 Louis and William agreed upon the first Partition Treaty.

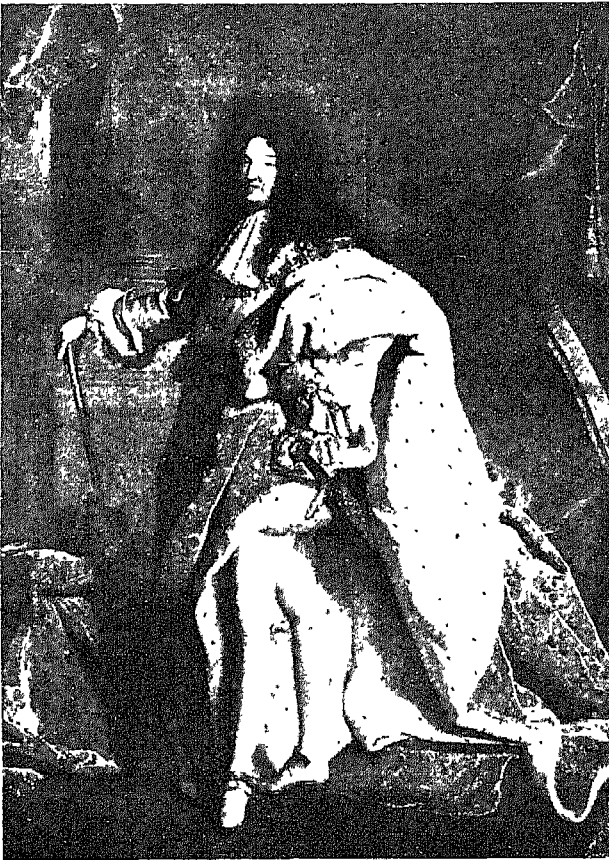
From the Anglo-Dutch point of view, the fundamental matter was that the French claimant should not acquire the Netherlands or naval domination in the Mediterranean. From the European point of view, the balance of power would be least disturbed if the electoral prince of Bavaria acquired the bulk of the inheritance. On these lines Louis and

William made their treaty. They had hardly done so when the electoral prince died of smallpox.

The partition must then be made anew, between the archduke Charles and Philip of Anjou—a much more difficult matter; yet agreement was reached in the second Partition Treaty. Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands were to go to Charles, Italy (except the Milanese) to Philip. Leopold would not accept the treaty, which was signed by France, England, Holland and some minor states. Carlos would not hear of any partition, made a will leaving everything to Philip, or to the Archduke Charles if Philip refused the whole, and died (1700). Louis tore up the treaty and accepted the whole inheritance on behalf of his grandson Philip.

The Spaniards were with Louis. French troops occupied the Netherlands and reinforced those in Spain and Italy. England was out of temper with her Dutch king; no one except Leopold was ready to challenge the accomplished fact or to support Leopold so long as he claimed the whole inheritance. But throughout 1701 William's diplomacy was negotiating a league to enforce a partition which would give the Netherlands and the Sicilies at least to Charles; while Leopold started fighting in Italy on his own account.

William succeeded; Leopold, seeing that no league would support his larger claims, came in; England was converted by finding that Louis had no thought of opening commerce with the Spanish dominions, and by his theatrical declaration of his intention of restoring the son of the dying James II to the throne of his fathers. Once more the great fight with France was to be renewed. William became



'LE ROI SOLEIL' AT THE AGE OF 63

This portrait of Louis XIV in 1701 by Rigaud is in the Louvre. It shows the 'Grand Monarque' when the zenith of his power was past. His inordinate ambition and aggressions had raised up enemies on every side and in the War of the Spanish Succession they combined to defeat and humiliate him.

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actually popular for the first time since his accession. Even at that moment he died and Anne became queen of England (March, 1702); but a man ableer than William himself was there to carry on William's policy, John Churchill, earl (soon to be duke) of Marlborough.

In Louis' previous wars France had always fought single-handed (except for a temporary alliance with Sweden) against coalitions of varying magnitude. In the War of the Spanish Succession France and Spain were united with the Spanish resources under French control, and with a valuable ally in the elector of Bavaria, as well as the duke of Savoy at the start. On the side of the Grand Alliance which William had built up Austria was at last free from the incubus of the Turkish war and the Hungarian troubles, while from the outset the maritime powers, England—or Great Britain as the island power became at an early stage of the war—and Holland held complete command of the sea; and the allies possessed in Marlborough and Eugène generals of a far higher quality than any who had appeared since Turenne. Their generalship, however, was discounted by limitations on their freedom of action; Marlborough because he was captain-general for the Dutch, who could never look farther afield than their own frontiers; Eugène because of the very inadequate organization of the Austrian or imperial armies, and by the impossibility of relying upon energetic co-operation from the duke of Savoy, the nominal ally (after he changed sides in 1703), who held the strategic control of the gateway between France and Italy.

Campaigns of the War of Spanish Succession

EUGENE had already opened the war by a clever campaign in North Italy in 1701–2; but he was too heavily outnumbered and was gradually pushed out. Lewis of Baden, who had won a high reputation in the Turkish war, kept watch on the French armies in Alsace. Marlborough on the Netherlands frontier, prevented from fighting a pitched battle by the Dutch 'field-deputies' who accompanied him, nevertheless by skilful manoeuvring pushed the French back till



ANNE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN

Anne (1665–1713), younger daughter of James II, succeeded William III in 1702. This portrait by Michael Dahl shows her at the age of thirty, with her son William, duke of Gloucester, who died when ten years old.

National Portrait Gallery, London

he had cleared the lower Rhine as far as the town of Coblenz.

In 1703 Eugène was in difficulties in Italy and Leopold was again being distracted by an insurrection in Hungary. The French command planned a junction with the Bavarian forces on the upper Danube, and a march on Vienna. But Max Emmanuel insisted on first effecting the annexation of Tyrol, which refused to be annexed, and the opportunity was lost. Also at this moment Savoy went over to the allies, and the French commander Vendôme's operations against Eugène were paralysed; while Portugal, hitherto neutral, also joined the alliance and inspired it with an unfortunate hope of ejecting Philip from Spain, where he had been welcomed with open arms, and setting up Charles as 'Carlos III,' although this had been no part of its original programme.

In the next year, 1704, came the great crisis of the war. France was to strike the blow which the unexpected resistance of Tyrol had postponed in 1703. Troops poured into the Netherlands, to pin Marlborough the more firmly to that



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, MARLBOROUGH'S GREAT VICTORY

This engraving by J. van Huchtenburgh, chosen by William III to record Marlborough's battles, gives a bird's eye view of the field of Blenheim about the moment of Marlborough's delivery of the winning blow. His army is in the centre of the picture with the village of Blenheim in the left foreground. The Austrians under Eugene of Savoy are at the extreme right. By a cavalry charge Marlborough pursued the Franco-Bavarian line into the town of Blenheim and cut off the retreat of the large French garrison. Marshal Tallard was taken prisoner and is here shown in Marlborough's carriage.

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region, the French force was met in Bavaria under Marsin, to be joined later by Tallard from Alsace. Between Vienna and the accumulated army in Bavaria there was no force which could hold it up, and when Vienna should fall Louis could dictate his own terms to the Phis. But the programme was wrecked by the genius of Marlborough and the brilliant co-ordination of Eugene, who had been forced out of Italy. Marlborough's plan was a lightning march across Germany which would place him between the Bavarian army and Vienna. To effect it he must not only have Louis with him but must hoodwink the French commanders and the English and Dutch governments as to the objective of his movements.

There was to be a grand campaign on the Moselle. Marlborough moved up the Rhine to Mainz in May to concert measures with Lewis of Baden and Eugene at Stollhofen, and the world had hardly realized that the Moselle campaign was a mere blind when he was storming the lines of Schellenberg (July 2) and capturing Donauworth, blocking the way to Vienna and threatening Bavaria. South of the Danube, Tallard was racing to join Marsin and the elector, north of it Eugene was hurrying to join Marlborough.

Marlborough's Victory at Blenheim

Six weeks later (August 13) the armies faced each other at Blenheim and the decisive battle was fought. While the main attack was being apparently developed against the Franco-Bavarian left by Eugene, and a secondary English attack on their right at Blenheim, the real blow was being prepared against the weakened centre by making passable the marshy ground which was supposed to be adequate cover for its front. On that point then the cavalry crashed suddenly, pierced it, and rolled up the lines to right and to left. The army which was to have won the war at a stroke was virtually annihilated. Bavaria lay at the mercy of the allies, and the French were barred behind the Rhine for the rest of the war.

A few days earlier it had occurred to Admiral Rooke, commanding an Anglo-Dutch squadron, to capture Gibraltar,



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

This miniature by Thomas Forster, dated 1712, shows John Churchill, duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), the great soldier and diplomatist. He won a series of brilliant victories for the allies in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Illustrated by Albert M. C. N.

which did not again pass out of British possession, and served with Minorca, captured four years later, to furnish a permanent British naval base at the gate of the Mediterranean.

The next year, however, saw no material advance. Marlborough in the Netherlands continued to be hampered by the Dutch held-deputies, and Eugene, back in Italy, by the studied inertness of Savoy. The allies, moreover, were frittering away their energies on the futile effort to conquer Spain, of which the only portion friendly to them was Catalonia, which had never reconciled itself to the monarchy of united Spain. But 1706 brought two great successes. Marlborough won at Ramillies, a battle, tactically perhaps more brilliant even than Blenheim, the effect of which was to sweep the French back from the Netherlands to the line of fortresses on the frontier of France itself, while Eugene, by another brilliant campaign in North Italy, shattered the French forces before Turin, raising the siege of the duke of Savoy's Piedmontese capital. The French

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were practically cleared out of North Italy, and in the south an insurrection at Naples enabled Austrian troops to occupy the city and proclaim King Charles. The general situation had hardly been affected by the death of Leopold in 1705 and the accession of his elder son, Joseph I.

Last Battles and the Treaty of Utrecht

AFTER Ramillies and Turin, Louis was ready to treat for peace, but the triumphant allies would listen to no terms. In 1707 hostilities were partly suspended by the threatened intervention of Charles XII of Sweden, who had just blazed upon a startled world with a series of amazing military exploits, of which more anon. Charles, however, was persuaded to turn his arms against Russia. In 1708 there were general revolts of the French-speaking populations in the Netherlands against the Dutch government set over them after Ramillies; and the French were gaining ground rapidly till they again suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Marlborough—who was joined by Eugène in person, though without an army—at Oudenarde. Marlborough would have marched on Paris, but even to Eugène the risk seemed too gigantic. Instead, he laid siege to Lille, which fell in December.

Louis again opened negotiations, but the only terms to which the allies would listen were that he should help them to drive his grandson out of Spain, where the cause of the allies had not been prospering, apart from the British capture of Minorca. The result was a magnificent rally of French patriotism, leading up to the last great engagement of the war and the last of Marlborough's victories, the battle of Malplaquet (1709), in which the French were driven off the field but not out of their lines at La Bassée, and the losses of the allies were much the heavier.

The only common object which the allies now had in view was the humiliation of France; their idea of the profits which were to accrue to themselves respectively differed fundamentally. Intriguing took the place of fighting. The most successful wire-pullers were the astute politicians at the head of the Tory party in England,

who procured the recall and downfall of Marlborough, made their own bargain behind the backs of their allies, and finally shaped the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the war in 1713.

By that treaty the Bourbons retained much in the surrender of which they would have acquiesced after Ramillies or Oudenarde, and to which William would have acquiesced in 1701. The Bourbon king Philip was established on the Spanish throne, with a formal renunciation of any possible claim that might arise to the succession in France. Savoy got Sicily—afterwards exchanged for Sardinia—with the regal title. Charles got the Netherlands, Sardinia, Naples and Milan (he was now the emperor Charles VI, his brother Joseph having died two years before). Holland got a chain of 'barrier fortresses' in the Netherlands. Frederick I, son of the Great Elector, was recognized as king of Prussia by all the powers. Great Britain—the incorporating Union of England and Scotland had received the assent of both countries in 1706-7—retained Gibraltar and Minorca, acquired Acadia or Nova Scotia from France and certain trading rights known as the 'asiento' in the South Seas from Spain, and (for what it was worth) obtained the guaranteed recognition of the Protestant succession to the throne when the reigning Queen Anne should die. And in addition she had emerged from the war with an unprecedented military reputation and a navy which not even Holland could rival.

Incorporating Union of England and Scotland

IN the half-century we have been describing, Great Britain had attained an entirely unprecedented position as a European power; at the same time she had practically completed her own constitutional revolution, and transformed the union of the crowns of England and Scotland into an incorporating union.

England and Scotland were still two independent kingdoms when Anne succeeded William in 1702, though their union under one crown was a guarantee against actual armed conflict between them. For Scotland's commercial prosperity, a commercial union with her

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neighbour was a necessity which England had no disposition to concede. England, however, had repudiated the succession of the next legitimate heir to the throne; Scotland was free to recognize it on Anne's demise. That climax England could not afford to risk, the price she had to pay for security was an incorporating union; and that measure was carried by the parliaments of both countries, not without hot opposition in Scotland, in 1706, taking effect in 1707; conveying to the electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs the succession to the crown of Great Britain, while Ireland remained a dependency with a subordinate parliament in the control of the Protestant minority.

Contemporary Events in Russia

ONLY casual reference has been made hitherto to the story of Russia since the accession of the house of Romanov to its throne in 1613, or to Sweden, Poland and Turkey since 1697 (the year of the peace of Ryswick), the battle of Zenta, and the peace of Carlowitz in 1699.

In Russia the first Romanov, Michael, had been succeeded by his son Alexis in 1645. Alexis was followed by Feodor, 1676-82, on whose death his two young brothers Ivan and Peter were recognized as joint tsars, but the reins of government were actually grasped by their extremely energetic elder sister Sophia. In 1688 Sophia was removed by a coup d'état; Ivan was imbecile, and Peter began his reign at the age of sixteen, still under the tutelage of the men who had deposed his sister. Russia joined in the war in which the Turks were being beaten back by the imperial forces, and the young tsar took an active part in the siege and capture of Azov in 1696, an acquisition which Russia retained at the treaty of Carlowitz. The Azov campaign opened the effective autocracy of Peter the Great, the founder of the Russian power.

Russia was in effect a barbarian country, more oriental than European, as yet scarcely penetrated by European ideas; amorphous and disjointed, with large portions of its population still leading a virtually nomadic existence. Peter's immediate predecessors had begun to borrow



PETER THE GREAT IN EARLY MANHOOD

Admiration for Western culture led Peter the Great (1672-1725), the semi-barbarous tsar of Russia, to reorganize his realm after European models. His ambition for territorial expansion brought him into conflict with the Swedes.

Painted by J. M. Natier

ideas from the West and to carry them out by means of agents also borrowed from the West. Peter, realizing that Europe was far in advance of Russia, conceived the daring notion of remodelling Russia upon Western lines. The Turkish war was no sooner off his hands than he set out on a journey of investigation, saw with his own eyes and practised with his own hands the methods which had given the European nations their mastery, and returned to Russia in 1698 intent on filling the old bottles with the new wine—and most particularly convinced that Russia wanted a fleet on the Black Sea, a fleet on the Baltic and that access to the Baltic from which she was barred by provinces under the sway of the kings of Poland, Sweden and (after 1701) Prussia.

As a matter of course, the tsar must be an unqualified autocrat; and the first step was the suppression of the imperial guard, the Streltsi—the equivalent of the Janissaries of the Turk or the Praetorians of the old Roman Empire. How Peter

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set about revolutionising social habits, religious customs and political traditions may be studied in Chapter 149. But almost immediately opportunity arose for the territorial aggrandisement which was no less dear to his ambitions.

Charles XI of Sweden died in 1697, having laboriously reconstructed the power of the crown. Charles XII was a boy of sixteen, already a mighty hunter, but unversed in affairs of state. There was a new king of Poland who was also elector of Saxony; the king of Denmark wanted the duchy of Holstein, which belonged to Charles's brother-in-law; Peter wanted Esthonia, Livonia, anything that could be snatched to give him his Baltic seaboard. Livonia itself wanted to be rid of the Swedish sovereignty. The exiled Livonian patriot Patkal easily drew Frederick of Denmark, Augustus of Poland and Peter of Russia into a common plot for the redistribution among themselves of Sweden's Baltic provinces. Next year (1700) the triple attack was opened—by Denmark on Holstein, by Augustus on Riga, by Peter on Narva.

They had reckoned without their host. Charles had all the warrior instincts of his

house concentrated in his own person. He was a born fighter and a born leader who inspired his followers with his own reckless courage. The Swedes had a mighty reputation, won under Gustavus and Charles X, to retrieve. Charles and his Swedes flung themselves at Copenhagen; Frederick, saved from destruction by the diplomatic intervention of England and Holland, was allowed to back out of the war ignominiously. Augustus retreated from Riga. Charles with 8,000 men crossed the Baltic and routed 60,000 Russians at Narva. Peter did not shine on the occasion, but his comment was characteristic: 'The Swedes will beat us—but they will teach us how to beat them.' Peter's genius was of the kind which knows how to learn from failure the way to success. But for the moment Russia was off the board.

Achievements of Charles XII of Sweden

WHEN Charles had reduced Livonia and Courland to obedience, he devoted himself to the punishment of Augustus of Poland and Saxony. The Poles would not fight for a Saxon king whose manifest intention had been to make himself an absolute monarch. City after city was captured, and in 1705 the Polish diet deposed Augustus and elected Stanislaus Lecszinski, the nominee of Charles, much against its own will. Still the fighting in Poland went on, till Charles invaded Saxony. Augustus, in spite of various discreditable shifts, had to resign the crown of Poland to Lecszinski and break off the alliance he had renewed with Russia (1706). It was at this point, just after Ramillies, that a quarrel with the emperor almost induced Charles to join in alliance with Louis; but Marlborough's diplomacy persuaded him that he would be better employed in punishing the tsar.

So, like a greater than he in 1812, Charles in 1708 marched for Moscow. Peter had learned his lesson too well to seek him in a pitched battle, but harassed his rear and his line of march, cutting off supplies. Charles turned aside to the Ukraine where he expected help from the Cossack Mazeppa, but got none. There



SWEDISH WARRIOR KING

This engraving after a portrait by Kraft shows Charles XII (1682-1718), the energetic and war-loving Swedish king. He utterly defeated the forces of Peter the Great at Narva in 1700, and was himself beaten at Pultava in 1709.

Engraving by Pieter Tanje

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he had to pass the winter, getting very insufficient supplies as best he could. In the spring (1709) he marched on Pultava and laid siege to it, though his troops were insufficient and he had neither supplies nor a siege train. Peter's time had come. In June he fell upon the exhausted Swedes with an immensely superior force and annihilated them. Charles, with a wounded foot, barely escaped, and crossed the Turkish frontier, where he remained for the next five years, while Augustus (restored in Poland) and Peter worked their will on the Baltic provinces.

Even if Peter instead of Charles had been shattered at Pultava, the political conquest of Russia was no more feasible in 1709 than in 1812 or 1915; and Charles had no resources except a small efficient army and a genius for winning pitched battles against heavy odds and inferior generals—an insufficient equipment for a successful conqueror. How he would have fared against a Marlborough or a Eugène is hardly a matter of doubt.

Charles without an army was powerless; he succeeded, however, in persuading the Turkish wazir to declare war on Peter in 1710. Peter came through that conflict with better fortune than he deserved; for he fell into a trap, campaigning on the Pruth, where he found himself at the mercy of the Turkish army, but was allowed to conclude a peace (1711) on no harder terms than the cession of Azov and the razing of Russian forts on Turkish soil. The further adventures of Charles and Peter belong to our next Chronicle.

Developments in America and South Africa

BEYOND the oceans developments were in progress during the reign of Louis XIV, of which the profound importance was not yet fully manifest. In North America the English settlements multiplied; the first of Charles II's Dutch wars transferred the Dutch settlement on the Hudson—to be known thenceforth as New York—from the Dutch to the English, giving the latter the entire coast line between the French Acadia on the north and Florida on the south. The French colony on the St. Lawrence expanded to the Great Lakes, in rear of the northern

British colonies: but the treaty of Utrecht gave Acadia to the British and recognized the British ownership of Newfoundland, as well as of sundry West Indian islands whose history at this time belongs to the story of the buccaneers (Chapter 146).

In South Africa, the Dutch had started the Cape Colony under the régime of the De Witts; and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes supplemented the Calvinistic Dutch population there with a considerable number of co-religionists, fugitive Huguenots from France.

Contemporary Events in the East

IN India the last really powerful Mogul, Aurangzib (Chapter 145), reigned from 1658 to 1707; expanding his sovereignty over the entire peninsula, but in the process ensuring disintegration. The expansion itself made the empire uncontrollably unwieldy, and drove the Mogul to appoint satraps over vast provinces, who were quite certain sooner or later to aim at establishing independent dynasties. Moreover, Aurangzib departed from the policy of the three princes who had ruled for a hundred years before him, and reverted to that of the old Delhi emperors, by depressing the Hindus and treating Mahomedans, whatever their origin, as of a dominant, conquering race, reviving the old-time hostility between the two religions which his fathers had sought at least to reduce to a minimum. A result was the vigorous development of the Hindu Maratha tribes in the western Deccan, whom Aurangzib's lieutenants failed to crush, and of a reformed Hindu sect, united as a brotherhood half religious and half military, the Sikhs, for the most part in the Punjab and Sirhind.

But at the same time the French, under Colbert's influence, entered upon the competition, mainly with the English, for the trade with India, which in the middle of the eighteenth century was to issue in a hard-fought duel, ultimately though not immediately for sovereignty. The rivalry was there, but the battle had not yet opened; for the British and French companies judiciously agreed that their relations should not be affected by European wars.



AKBAR MAKING HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO SURAT

Akbar's chief minister, Abul Fazl, kept a daily record of the emperor's life, the *Akbar-Namah*, which is invaluable both for the information it supplies and for the works by the court painters with which its manuscripts are illustrated. This specimen showing Chinese influence, from what is probably the finest manuscript, depicts Akbar's entry into Surat and is an example of the courage with which these court painters undertook complicated themes.

Victoria and Albert Museum

INDIA UNDER THE MOGULS

Alien Conquerors whose Imperial Regime gave India
six Reigns of good Government and Splendour

By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

Author of *The Story of India, India in the 19th Century, etc.*

INDIA had known many terrible invasions by ruthless conquerors coming through the Afghan passes before the dawn of the sixteenth century. Some of them had founded ephemeral dynasties in different parts of northern India, but most of them, after committing wholesale destruction and pillage, had returned with their spoils to the places whence they came. Among all these invaders none had left a worse name or spread greater terror than Timur, part Turk and part Mongol, who had destroyed Delhi and many of the most opulent cities of Hindustan. To the Indian peoples the name Mongol remained a term of dread, and it did not seem possible that any good could come to them from any member of that race. It was, therefore, altogether remarkable and unexpected that it should have fallen to a Mongol ruler to bring about the first union of India in modern times. We do not know whether it was due to an error in pronunciation or to the desire to mask the truth that the Indians in general converted the name Mongol into the less menacing form of Mogul.

After a remarkable career in central Asia as prince of Ferghana and ruler of Samarkand, Babar, the fifth in descent from Timur, turned his attention to India, and on five separate occasions he invaded that country, each time advancing farther, until at last he reached the borders of Bihar and Bengal. At first it did not seem that he was animated by any higher motives than his ancestor. He sacked Lahore, he massacred the inhabitants, and he committed barbarous cruelties upon the prisoners who fell into his hands. There was not much in these proceedings to incline the Indians to regard him as a benefactor. But after he established his

court at Agra and found it a pleasant place of residence, his views underwent some change. Assured of military supremacy he began to think of the welfare of the peoples who had been unable to resist his arms. He gave his son Humayun some excellent advice as to how he should treat the Hindus and respect their religion, exhorting him to erase all religious prejudices from his heart and to administer justice impartially among all his subjects. Babar had assumed the title of 'padshah,' or emperor, but at the time of his so doing his thoughts were set more on the establishment of a great dominion in Afghanistan and central Asia than on one south of the Himalayas. But when he died at Agra in the year 1530 it was clear that he had conceived the larger and more profitable project of founding a consolidated and central government over the millions of India, leaving to his descendants the task of bringing it to a successful conclusion.

Babar formed this large design because he considered that its execution would be easy, for he held but a poor opinion of the character of the Indian races and of their capacity to hold out against a resolute assailant. He wrote:

Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of friendly society. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not even a candlestick. They can neither persist in and manfully support a war, nor can they continue in

Babar's large
designs for India

amity and friendship. The chief excellency of Hindustan is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver

Babar's death threatened to bring his dream to naught. He had divided his dominions between two of his sons, Humayun and Kamran. To the former he assigned India, to the latter Afghanistan and the central Asian dependencies. But although Humayun had been well trained in the field and exhorted in the cabinet by his father, he had neither his resolution nor the martial spirit that had compelled the admiration of Babar's enemies, who even while they suffered at his hands called him the Tiger. Babar's advance into India had

been one of steady and unbroken progress. Humayun's retrogression was not less marked and far more rapid, from Agra to Delhi, from Delhi to Lahore, and then across the Indus. It seemed that the Mogul name would be associated not with a conquest, but with nothing more than another inroad into India, which from the time of Alexander had never shown itself capable of offering successful defence to its invaders. In that period of romantic surprises, the adventurous Babar of chequered fortunes becoming a great emperor, Humayun just placed in seeming security on the 'musnud' as emperor only to become a fugitive, it was the resurrec-

tion of Mogul power and authority that gave a finishing touch in bright and striking colours to this strange episode of imperial dominion.

Humayun was expelled from India not by a national uprising, but by a rival Moslem ruler, the Afghan Sher Shah of Berar. By the year 1540 Humayun was an exile in Sindh and Persia, and Sher Shah assumed the style of emperor at Delhi. Fifteen years passed by in unceasing strife between Humayun and his three brothers.

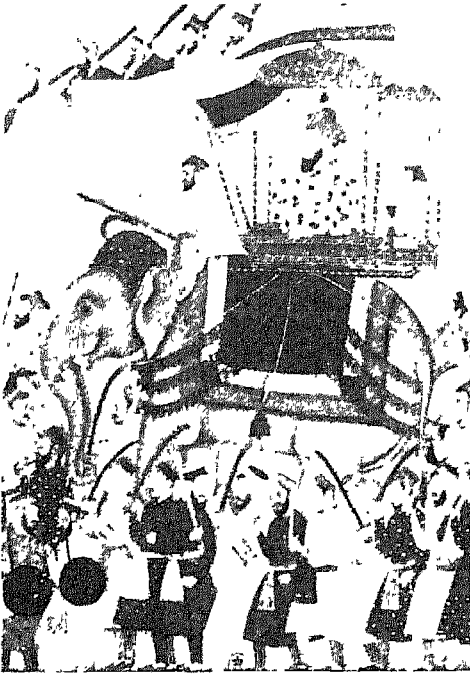
It was only after they had all been defeated and removed from this world that Humayun turned his attention to the recovery of India. He had lost his throne to Sher Shah, it was from Sher Shah's successor that he resolved to recover it. With 15,000 Turk and Mogul cavalry he set out from Kabul in 1555 on his great adventure. His movements were rapid and his success complete. Before the year ended he was master of Delhi and of Agra. Humayun had gained a reputation for clemency in the treatment of his brothers, but he showed no mercy to his opponents, although they were fellow believers. His triumph was



BABAR AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY

Zahir ed-Din Mohammed (c. 1483-1530) was called Babar—'tiger'—from his fighting qualities. Babar wrote his own Memoirs, in the Chaghatai language, and this picture of him is one of the illustrations drawn between 1590 and 1600, for a Persian translation made to the order of his grandson Akbar.

Bibliothèque Nationale, from Blochet 'Enluminures des MSS. orientaux'



INDIA'S FIRST MOGUL EMPEROR

Following his victory at Panipat in April, 1526, and his capture of Delhi and Agra, Babur assumed the title of Emperor of Hindustan. This late sixteenth-century painting of the Indo-Persian school shows him riding in state.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

not fully confirmed when by an accidental fall down a flight of stairs his career was cut short and the task of consolidating the Mogul power passed into the hands of his son Akbar, a youth of fourteen years.

Young as he was Akbar had already given proof of his future greatness. He had taken the lead in the campaign of 1555, and he possessed a wise teacher of the art of war in Bairam Khan, who was appointed regent on Humayun's death. For four years they worked together. The power of Sher Shah's dynasty was irremediably broken. Bengal was subdued, the authority of the Moguls extended in a broad band across northern India from Afghanistan to the Gangetic delta, and then again the stability of the Mogul rule was shaken by fraternal rivalry, but on this occasion the episode proved brief. Bairam Khan, grown too self-assertive, was banished on the condition of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. His usefulness indeed had diminished, for by now the

great wars were over. Akbar saw that the situation demanded not warlike feats but efficient administration and wise statesmanship. This clear perception of what was needed to consolidate the Mogul Empire distinguished him from his predecessor and all his own descendants. He felt that he was to be the executor of Babur's programme.

Clearly as he appreciated the needs of the situation it was more remarkable that he should turn to the people of the soil to assist him in satisfying them. The great merit of his administration lay in his efforts to attain financial stability; but while he is entitled to the credit of conceiving the plan, it was his Hindu minister Todar Mal who put it into practice. Alone of all the Mogul rulers Akbar governed the country without exceeding



A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EMIR

This painting, executed c. 1530, is attributed to Sultan Muhammad, court painter to that Shah Tahmasp who gave asylum in Persia to Humayun. It represents an Afghan emir of that time, but his identity is not established.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



EDUCATION OF A MOGUL PRINCE

The attention paid to education in Akbar's time is attested by this picture of a prince of the Mogul dynasty at lessons with his tutor. The picture is one of the illustrations in an edition de luxe of the Persian poet Firdausi's epic *Book of Kings*, prepared perhaps for Akbar's own library

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Ancien fonds persan, 98

the resources of its revenue. The details furnished by his chief minister Abul Fazl in his daily record of the emperor's life prove that this was accomplished only by the closest attention to every detail in the state expenditure. It has been said that Abul Fazl was only a flatterer; but hidden in his compliments were many words of wisdom and much veiled admonition. It was to him that Akbar turned first for counsel in moments of doubt or difficulty.

Akbar mixed freely with his ministers. Six days out of seven they sat in consultation together, and each day had its appointed subject. Although autocratic by temperament Akbar was a good listener. He loved discussion, and few were the objects of human inquiry in which he failed to take the keenest interest. He was a great reader, or rather he employed many to read to him. It was said that he caused a history to be prepared for his special edification of all the countries in the world during the thousand years preceding his time, and his private library contained many thousands of precious manuscripts. He was a great advocate of education. He declared that every boy should read books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, theological, mathematical and physical sciences, and above all history—a list

which provides a course of practical training for the realities of life to which little could be added by the modern educationist.

Akbar was also a great patron of art. He maintained eighteen of the leading artists of the day as court painters, and he invited all students to submit their works and rewarded those whose merit appealed to him. He formed a portrait gallery, and all the officers of his court figured therein. Thus, he declared, 'those of the past are kept in lively remembrance and the present are ensured immortality.' This practice had been handed down in the

Mogul family from the time of the ruthless Timur, who loved to survey his great battles again in the paintings on the walls of Akbar as his palace in Samarkand. Art Patron Akbar had a higher perception of the utility of art. He preferred to see the portraits of his comrades and supporters rather than to gloat over the prostrate forms of his foes. His view of painting as art was expressed in the following aphorism: 'There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in designing its limbs one after another, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life.' These views were remarkable in a Moslem, for the Koran forbids the delineation of the human form.

Akbar had no prejudices with regard to Europeans. The Portuguese Jesuits from Goa were received at his court and allowed free residence in his capital. They took part in the discussions by the learned on the merits of the different religions of the world, and Akbar went so far as to admit that there was much truth in the Christian religion. He wrote a letter to the pope requesting him to send a copy of the Pentateuch, and he affirmed

that he was already acquainted with the Psalms of David in their Persian original! It is even said that Akbar had a Christian wife, the Lady Miriam, for whom he constructed a special palace in his new city of Fatehpur Sikri. The statement that the lady was a Christian is not generally accepted, but it is curious to note that on the walls of a room in her palace is a faded fresco which is interpreted by some as representing the Annunciation of the Virgin. Among his other wives was a 'rani' of the great Rajput family of Jodhpur, known as Jodha Bai. Her brother, Raja Man Singh, was the best of his generals. He was also very free speaking. When Akbar descanted on the merits of his mystical religion he boldly replied, 'Hinduism I know, Mahomedanism I know, but what is this new religion?'

It was not only to Christianity that Akbar had a leaning. He was impressed with the appeal of fire worship, and at one moment he toyed with the idea of the transmigration of souls. Gradually his zeal as a Moslem waned, and he fell under the censure of the more orthodox, some of whom went so far as to call him a heretic. Tennyson said of Akbar that 'his religious tolerance and his abhorrence of religious persecution put his contemporaries, our Tudors, to shame.' His tolerance did not prevent his endeavour in his later years to found a 'mystical religion' of his own devising which allowed him to claim some of the divine attributes for himself.

His favours to Europeans were not confined to priests or Portuguese. He took an Englishman named Leedes into his service as jeweller, 'giving him a house and five slaves, a horse and every day six shillings in money.'

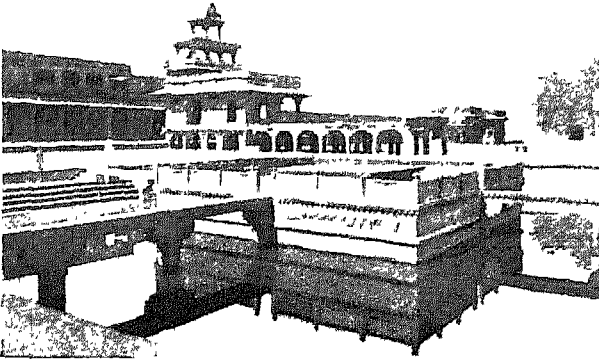
Among the measures of practical administration that illustrate Akbar's reign may be mentioned the first survey of the land as the preliminary to equalising the taxes levied upon it. He freed it from all arbitrary taxes and applied a standard measure for the levy, dividing its incidence between the two harvests of the spring and the autumn. He reduced the tax on industry to five per cent. The Hindus paid no more than the Moslems. The hated poll



AKBAR BUILDING HIS 'CITY OF VICTORY'

Akbar devoted close personal attention to the building of Fatehpur Sikri, where he took up his residence in 1571, and went on building until 1575. This picture from the Akbar-Namah of him supervising the work was the joint production of three of the court painters—Tulsi, Bandi and Madhu the younger.

Victoria and Albert Museum



MARBLE BATH OF A SULTANA

Notable among the royal buildings of Fatehpur Sikri is the palace of Akbar's wife, the Turki sultana, with this marble bathing tank in the Mahal-i-Khas or zenana court. The Panch Mahal palace occupies the middle of this picture, a five-storeyed building comprising five galleries in tiers on pillars.

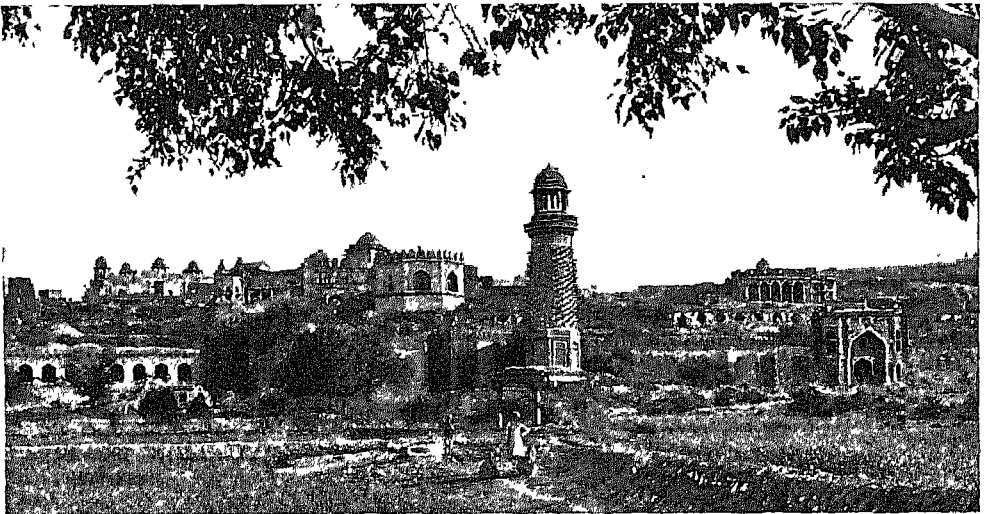
Photo, F. Dearle Walker

tax was abolished. Akbar held the first census in India during modern times, and the inquiry about occupations was carried out rigidly. He established an efficient postal service maintained by camel riders. The main roads were provided with caravanserais or rest houses at short intervals. Finally he abolished the cruel rite of suttee in so far as he dared clash with Hindu sentiment by making the

assent of the victim obligatory, and by appointing officers to be present at the ceremony. Sometimes, it was said, he attended the scene in person to see that his orders were obeyed.

Fatehpur Sikri, which Akbar designed as a new capital for his Empire, lies some twenty miles to the west of Agra, and although it had but a brief existence—the situation being unsuitable for the material requirements of a large community—the ruins still show the grandiose scale on which it was designed. The city was surrounded by a massive wall with a circum-

ference of five miles. Inside, the emperor erected a series of palaces for himself and for his principal wives, including the Turki sultana. Here also was the fine palace of Panch Mahal with its five storeys, and adjoining it the Diwan-i-Khas or Council Hall in which the debates with his officials and courtiers were held. But after twenty years spent in building, Akbar had to admit that his design was a



FATEHPUR SIKRI, DESERTED CAPITAL OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS

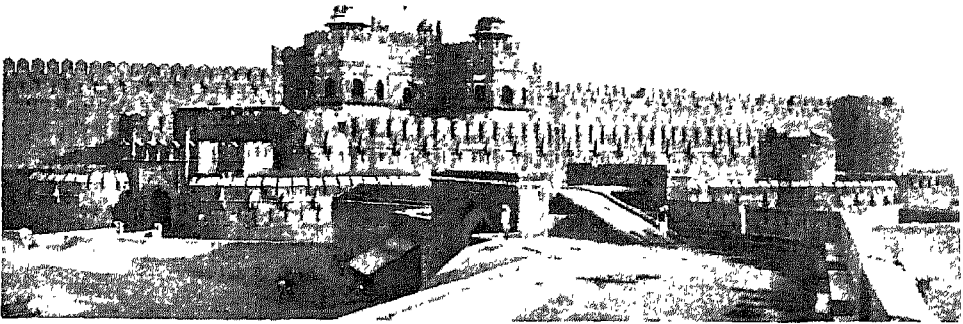
Akbar founded Fatehpur Sikri in 1569, intending it to replace Agra as his capital. The royal palaces are in an enclosure walled on three sides and, notwithstanding the abandonment of the city—owing to lack of water—within fifty years of its inception, are in good preservation. The circular tower in the centre of this photograph is the Deer Minaret, from which Akbar shot antelopes. It is 70 feet high and is studded with stone representations of elephants' tusks

Photo, E.N.A.

failure, and resumed residence in Agra, where he built the famous fort that invests that city with such an impressive appearance. As a builder Akbar, unlike his successors, aimed at strength and endurance rather than at beauty.

Akbar was undoubtedly a great ruler, a statesman more than a soldier, and his ideal was to consolidate what he possessed rather than to make new conquests. He divided his dominions into fifteen provinces, and he refrained with great prudence from venturing into that part of India lying south of the Narbada. His successors would have displayed more wisdom if they had rigidly adhered to the

policy. He refrained from costly and dubious military expeditions, and he continued to favour the Hindus and by so doing to soften the yoke of Islam. He was also tolerant to all religions. The Jesuits retained and indeed increased the influence they had acquired under his predecessor, and evidence of this was afforded in their being allowed to open a college at Agra. Jehangir even went so far as to order four of his nephews to be brought up as Christians and to be instructed in the European manner. This action indicated not a great success in proselytism but only the tolerant spirit prevailing at that period at the Mogul court. We have not to rely



DELHI GATE AND THE TOWERING WALLS OF AKBAR'S FORT AT AGRA

Its situation on the Jumna gave Agra strategic and commercial importance in very early times, and in 1500 it became the capital of the Afghan Lodi dynasty. Babar captured it in 1526 and his grandson Akbar built the existing fort, an immense structure with massive red sandstone walls a mile and a half in perimeter. The walls are in two tiers, the outer 40 feet high, and the inner, turreted and loopholed, 70 feet high. A wide and deep moat surrounds the whole.

Photo, E.N.A.

same rule. The reputation of Akbar rests upon his work in establishing the Mogul Empire on a firm foundation. As far as circumstances admitted he made it a national institution. The people of the country were won over by leniency as well as justice to give him their support, and even for military power he relied on the Rajputs and the Jats rather than on the Turks and Afghans who had provided the force with which India had been invaded. But for his astute policy the Moguls might have disappeared from India as suddenly and as quickly as they had done after Babar's death.

Akbar was succeeded by his son Jehangir in 1605, and the new ruler was careful to follow his father's wise and moderate

on the statements of native officials and historians, as in Akbar's case, for a description of the power and pomp of the fourth of the Mogul emperors. It is available for all to read in the most interesting narratives of two Englishmen in the reign of James I.

The first English account of the Mogul Empire was that given by Captain Hawkins, who resided at Agra for several years between 1608 and 1611. He was favourably received by the emperor Jehangir, who was influenced by the counsels of his able wife Nur Jehan in extending hospitality to Europeans. His mission was chiefly remarkable for the account he brought back of the court and country of the Mogul. He stated that the Empire

was divided into five kingdoms, the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat, and that it contained some of the most productive land in the world, admitting of two regular harvests. He estimated the revenue of the state at more than fifty millions sterling a year, a sum not approached by any European state of that age. The emperor also possessed an incalculable reserve in gold and silver coins and in jewels of all kinds. As for his military power, there were always 200,000 armed men stationed in his capital or in a camp outside it. Finally there were 40,000 elephants in the imperial service, half of them being trained for war. No doubt this description gave an exaggerated idea of the power of the Great Mogul.



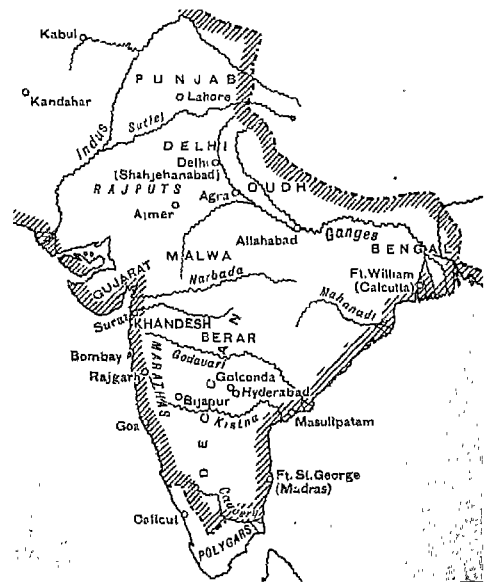
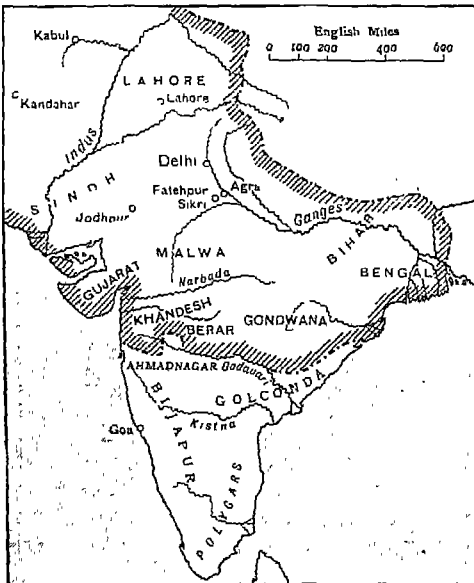
AN ABLE DIPLOMATIST

Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644), a diplomatist of repute, is remembered chiefly for his embassy to the Great Mogul Jehangir, 1616-18. His journal is a valuable contribution to the contemporary history of India.

From Foster, 'The Embassy of Sir T. Roe,'
Hakluyt Society

Six years after Hawkins Sir Thomas Roe sailed for India as ambassador from James I, and on his arrival at Agra in January, 1616, he was received by Jehangir in a highly honourable fashion notwithstanding that his presents were of poor quality and unworthy of the occasion. In spite of this disadvantage his embassy was highly successful, the result being again attributed to the friendly influence of Nur Jehan. Sir Thomas's description of the Mogul Empire tallies with that of Hawkins. In extent of

territory, he said, it was far greater than the Persian and almost as large as the Turk. Its breadth and its length extended to 2,000 miles, and its area reached four million square miles. Included



GROWTH OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR AND AURANGZIB

In 1555 Akbar took part in the campaign by which Humayun recovered Delhi and Agra from Sher Shah of Berar, and on succeeding his father he subdued Bengal and made himself master of northern India from Afghanistan to the Ganges Delta. About 1600 the Mogul Empire (right) comprised the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat. Aurangzib carried the Mogul domination into south India, and at his death in 1707 it had absorbed the Moslem kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda.

within the emperor's dominions were many tributary kings, and as far as appearances went they all were contented in their subjection. The resources of the greater part of the Empire were beyond calculation. The soil was most productive, and Sir Thomas, at a loss for a comparison, declared that it equalled what was affirmed of Mesopotamia in old times. The emperor's revenue was described as incalculable, being derived from the land, the custom of presents, and the inheritance of all the property of deceased persons. These escheats were then subdivided among new applicants, the emperor reserving the major part for himself; jewels were all forfeit to the crown. Sir Thomas Roe's embassy was very successful in placing English trade in India on a regular and recognized basis by imperial firman.

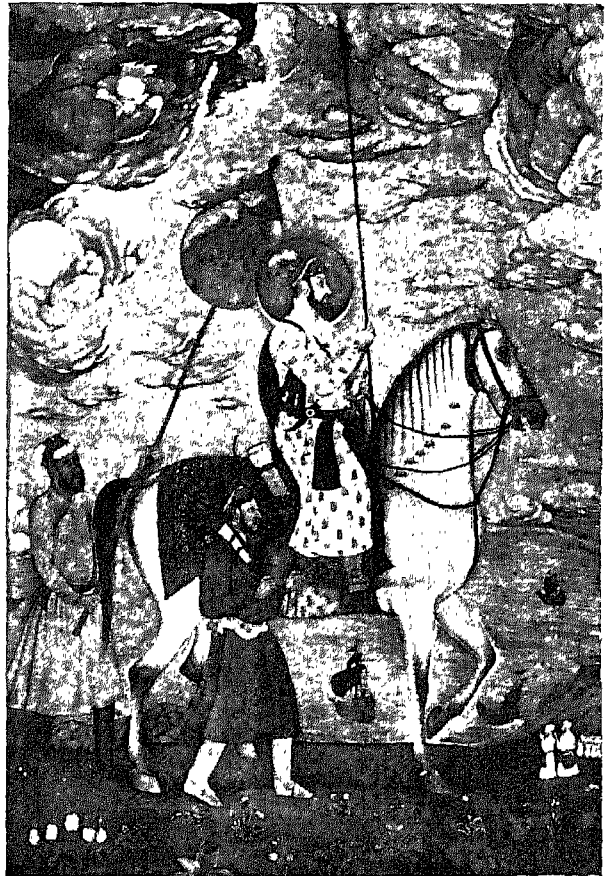
In the following passage Sir Thomas provides a vivid sketch of the inner life of the imperial court:

Before my audience I had obtained leave to use the customs of my country. At the Durbar I was conducted right before him; entering the outward rail, two noble slaves met to conduct me nearer; at the first rail I made a low reverence, at the next another, and when under the king a third. His reception was very favourable. When I came in I found him sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all clad in diamonds, pearls and rubies, before him a table of gold plate, set all with stones, his nobility around him in their best equipages, whom he commanded to drink frolicly several wines standing by in great flagons. So drinking and commanding others his Majesty and all his lords became the finest men I ever saw—of a thousand humours.

Hard drinking was one of the confirmed habits of all the Mogul princes, and all admitted to their intimacy were expected to join in their debauches, those who did not indulge in spirits or wine being

allowed to take a drugged liquor in its place. There is a remarkable passage in Babar's famous Memoirs—a human document of abiding interest written in his own Chaghatai-Turki language—on this subject. Having noticed that those among his boon companions who drank wine or spirits quarrelled with those who were given to 'maajum,' a concoction of hemp and herbs, when seated together, he separated them, placing the former at one table and the latter at another.

While Jehangir's reign represented the high-water mark of Mogul splendour and prosperity, it also revealed some of the disintegrating causes which were eventually to bring about the decline and



FIFTH OF THE GREAT MOGULS

Shah Jehan succeeded his father Jehangir in 1628, and ranks as one of the best of the Mogul emperors. This equestrian portrait of him, preserved at Leningrad, is reputed a good likeness, but in composition and material owes much to European influence, which markedly affected later Mogul art.

From F. R. Marten, *Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey* (Quaritch)

fall of the ruling house. The Moguls, whether in their Mongolian homes or in India, had never been remarkable for family union. Sons had risen against their fathers, brothers had fought with and murdered one another; a regularly instituted succession was ever absent as the only sure source of stability in the realm. Even Akbar, most fortunate in this respect of all his family, had been troubled by his sons' quarrels, and more especially by the rebellion of his son Jehangir. This evil became intensified after that prince had himself become emperor. Most of his predecessors had wished to be impartial between their sons, but he was inflamed by a deadly animosity towards the son who was destined to succeed him, Shah Jehan.



SHAH ABBAS AND A CUPBEARER

Abbas I (1557-1628), perhaps the most distinguished of all Persian kings, recovered Kandahar from the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehan (1609). This portrait, painted in 1613 by Riza-i-Abbasi, shows him at the age of fifty-five. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. arabe 6077; from Blochet*



'ORNAMENT OF THE THRONE'

Aurangzib (1618-1707) seized the Mogul throne in 1658. His reign is often regarded as a kind of golden age, but his despotic rule alienated Indian sympathy and sowed seeds of trouble that later brought about the decay of the Empire.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; MS. Od. 44, 24

On Jehangir's death, in 1628, Shah Jehan seized the throne, and to assure its possession he murdered all the sons of his four brothers, some of whom he had previously blinded. In this summary manner Shah Jehan freed himself from the terror of fraternal rivalry, but he was to meet his Nemesis in another form. Shah Jehan had four sons, and as they grew up it became clear to him that they were destined to continue the fatal inheritance of fraternal feud. He foresaw the danger, and he sought to avert it, but his remedy probably aggravated the evil. He assigned a province to each of them with the higher title of viceroy, thus delegating to each within his assigned limits full sovereign powers. For a time collisions between them were avoided, but each contracting the habits of supreme authority in his separate satrapy aspired to be his father's successor and plotted accordingly.

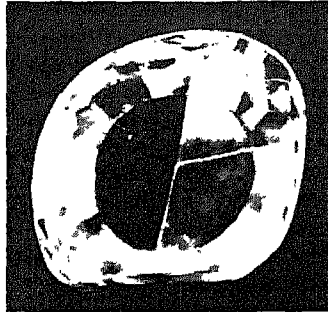
His eldest son, Dara, was appointed viceroy at Delhi and, thus being nearest the capital, was regarded as the emperor's

chosen heir; the next, Sultan Sujah, was placed over Bengal; to the third, Aurangzib, fell the Deccan; and to the youngest, Murad, was allotted Gujarat. If each of these brothers had remained content with his station a peaceful succession for the eldest seemed assured. And at this moment, to put the matter to the proof, the emperor fell ill and rumour spread the tale that he was likely to die. Thereupon all the sons raised armies and hastened towards Agra, not so much to attend his obsequies as to assert their claims to the throne; and Aurangzib, who had in his youth declared that he would rather be a 'fakir' than an emperor, was the hottest in the quest.

Then ensued the most relentless fraternal war in the annals of India. Great battles

were fought, armies reckoned by the hundred thousand dwindled by mutual slaughter to as many hundreds; but while the power of the others waned, that of Aurangzib increased. Dara was captured and executed, his head being sent to Aurangzib for identification; Sultan Sujah fled to Bengal and died of privation. Murad, who had fought for Aurangzib, was thrown into prison by him and done to death. Of the four brothers, Aurangzib thus remained alone. He thought to make his position surer by exterminating their offspring. In a double sense, then, Aurangzib stood alone, but

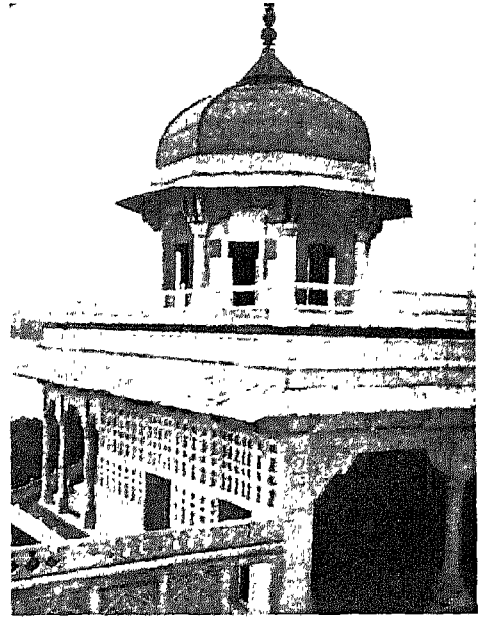
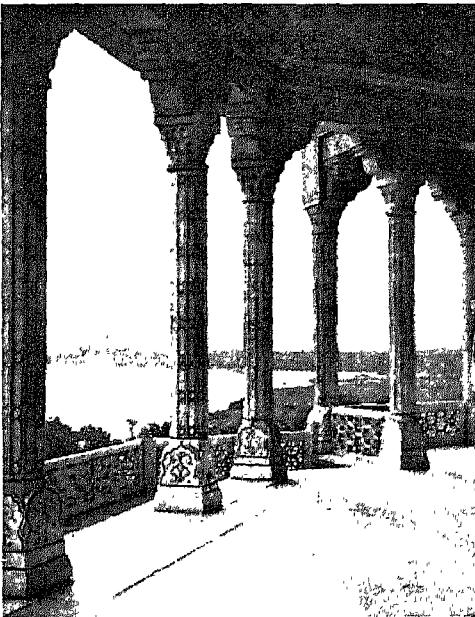
the emperor had not died. What was to be done with him? Aurangzib held the seals of authority; were he to restore them to his father he could divine his own



AN IMPERIAL DIAMOND

Ala ud-Din owned the Koh-i-nor in 1304. In 1526 it passed to Humayun. The Persian Nadir Shah acquired it in 1739. Ranjit Singh in 1833, and in 1849 it was presented to Queen Victoria.

Model in Geological Museum, London



LOOKING TOWARDS THE TAJ MAHAL FROM THE JASMINE TOWER AT AGRA

Of all the Mogul buildings at Agra perhaps the most arresting is the octagonal Jasmine Tower, or Samman Burj (right), built on a bastion of the fort walls overlooking the Jumna. For here Shah Jehan was imprisoned for the last seven years of his life by his son Aurangzib, and from the cloistered veranda (left) he ever turned wistful eyes to where across the river the Taj Mahal gleamed white among the trees, the exquisite mausoleum he himself had raised for his adored wife Mumtaz-i-Mahal.

Photo, Kenneth Comyn

fate, so he assigned Shah Jehan a gilded palace as his prison, in which he passed the last seven years of his life. Dark stories were whispered of how it all ended, but perhaps in this particular Aurangzib was maligned.

Although Shah Jehan had gained a high reputation for military capacity, his reign was marked by several misfortunes in the field which ought to have carried with them a serious warning. The Persians, under Shah Abbas, captured Kandahar and held it. The Uzbeks established an independent government in northern Afghanistan, making it clear that the sources from which the Moguls had drawn their military

strength had been cut off. On the southern frontier a protracted and costly struggle in the Deccan had assumed the character of an interminable drain on the imperial resources.

Apart from these there were few outstanding events to signalise his reign, yet he was regarded as one of the best rulers of his family. He is said to have trebled the revenue, and the prosperity of the country reached its highest point in his time. His court was maintained on a splendid scale. He spent colossal sums on festivals given to celebrate any official event. That on his accession was said to have cost over one and a half millions sterling, in which sum were included the presents to his courtiers and officers.

The collection of jewels in his royal treasury exceeded anything imagined in the Arabian Nights or found in the cave of Aladdin. He sat upon the famous Peacock Throne, the precious stones on which were valued by Tavernier at not less than twelve millions sterling; and he possessed six other thrones hardly less remarkable or valuable. Among his most famous jewels was the large ruby named the Tribute of the World, sent to his father by Shah Abbas. From Aurangzib, in his dutiful days, he had received a more famous jewel, the priceless Koh-i-nor from the mines of Golconda. In his jewel house Tavernier declared that gems of the highest price were countless, 'each of which would have been worthy to serve as an ear drop for Venus.'

Sir Thomas Roe himself bore somewhat similar testimony. It was on the occasion of his getting a glimpse of the empress Nur Jehan that he observed: 'If there had been no other light her diamonds and pearls had sufficed to reveal her.'

But there was one sphere of regal authority and oppor-



MUMTAZ, AN EMPEROR'S BELOVED

This painting on ivory, set in a precious mosaic and mounted on sandalwood, shows Mumtaz-i-Mahal, 'the favourite of the palace.' The beautiful wife of Shah Jehan, she inspired in her husband such love and devotion that, on her death in 1630, he raised to her memory the incomparable Taj Mahal.

Photo, E.N.A.

tunity in which Shah Jehan surpassed both his predecessors and his successors. Not since Hadrian had there been such a builder of magnificent conceptions. His devotion to his wife the beautiful Mumtaz-i-Mahal, niece of the more ambitious and able empress Nur Jehan, had been idyllic, and on her death he consecrated their love and her memory in the beautiful tomb known to all time as the Taj Mahal, 'a dream in marble designed by Titans and finished by jewelers.' Mumtaz died in 1630, and the temple tomb in Agra, the imperial capital which surmounted her remains, took twenty-two years to reach completion. During that period 20,000 men were engaged on the work. Tavernier wrote :

Of all the tombs which one sees at Agra that of the wife of Shah Jehan is the most splendid. It is at the east side of the city by the side of the river in a great square surrounded by walls. This square is a kind of garden divided into compartments like our parterres, but in the places where we put gravel there is white and black marble. I witnessed the commencement and the accomplishment of this great work. Shah Jehan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plan and Aurangzib, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it.

The distinguishing feature of this beautiful shrine is the introduction of precious stones, such as agate, jasper and cornelian, into the ornamentation. In the course of time some of these had broken away or disappeared, and it may be mentioned that Lord Curzon took into his own charge the task of restoring this and other monuments of Mogul grandeur in its classic home. The processes of natural decay and man's neglect have been arrested, thanks to his efforts and example. The buildings



AURANGZIB RECEIVES AN EMBASSY

On Aurangzib's accession to the throne, the shah of Persia in 1661 sent an embassy with congratulations and gifts. On the left Budaq Beg, the Persian envoy, salutes the emperor. In the foreground and on the extreme left are presents from the shah, including horses, precious stones and cases of rose-water.

Redleian Library, Ouseley MSS, Additional 173; from Dinnyon, 'Court Painters of the Moguls,' Oxford University Press

have been restored to their original perfection of form and detail, the old gardens revived, old water channels long dried up cleared out, old balustrades renovated, chiselled bas reliefs repaired and the inlaid agate, jasper and cornelian replaced. The cenotaphs to Shah Jehan and his wife have thus resumed their pristine glory.

Aurangzib having got rid of his brothers and imprisoned his father, seated himself on the throne, and speculation was rife as to what would be the character of his reign. Everyone recognized his courage and capacity. The Moguls had not produced such a valiant and successful leader

since Babar. He had removed all possible rivals. It did not seem that there were any worlds left for him to conquer, at least of sufficient attraction or value to inspire the effort. Moreover, he was a devout Moslem. The heresies or fantasies of the previous emperors were discarded. All the mosques were repaired, the triumph of Islam was proclaimed, and an order was issued that the Hindu temples should be destroyed. After that it was not surprising that he should again impose the poll tax on his Hindu subjects, and with that act expired the popularity of the Mogul rulers of India. The admonitions of Babar were forgotten, the example of Akbar was ignored, and the pre-eminence of the foreign conqueror was asserted in a form that affected every household in the land. Aurangzib wanted the money because he had decided to extend the Mogul dominion in South India.

Aurangzib had formed this ambition by local contact. As titular viceroy of the Deccan he had seen something and heard more of the riches of the region lying south of the Narbada. His appetite had been whetted by tales of the treasures lying in the palaces of Bijapur and Golconda. Had he not, somehow or other, acquired from that source the famous Koh-i-nor to send to his father? The enterprise promised to be remunerative, and he minimised the difficulties that stood between him and success. Yet he had had some experiences that might have inspired caution. In western India he had come into contact with the Marathas under their great leader, Sivaji, and for twenty years an intermittent struggle had gone on, with the results of which the emperor had no reason to feel elated. The project of subduing the Deccan made no satisfactory progress. But at last Sivaji died, and his son and heir was a prisoner at the Mogul court. The path seemed clear for the emperor's plan, and to make success more assured the emperor took the field in person. It was in 1681 that he set out on his long cherished enterprise and for the remaining twenty-six years of his life he passed his time in a camp without revisiting his capital.

The immediate object of attack was the Moslem kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, Mahomedan states founded in the middle of the fifteenth century on the ruins of older Hindu kingdoms. But although their rulers were Moslems they belonged to the Shah or Persian persuasion which Aurangzib in his new-found zeal for strict orthodoxy affected to regard as heretical. The host with which he marched into southern India was truly imposing, said to number 400,000 men, but the fighting was to be done by chosen corps which included the cavalry, the artillery and the elephants. But the nature of the country in which the fighting was to take place was quite unsuitable for such forces, and the artillery was of little avail against the strong stone forts with which the Deccan was covered. Progress was slow, the mortality in the overcrowded camps was great, and the sieges of minor places in seemingly endless succession soon became wearisome. If the enemy resisted stubbornly, the emperor was not less tenacious. He forced his way southward. After a siege of many years Bijapur was captured in 1687, and in the following year Golconda shared the same fate. The spoil captured in these cities was stated at an almost fabulous total, but it could have gone but a small way towards providing the cost of these protracted campaigns. The outcome of this war was the erection of the subahdarship of the Deccan, in another generation to be merged in the quasi-sovereign state of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

It was during this period that Aurangzib placed the administration of the empire on a new basis by the appointment of 'nawab nazims' to govern in his name and as his deputies the great provinces, which were in their order of importance Bengal, Oudh, Delhi, the Punjab and Gujarat. No sooner was peace assured in the Deccan than fresh and more serious trouble arose with the Rajputs and the Marathas. The former began open warfare, but they were overmatched in numbers and by too hastily arousing the emperor's vengeance weakened themselves permanently so that they became the tributaries of the Marathas. The Marathas, more astute,



PORTRAIT OF THE GREAT AKBAR'S CONVIVIAL SUCCESSOR

Mogul painting occupies an indeterminate position in the history of art. It is sometimes called Indo-Persian; but though Humayun must have learnt to appreciate the Persian style at the court of Shah Tahmasp, there is really more of native Hindu tradition behind it. Its strong point is portraiture, but it lacks the individual stamp of a national school; and the truth probably is that it was a court style inaugurated by Akbar. This portrait of Jehangir drinking wine is by Manohar

British Museum, MSS. Stoea, Oriental 16, from Birzon, 'Court Painters of the Moghuls,' Oxford University Press



MOGUL ARTIST'S RENDERING OF A GREAT LADY : JEHANGIR'S EMPRESS

Female portraits are not common in Mogul art, and even in such as do exist it is hardly likely that Moslem sentiment permitted the true features of great ladies to be vulgarised by reproduction. Be that as it may, this painting is reputed to be of Nur Jehan, wife of Jehangir Akbar's successor, a great connoisseur of painting, was a self-indulgent prince of little stamina, and in all affairs of state his talented consort was the real ruler of the empire.

Bodleian Library, Douce MSS. O.c.4; from Binyon, 'Court Painters,' Oxford University Press.

carried on irregular warfare, avoiding pitched battles, and gradually sapping the resources of the Mogul dynasty.

It is customary to consider that with the death of Aurangzib the Mogul Empire reached its apogee. Certainly with him closed the line of rulers of the house of Babar who might, without excessive flattery, be styled great. The Turk races thus produced in both the Mogul and the Ottoman Empires the most remarkable succession of able rulers recorded in history. The family of Babar was not less distinguished in this respect than that of Othman, and to Murad, Selim and

Suleiman might be named

Ottoman and in opposition Babar, Mogul compared Akbar and Aurangzib. Of

the two dynasties the achievement of the Moguls was the more remarkable. The Ottomans had behind them an immense military force, and what long seemed to be an inexhaustible recruiting ground. The Moguls invaded India with a comparatively small force, and by merging themselves in the people they had ostensibly subdued they cut themselves off from their native recruiting ground in central Asia. The Moguls cut themselves off from their original stem and became more Indian and less Turk with each succeeding generation.

At the same time, the Mogul Empire was always more magnificent than powerful. Its military strength was mainly on the surface. The army was organized for show rather than for service. The emperors trusted to their elephants first to terrorise and then to vanquish their adversaries. An elephant was computed as the equivalent of a regiment of 500 men, and some commanders even doubled the computation. In the next degree was placed the artillery of many categories, swivel guns on camels, heavy guns for sieges, drawn slowly and painfully by oxen and throwing shot of a hundredweight until the limited supply was exhausted and brass cannon esteemed so highly that they were conveyed in painted carriages led by horses. Then came the cavalry, showy rather than efficient under the later rulers, but still preserving the traditions of the horsemen who followed Babar into India, and alone capable of gaining



AKBAR'S EXCITING ADVENTURE

Akbar's skill in controlling elephants was famous. This picture by the court painters, Basawan and Chatar, records an incident in 1591 when his elephant seized with sudden rage, smashed the pontoon on which he was crossing a stream.

From *It'har-Namah*, Victoria and Albert Museum

such victories as were to be scored. Last of all ranked the foot, some carrying matchlocks difficult to work, and, when worked, of uncertain aim and effect. The whole constituted a mob rather than an army. Well might the observant Bernier declare, as he saw this horde on the march, that twenty-five thousand trained French soldiers could conquer India, and he spoke at a time when nothing had happened to lower the majesty of the Empire.

Behind this pageant of an army the government was carried on without any clearly defined and binding system necessary for assured stability. The law was based not on a code, but on the will or impulse of the ruler, and, where he could not be present, of those governors to whom he delegated his powers. For criminal offences the punishment was severe and summary, as prisons did not exist except for important captives,



LADIES OF THE ROYAL ZENANA

This really beautiful picture of the Indo-Persian school of painting dates from about 1590. It represents a princess of the Mogul dynasty with her ladies and servants seated in a garden, and a note written on it by one of its Hindu owners identifies the royal lady as the empress Mohsin Bibi.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Smith Lesouëf MSS., 249; from Blochet

and was often accompanied by atrocious tortures which varied as the emperor happened to be drunk or sober. In civil actions the essential preliminary was the payment of a 'nuzzar,' and the emperor in person accepted it at the durbar of judicial cases held twice weekly. The result of the action depended on which side knew how to bribe the highest and the wisest, and the object of the tribunal was to divert as much as possible of the sums at issue into the pockets of the government, the emperor himself, or his officers. The disputes and litigations of the millions living on or out of the land were left to their own village panchayats, and here perhaps the only uncontaminated justice under the Moguls was dispensed.

Great as the revenue seemed in the eyes of European visitors, it required the system of Akbar and the watchful supervision of ministers like Todar Mal to keep the expenditure of the court as well as of the state within it. The court even with the best of emperors came before the state. There was the zenana in the first place, then came the court festivities which included the giving of presents to friends and supporters of the dynasty, and finally the maintenance of the chosen guard of the emperor's person and of the equipage necessary to a camp which assumed the size of a moving city. Akbar, who was certainly a man of good sense, maintained an enormous zenana. He had not fewer than eleven legal wives, and a number of concubines which rivalled Solomon's record. Abul Fazl defended the system in the following passage:

There is general great inconvenience arising from a number of women, but his Majesty out of the abundance of his wisdom and prudence has made it subservient to public advantage, for by contracting marriages with the daughters of the princes of Hindustan and of other countries he secures himself against insurrections at home and forms powerful alliances abroad. The harem is an enclosure of such immense extent as to contain a separate room for each of the women, whose number exceeds 5,000. They are divided into companies and a proper employment is assigned to each of them. Over each company a woman is appointed to rule. One also is selected specially for the care of the whole [Akbar appointed Maham Anka, the nurse of his childhood, to this responsible post] in order that the affairs of the Zenana may be conducted with the same regularity as the other departments of state.

With regard to the expenditure under this head, it was stated by the same authority that 'each one of the ladies receives a salary equal to her merit. The pen cannot measure the extent of the

emperor's largesses, but here shall be given some account of the monthly stipend of each woman. Ladies of the first quality receive from 1,610 rupees on a descending scale to 1,028 rupees. Whenever any of this multitude of women want anything they apply to the treasurer, who rarely refuses them.' No mention is made of any of Akbar's wives obtaining any marked ascendancy over him or interfering in affairs of state; but he appears to have been specially proud of his alliances with princesses of the exclusive Rajput families. For a man so indulgent to himself, Akbar advocated a rigorous moderation for others. He did not approve of everyone marrying more than one wife, and he disapproved still more strongly of old women seeking young husbands.

Another and more serious drain on the imperial resources was due to the excessive number of men employed in military pursuits, and this greatly

Diminution of national resources increased under Akbar's successors. The paper strength of the army was mainly fictitious. The commanders of regiments drew for the full number of men, whereas in reality the corps would be at half its proper complement or even less. As time went on the abuse became aggravated. Some of the greater governors charged in their accounts for the maintenance of a large army instead of a small garrison, and pocketed the difference. One wazir was said in the time of Aurangzib to have accumulated a fortune of seventy millions sterling in this manner. Such proceedings could not be kept secret from the emperors, all of whom maintained an elaborate secret service; but they winked at it in the hope that eventually these illicit gains would come into their hands by the operation of the law of succession. But after a time these speculators elaborated a system by which they foiled the imperial appetite. They placed a large part of their gains in the hands of the shroffs or soucars, the professional bankers or moneylenders of India, who kept the principal intact for the benefit of the client's family in return for their enjoying its use in the prosecution of their own business. The consequence of this wasteful

system to the state was that the public services were gradually starved and the national resources steadily diminished.

From the ethics of Babar and the practice of Akbar the transition moves by a slow but regular gradation to the corrupt period of Aurangzib, when every man had his price and the emperor himself had become a greedy participator in the system. The revenue which had attained its highest point under Shah Jehan began to decline as the immediate consequence of the **Corruption under Aurangzib** long struggle among his sons to make sure of

the succession. The interminable strife with the Marathas was attended not only by the military outlay but also by the reduction of the revenue, and when to this cause was added the drain of the war in the Deccan, undertaken in a light spirit for the sake of immediate plunder, but protracted in the reality until it became a running sore, it is not surprising that the emperor should have found himself in need of some fresh sources of revenue. He had recourse to them without seriously considering all their after-effects. The principal of these measures was the imposition, or rather the revival, for it had been first abolished by Akbar, of the poll tax on the non-Moslems of India. It has been represented that this measure was due to fanatical zeal and that it formed part of a plan of proselytism to Islam. But the evidence seems overwhelming that Aurangzib resorted to it as the simplest method of refilling a depleted exchequer. In his anxiety to draw in money he overlooked the attendant disadvantages in alienating Hindu sympathy and in emphasising the fact that the Mogul represented a foreign and unsympathetic domination.

Comparisons have often been made by Indian as well as English writers between the Mogul and British systems of government. The conclusion has not always been in favour of the British, but a more careful examination of the facts would not support this judgement. The precepts and example of Akbar were admirable, but their observance was restricted to the limited portion of the dominions which might be described as coming under the

emperor's immediate supervision. The application became relaxed as the distance from the court increased, and this tendency was more marked under his successors. But even when the highest tribute is paid to the intentions of the ruler it must be remembered that the land tax claimed and secured by the government was one-third of the produce, and that when the collectors and officials had taken their own percentage there was less than half the produce left for division between landlord and tenant. The tax on land and the method of collection have always been the measure of good government with the peoples of India. Under the British raj the levy on

the land averages twelve per cent., and there are no contingent squeezes by officials. That is a sounder basis for comparison than the glitter and pomp of the most splendid of Asiatic courts.

Some of the contemporaries of the Moguls were not blind to the truth. A Hindu writer in the early years of the eighteenth century passed the following comment on the hollowness of the Mogul claim to excel as rulers :

All classes were crushed with an equal tyranny ; fallow lands were entered as arable, and by a false measurement three-fourths of a bigha was taxed as a full bigha. The treasury officers deducted more than one rupee in seven, short weight and exchange. The husbandmen fled from their lands and threw their cattle and goods into the market so that a rupee's worth of things sold for 10 annas.

There is one feature to be noted in common with the first six Mogul rulers. They were all, either before they came to the throne or afterwards, great military leaders. That has been seen ; but they were something more, they were great sportsmen. The chase as the simulacrum of war was the breath of their nostrils. Babar was too much absorbed in the serious business of war throughout his life to have leisure for sport in a regular way, but he was a splendid horseman and he had swum every river of northern India. To complete the record he swam the Ganges on horseback for pleasure. Akbar had more time for its enjoyment. On one occasion he killed sixteen wild asses of the desert with his favourite weapon, the bow. The mile posts on the roads from Agra were decorated with the horns of some hundreds of thousands of stags killed during his great hunts. He, too, was a great horseman ; it is recorded



AKBAR ON A HUNTING EXPEDITION

Akbar was a great sportsman and, although deeply interested in artistic and philosophic speculation, he spent a vigorous and active life. An indefatigable hunter, he is here seen in eager pursuit of his flying quarry. He was famous throughout his dominions for his superb horsemanship.

British Museum: Additional MS. 22,363



INDIAN GARDEN SCENE : BABAR RECEIVING A DEPUTATION

'I will live in retirement in a garden.' Such was Babar's decision in his last days of failing health. Throughout his life he gloried in nature, his love of beauty manifesting itself in the eager planning of wonderful gardens, exquisite in design and riotous with flowers. This picture by the court painter Ram Das, executed in gold and tempera colours, as an illustration to Babar's own autobiography, shows Babar in 1555 entertaining a deputation in his garden at Agra. The MS. is earlier than 1590.

Victoria and Albert Museum

that on one occasion he rode 220 miles in two days. He introduced the public spectacle of the contests of wild beasts which recalled the gladiatorial games of Rome. The favourite contest was between elephants, the great courtiers matching their picked elephants against one another. As a rule these proved

no more than wrestling matches, but occasionally they took a tragic form, for example when the owner of the losing animal assassinated his rival.

Akbar's son Jehangir was the first to use a firearm in preference to the bow. He had a list made of the animals, including birds, which he had shot between his

twelfth and his fiftieth year. The total came to 17,168, of which 86 tigers, 90 wild boar, 1,372 deer and 13,964 birds are specified. His empress Nur Jehan took part in these battues and seems to have been an excellent shot. On one occasion the elephant on which she and the emperor were riding was very restive before a tiger and would not stand still, so that it was difficult to take aim. One of the courtiers fired three or four shots without effect, when the emperor turned to the empress: 'Fire with my musket!'—and the tiger was killed by her first shot.

Reference has been made to the Taj Mahal, but the subject of Mogul architecture claims more ample description,

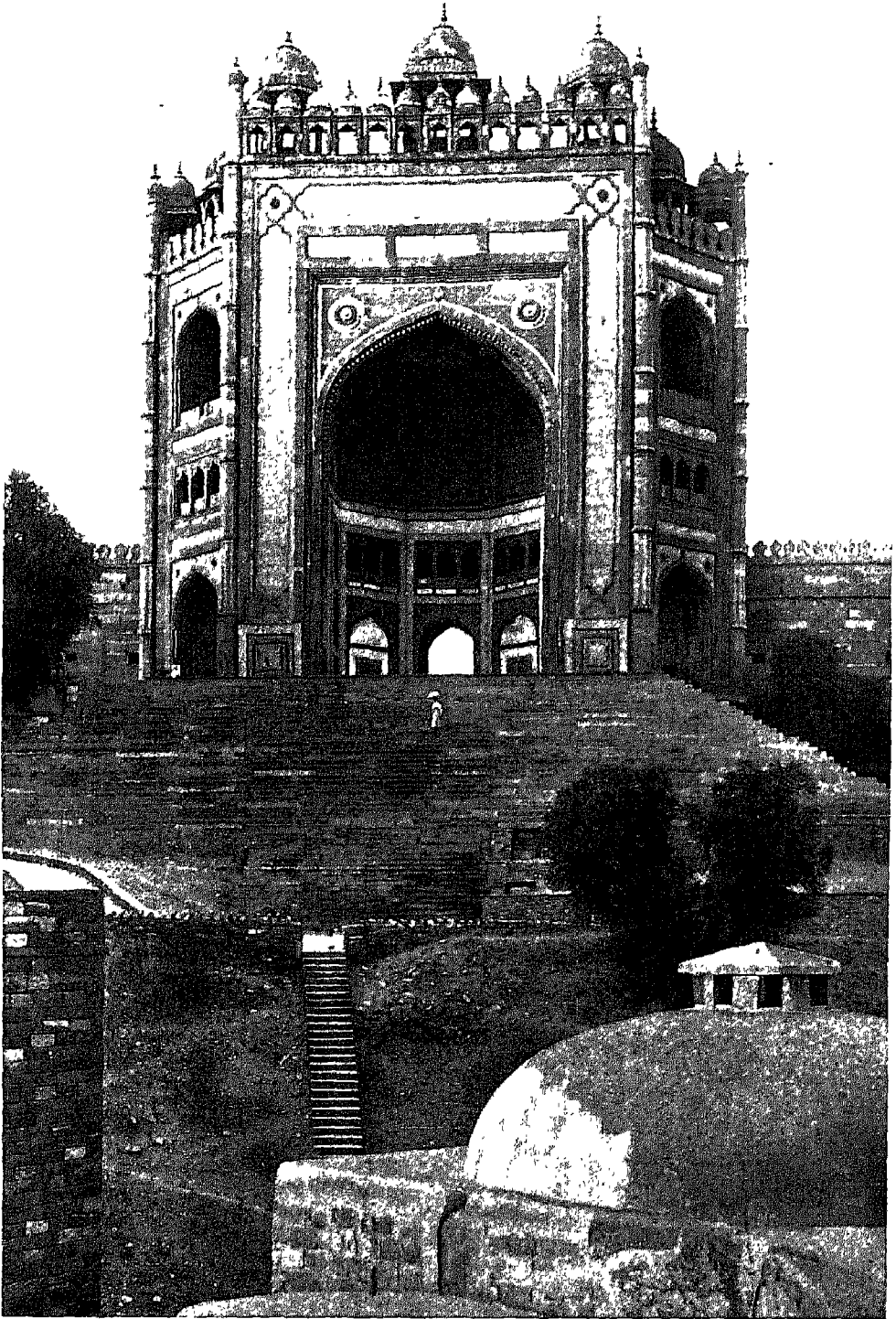
because it relates to the most distinctive Beauty of the Mogul Architecture and enduring feature in the rule in India of this Mahomedan dynasty. Their buildings provide a surer memorial of the taste and dignity of the first Mogul emperors than anything recorded by their too flattering court poets and historians. They have stood the test of time, they have gained the admiration of the West as well as of the East, they remain unique in many respects as objects of beauty created by the aesthetic taste and artistic genius of men. In them may be found the inspiration of the cultured Persians and Arabs who represented one of the highest forms of civilization.

Neither Babar nor Humayun is to be reproached because they were employed in such sterner work as left them no leisure for architectural developments. But to Babar's memory must be assigned the practice of garden planning which became a tradition with his descendants. He took a fancy to Agra because he saw the capabilities of the situation for growing flowers and planting fruit trees. He loved Kabul before all other places for the blossoms of its gardens in the spring of the year, but if he was an enthusiast for the hues and verdure of flowers he was not less of an amateur of the fruits of nature. In India he was always regretting the absence of the musk melons of Samarkand and Kabul. Still he found time to provide Agra with the imposing red-hued fort which crowns above the Jumna

His ideal in architecture was the solid rather than the graceful, the imposing rather than the beautiful.

Humayun had less time even than his father for building, but his name was perpetuated by the noble tomb bearing his name which Akbar constructed in his honour outside the walls of Delhi. It lies nearly four miles outside the great gate of the old city, and is built in red sandstone with a dome of white marble. Akbar patronised Lahore rather than Delhi, and made it his principal place of residence during fourteen years of his reign (1584-1598). At that period it was one of the most prosperous cities of India, and a great centre of trade with all the countries beyond the passes. Akbar's son Jehangir also resided there during the closing five years of his reign. He and his famous wife the empress Nur Jehan both died there, and beautiful tombs were erected to their memory by the next emperor; but these and other monuments of Mogul art were badly damaged on several occasions by the Sikhs during periods of religious excitement. There is one beautiful specimen of Mogul art that has come down almost intact to the present day in the Naulakha (a name coined from nine lakhs, its cost), an exquisite pavilion lying within the Fort. It is remarkable for the 'khashi' panels presenting figures of men and animals, which is very unusual in Mahomedan monuments.

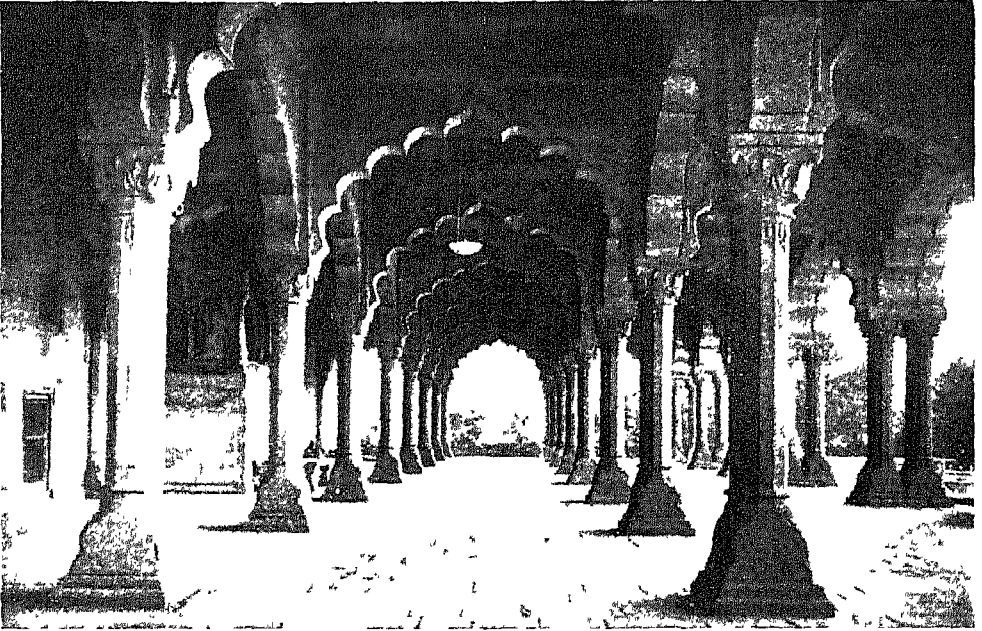
Agra was, of course, the centre of Mogul activity at its prime under the three emperors Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan. Akbar after The Palace abandoning his design of a at Agra new capital at Fatehpur Sikri began the construction of the great palace, which was continued by his son and only completed in the time of his grandson. The palace is included within Babar's fort, and is specially noteworthy for its dimensions. The Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audience and the Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Public Audience are additions to the original building. The mosque erected by Jehangir to his wazir Itimad ud-Daulah is a choice example of open filigree work in marble. Five miles north-west of Agra at Sikandra is the fine monument to Akbar constructed by his son Jehangir.



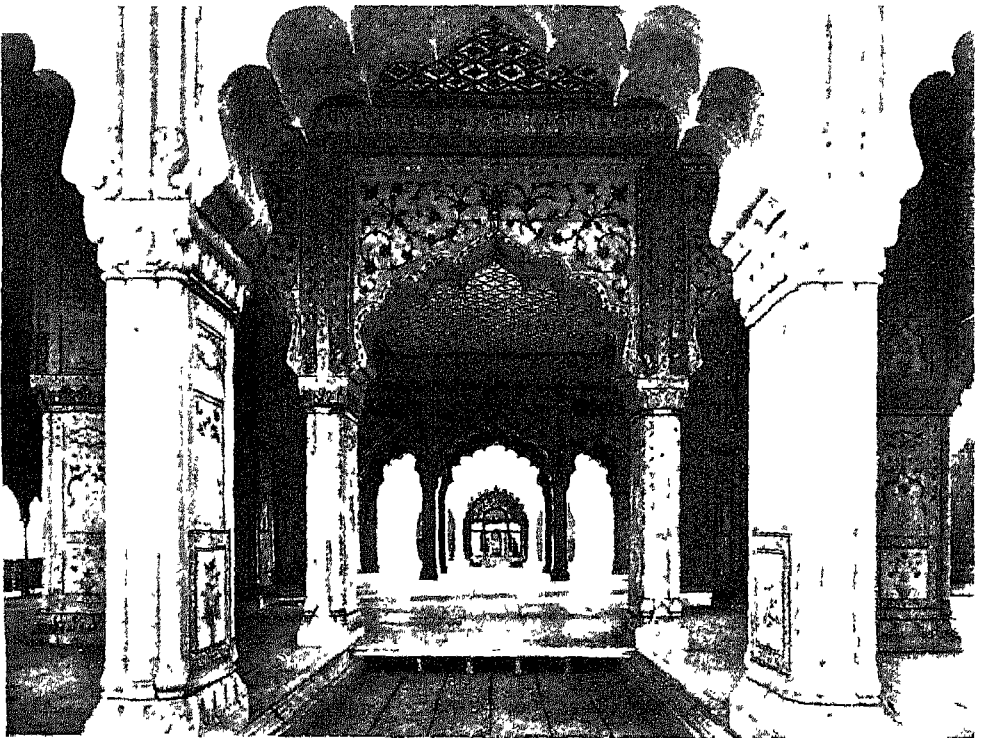
AKBAR'S 'GATE OF VICTORY' AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

Mogul architecture achieves its most inspiring grandeur in the southern gateway to the Great Mosque at Fatehpur Sikri. The gate is built of red sandstone inlaid with marble and is 172 feet in height, and set as it is on rising ground its aspect is incomparably majestic.

Photo, Deaville Walker



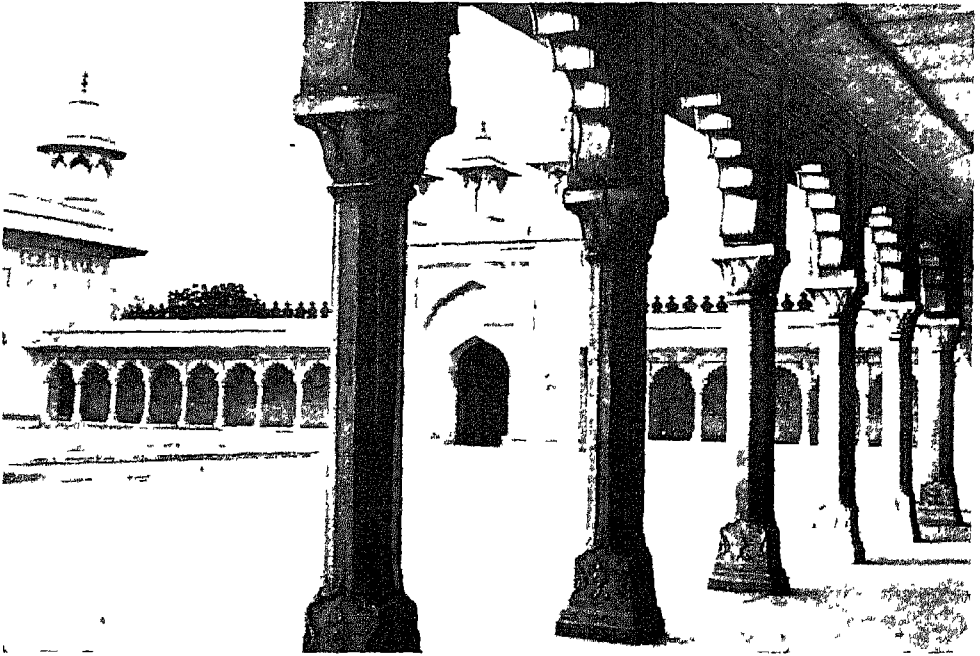
Shah Jehan's Hall of Public Audience the Diwan-i-Am measures 100 feet by 60. It was plastered with 'chunim' overlaid with gold and in the recess on the left contained the jewelled Peacock Throne beneath a pearl encrusted canopy. Its engraved arches are its principal feature to day.



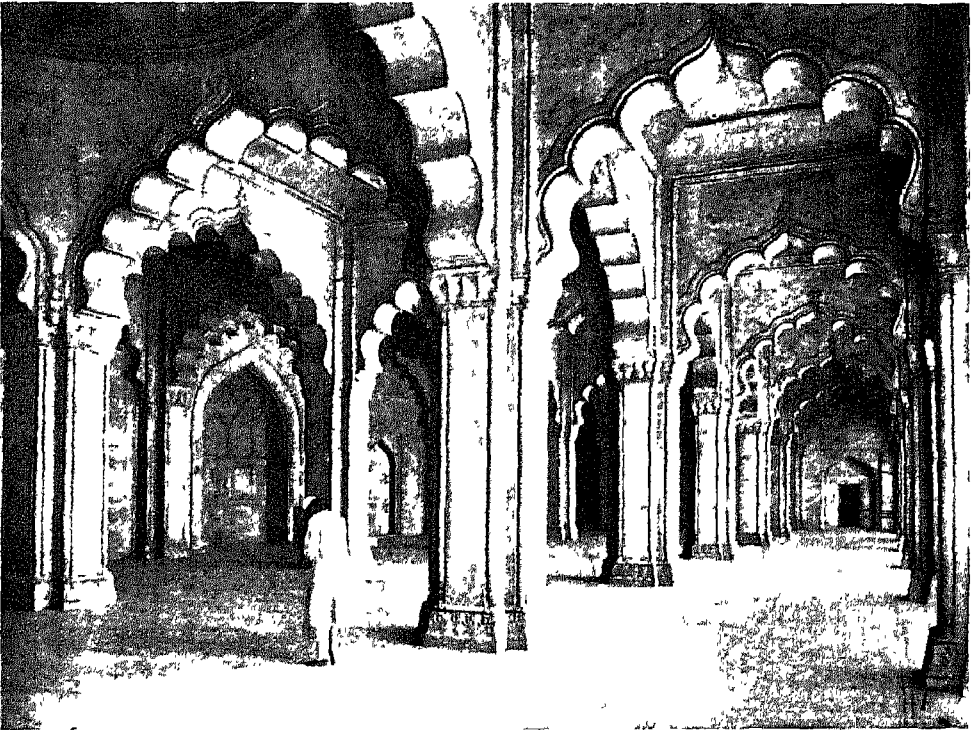
If a Paradise be on the face of the earth, it is this. So run, the Persian inscription round the Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audience. It is a marble pavilion with flowers and foliage in green serpentine, blue lapis lazuli and red and purple porphyry covering the arches and pilasters.

GEMS OF JEWELLED ARCHITECTURE IN THE PALACE AT DELHI

Photos, F. Deaville Walker



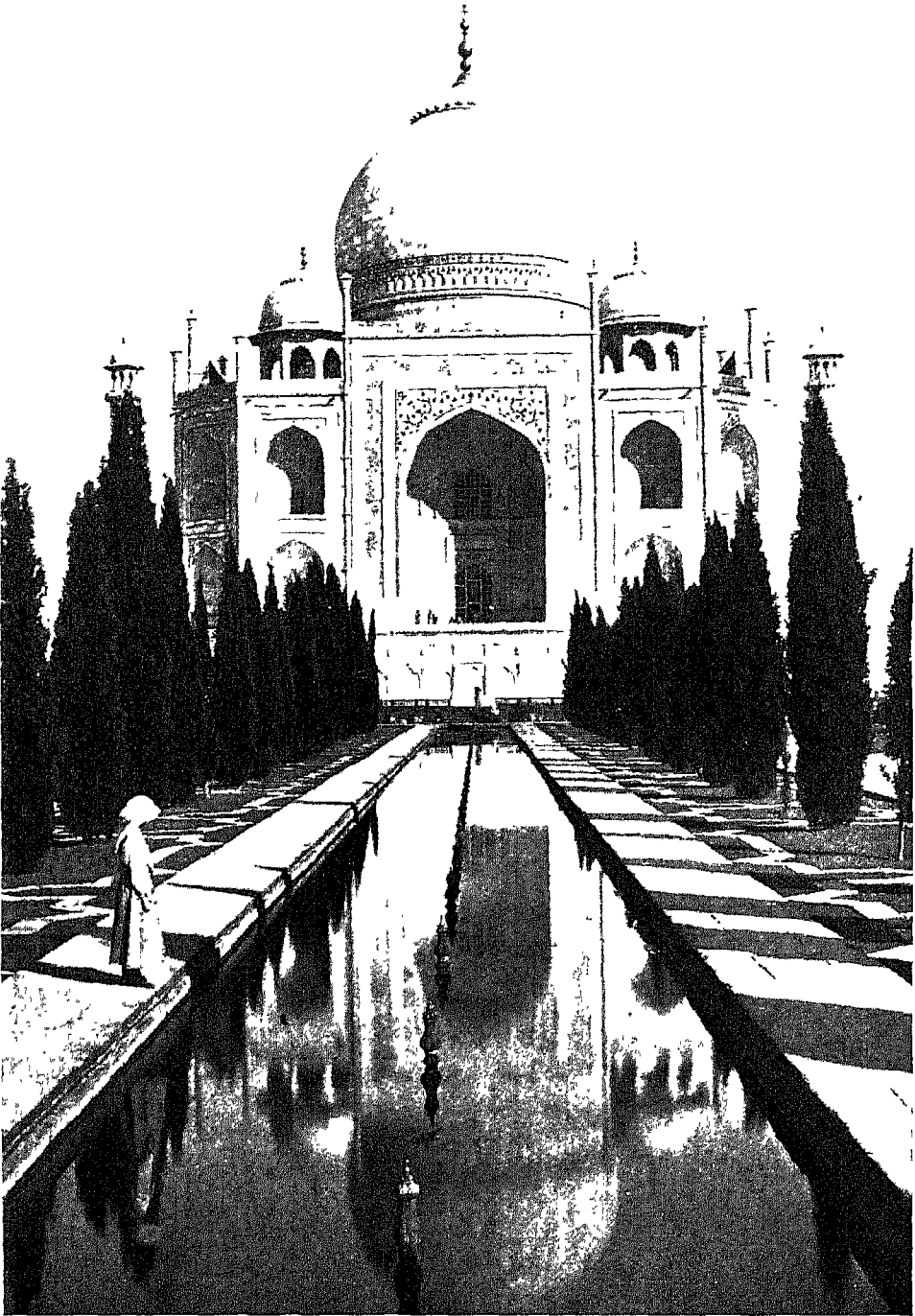
Arabic or Saracenic influence is patent in the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque at Agra, built by Shah Jehan and completed in the year 1654. Its chief beauty is in its courtyard, which is 155 feet square and is built wholly of white marble from the pavement to the summit of the domes.



The mosque proper is of white marble inside and out, and except for an inscription from the Koran inlaid with black marble has no ornament other than its own graceful lines. In this austere simplicity it offers a remarkable contrast to contemporary Saracenic architecture in Spain and elsewhere.

AUSTERE PURITY OF THE PEARL MOSQUE AT AGRA

Photos F. Deauville Walker



MEMORIAL OF UNDYING LOVE : A POEM IN WHITE MARBLE

Tomb of Shah Jehan and his beloved wife Mumtaz, the flawless beauty of the Taj Mahal is the glory of Agra. Exquisitely conceived and perfectly executed, the building is of white marble, inlaid with precious stones from its glittering central dome to the surrounding terrace and four tall minarets.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

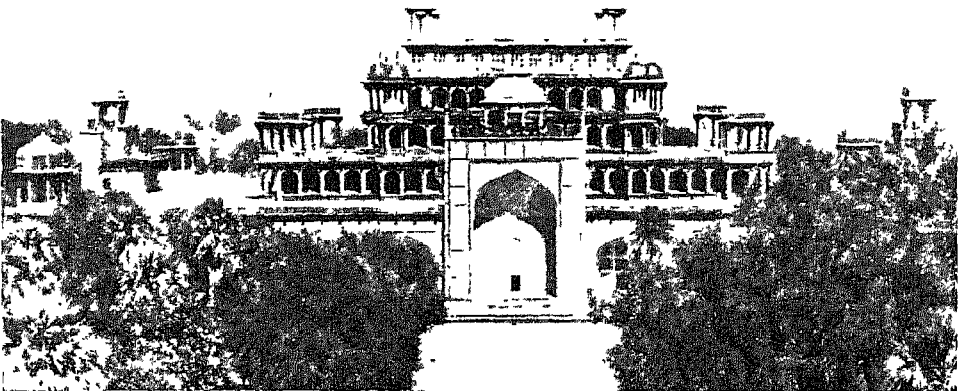
But Agra owes most to Shah Jehan. The Jama Masjid was built by that prince in honour of his favourite daughter, Jehanara, 'the brilliant lady' who devoted herself to his care after the death of her mother, Mumtaz-i-Mahal. It took five years to build and was finished in 1640. This mosque illustrates what was called the primitive Mo-ul style, and is constructed in a curious medley of red and white stones. It may be mentioned that Princess Jehanara, who, after her father's death, attached herself to the cause of her favourite brother, Aurangzib, was buried at a good old age in a pretty garden cemetery outside Delhi, near the grave of the poet Khusru. Still more striking than the Jama Masjid is the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque. This was completed in the year 1654. Its most striking feature is three domes of white marble flanked by delicate gilded spires. The walls are also white with narrow lines of black marble introduced. The whole building reveals in its conception and execution marked traces of Arab or Saracenic influence. Not content with this achievement Shah Jehan caused a miniature replica of the Pearl Mosque to be executed in white marble as the place of his own private devotions. Finally, there is the Taj Mahal.

Outside Agra lies the mosque of Chini-ka Rauza, the tomb of a poet who died

at the beginning of the reign of Shah Jehan. This is one of the choicest specimens in India of the use of enamelled tiles, which were a special product of the Indian handicraftsman.

These tiles displayed an extraordinary variety of colours, some shades never having been reproduced elsewhere. They were fixed on a prepared plaster singly with all the care and method employed in mosaics. At Ajmer, which served at one period as an official headquarters for the Mogul government (public executions, for instance, were generally held there), Akbar built a fine fort. Shah Jehan visited it for a different purpose. It was his favourite place for summer bathing, and he constructed several pavilions as pleasure houses attached to the baths. At Ajmer, also, is the Daulat Bagh or Garden of Splendour, which contains many fine trees and gives the modern visitor some idea of what a Mogul garden was like.

Delhi was the final capital of the Mogul dynasty. Shah Jehan was the first to show his appreciation of its natural advantages to figure as the imperial capital. While Lahore was in favour Delhi languished, but there was a rapid change when Shah Jehan transferred his patronage to the city to which he gave his name as Shahjehanabad. His greatest addition



BEAUTIFUL MONUMENT THAT COMMEMORATES THE EMPEROR AKBAR

At Sikandra, five miles north-west of Agra, stands this choice specimen of Mogul architecture, here seen from the Great Gateway. It was begun by Akbar himself and completed by his son Jehangir as a tomb and a monument to his father. The building is five storeys high, and in the topmost marble cloister there is a cenotaph. The great emperor's tomb is in a vault.

Photo, F. Deville Walker

was the imperial palace, known by his name. This enormous building, 1,600 feet by 3,200 feet, is the largest palace in the world, being more than twice the size of the Escorial, which is the largest in Europe. It forms a parallelogram, and externally its noble gateway, which resembles the entrance to a vast cathedral, is the most striking feature. This leads direct to the Naubat Khana or Music Hall, and then comes the Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Public Audience. Both these rooms are very large. Then follows the smaller Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audience, the favourite room of Shah Jehan, with its fine view over the river. This was most richly ornamented with wall paintings and lavish decorations. On the wall is the famous inscription: 'If there is a Paradise on earth, it is this! It is this!'

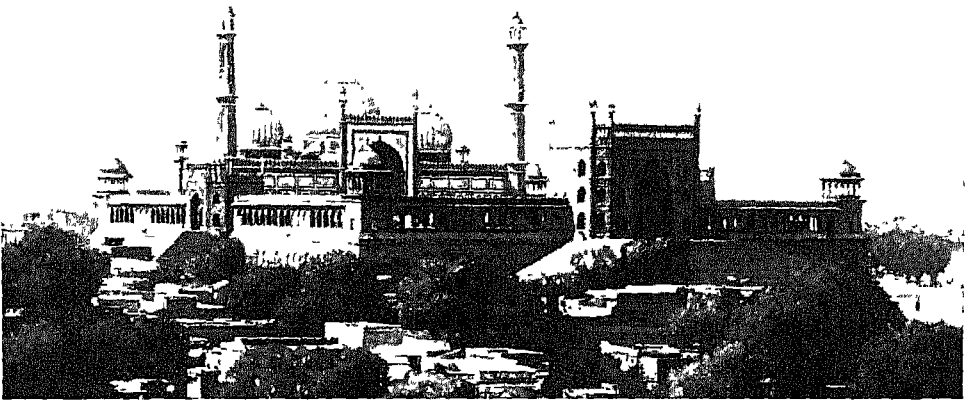
The second of Shah Jehan's architectural contributions to the grandeur of Delhi was the famous Jama Masjid or the Great Mosque, a wonderful erection in white marble. The Great Rest House is another fine specimen of the best period in Mogul art. It was constructed to the order of the princess imperial, the elder of the two daughters of Shah Jehan, who sided with her brother, Prince Dara, in the family feud. While Delhi contains these splendid specimens of the finest period of Mogul art, it was also endowed by Aurangzib with many inferior speci-

mens which reveal the rapid decay in the artistic standard.

As artists the Indians of the Mogul period did not attain the same distinction as the architects. Akbar's efforts to form a national school of painters did not bear fruit, perhaps because his successors did not continue them.

It was found that while Limitations of the Indian artist was a Indian Art meticulous copyist he had little or no originality in conception and that in execution he was unable to master the technique of grouping. As single portrait painters they succeeded; they were admirable as miniaturists; but their limitations were soon reached. As book illustrators they displayed great skill in the blending of colours, and most of the illuminated manuscripts that have been preserved are extremely beautiful.

As the Moguls attached so much value to precious stones and boasted of their hoards it is not surprising that skilled jewellers were in great request and highly favoured. It was for this reason that Akbar took the Englishman Leedes into his service, an example followed by Shah Jehan with regard to the Frenchman Tavernier; but these Europeans were the exception. The bulk of the working jewellers were natives of either India or the adjacent countries, and Tavernier



THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DELHI

The Jama Masjid or Great Mosque at Delhi was erected in 1648-50 by Shah Jehan, who was an architectural enthusiast. Built upon an elevation, it commands a magnificent view of the city and is approached by a fine flight of stone steps. At the front corners are two tall minarets and from the roof rise three white marble domes. White marble adorns the interior of the mosque, paving the floor and lining roof and walls.

Photo, E.N.A

records how very skilful they were not merely in polishing but in cutting and piercing the hardest stones. In their order of value stones were esteemed as follows: diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls. It is not established whence the Moguls obtained their emeralds, but the other stones were to be found in South India and Ceylon. The Golconda mines were for centuries the chief source of diamond supplies in the world. The Indian jewellers possessed a secret method of producing jewelled jade which has been lost. The earlier of the Mogul emperors paid great attention to the question of a stable currency, and their coinage possessed intrinsic value as well as artistic appearance. Their models were taken from Persia, and whereas previous Moslem rulers in India had uniformly employed Arabic terms, Akbar and his successors used the Persian language. That emperor had as many as seventy mints, each minting coins in gold, silver and copper. The standard of value was the rupee.

Akbar, although his orthodoxy in the eyes of Islam was suspect, observed one of the laws of the Koran in not placing his effigy on any of his

The Currency under Akbar coins, which bore either an ornamental scroll or filigree, and a text in Persian. After

he had founded his mystical religion and taken to himself some of the attributes of the deity he had placed on one of the coins the words Allah Akbar, which strictly interpreted meant 'God is most great!'; but the phrase might also have signified 'Akbar is God,' and it was in that sense, whether intended or not, that scoffers chose to read it. Later, the text was omitted.

His son and successor, Jehangir, kept up the standard and issued some very remarkable coins, which in many respects have never been surpassed. He was the first of the Moguls to allow his effigy to appear on a coin. He was not only the first but the only ruler of India to associate the name of his wife, the great empress Nur Jehan, with his own on the current coin of his realm. Another of his coins showed him sitting cross-legged and holding a goblet in his hand, strong drink being as marked an infraction of the Koran as

ART UNDER THE MOGULS

A portion of an unfinished drawing dating from Shah Jehan's reign illustrates both the strength and weakness of Mogul art. While the differentiation of individual features is cleverly portrayed the artist has shown little skill in grouping.

British Museum; Additional MS 15,301

the representation of the human form. The most artistic coinage of his reign was that distinguished as the zodiacal series, giving evidence of the hold astronomical knowledge and inquiry had established in learned circles throughout the Mahomedan world. The coinage of his successor, Shah Jehan, was chiefly remarkable for the issue of some very large gold coins, the ratio between silver and gold being fixed at 1 to 15. A very beautiful coin called the mohur was introduced from Persia in the sixteenth century and continued to be issued after the fall of the Moguls by British mints for special purposes. Nuzzars



AN AUDIENCE WITH AKBAR IN A PAVILION OUT OF DOORS

Akbar was an enthusiastic patron of art, under whose encouragement the Mogul school of painting was formed and flourished. It produced works which, though lacking originality of conception are remarkable for minuteness of detail and general finish, and are of immense documentary value regarded simply as illustrations. The specimen above, from the Akbar-Namah, has further interest as illustrating Akbar's accessibility to his ministers and his animated participation in discussions

Victoria and Albert Museum

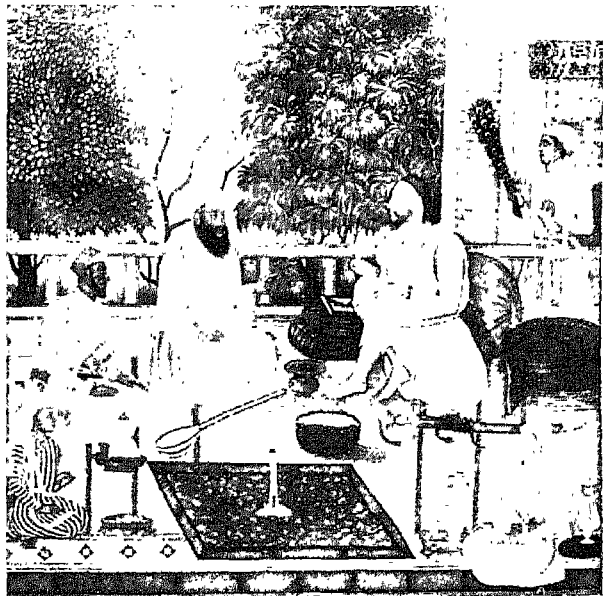
to the emperor and ruling princes were always offered in the form of old mohurs, which when the rupee was valued at 2s. 3d. were reckoned at 15 rupees.

The reign of Aurangzib marked the high-water level of Mogul power, and from his death in 1707 it is usual to date its decline. But there were other and deeper causes for that

Causes of the Mogul decline of his protracted and exhausting campaigns in the Deccan. If there had been real strength and ample resources behind the imperial authority these effects would have been obliterated within a very brief period. The Mogul conquest had been accomplished by a mere handful of men because, as Babar put it, the people of India cannot 'manfully support a war nor can they combine in amity and friendship.' The people from whom Babar and Humayun conquered India were not its true inhabitants, but Moslem intruders like themselves who might be described as their predecessors in the path of adventure. The Hindus made no resistance, they were the spectators while others shaped their fate. When Akbar took up the task of consolidating his position he saw that unless he could attract to his side some of the worthier elements in the country the rule of his family could not endure. He turned to the Rajputs, who certainly had martial traditions and possessed a chivalrous code of their own. He first coerced and then propitiated them. His two immediate successors followed his example, but Aurangzib under the stress of financial difficulty changed their policy and forfeited the support of the Rajputs. War took the place of amity and alliance. The Mogul rule was thus left in the naked position of a foreign domination.

Even before the rupture with the Rajputs another Hindu race, to whom Babar's

contemptuous reference could not apply, because he never came in contact with them, had appeared on the Mogul horizon with a threatening aspect. The Marathas of Khandesh, their own native country, had been the near witnesses of the difficulties with which the Moguls had to contend during the successive invasions of the Deccan. They had increased these difficulties by carrying on an irregular warfare for their own advantage. They found a born leader for guerilla operations in one of their hereditary chieftains named Sivaji, and for a whole generation they proved themselves a thorn in the side of the constituted power. The rich commercial city of Surat was plundered or put to ransom, and Sivaji caused himself to be crowned as an independent prince at Rajgarh. In open fighting fortune fluctuated between the two sides, and after Sivaji's death it seemed as if the Mogul triumph were assured. But when Aurangzib, thinking to make that triumph more certain, executed Sivaji's son who had fallen into his hands, he committed an act which embittered the



SOCIAL AMENITIES IN MOGUL INDIA

This picture of a Mogul host entertaining his guests is a specimen of the Mogul school of painting in the time of Aurangzib. Such details as various household utensils are clearly depicted, but the general impression is marred by the faulty perspective that characterises artistic work of the period.

From F. R. Martin: Miniature Painters of Persia, India and Turkey

quarrel with fatal consequences beyond his perception. He had broken up the Rajputs who had been allies, he had not broken up the Marathas who were to prove the relentless foemen of his house.

Akbar's policy in propitiating Hindu opinion, with a view to establishing his family in India as a stable national dynasty, had one natural consequence that he failed very naturally to take into sufficient account. The more the Moguls relied on Indian support the less could they count on that of the Afghans, Persians and Turks with whom they had invaded India. Other conquerors arose in their midst to lead them to victory. The Persian shahs seized Herat and Kandahar, north of the Hindu Kush the Uzbeks asserted their independence, and even in Kabul the emperor's deputy exercised but the shadow of his master's authority. As a recruiting ground, as the true source of his military strength, central Asia had been lost before Aurangzib died. The dire consequences of that change were to be felt by several of his successors.

If these were the public causes that brought about the decline of the Moguls in India, there were others of a more intimate character in their own family relations and history that contributed to



ARTISTIC COINS OF JEANGIR

Jehangir, celebrated for his remarkable coinage, was the first Mogul to allow his effigy to appear on a coin (top). Two specimens from his 'zodiacal' series show (bottom right) the Scales and (bottom left) the Crab.

British Museum

their inevitable downfall. Excellent as were the precepts and example of Babar and Akbar, there was one point that they did not settle, and that was the rule of succession. Babar may be said to have originated the confusion that arose on this point by impressing upon Humayun that where he was to take six for himself he was to give five to his brother Kamran. But Humayun lost his share in India almost immediately, and when he sought to find a share and a shelter in Kamran's realm of Afghanistan a fraternal war ensued and was waged between them with excessive bitterness for many years. After that filial wars occurred as each ruler grew old, followed on each succession by fraternal strife. The victors prevailed in the main not by fair fighting, but by barbarous treatment of the vanquished who were their nearest kinsmen. To fail meant the loss of sight or confinement in a solitary cell until the cup of poison brought relief. The Moguls had put on some of the white-wash of civilization, but it had not led them to abandon their cruel practices of impaling prisoners, flaying victims alive and blinding or otherwise maiming those unfortunates whom fate threw in their power. In all these inhumanities their record could not be blacker, and their



MOHUR OF SHAH JEHAN

This beautiful gold coin of the reign of Shah Jehan is a specimen of the mohur, a Persian importation which came into use in India during the 16th century. The word is taken from the Persian 'muhur,' a seal or ring

British Museum

historians in endeavouring to exculpate the greatest of the emperors could only fall back upon the excuse that at the moment of the helioli order the ruler was mad drunk. That was a phase from which none of them was free, if some learnt to practise moderation from the warnings of excess. If due consideration be given to all these causes, the effect of which in the nature of things must be cumulative, the marvel is that the Mogul dynasty endured in a state of vigour as long as it did, and that a whole century elapsed after the decline began before it crumbled down in ruins.

The twelve years following the death of Aurangzib were marked by scenes of indescribable confusion and infamy. The fourth among his successors on the musnud, Mohammed Shah was to experience the ill effects of the follies and mistakes of his predecessors. Strangely enough at this period the Mogul court was held in leading strings by the Choudris, who might be described as the members of the Punjab landed aristocracy. They made the public appointments and changed the 'subahs' or governors as their fancy or interests dictated. These offices were sold to the highest bidder, and when the prize was made more tempting by the success of the occupant it was resold to a higher bidder over his head. But sometimes the occupant was a strong man and more than a match for the Choudris, defying them to interfere within his provinces. The first step in disintegration arose in the south. Asaf Jah was subahdar of Berar and controlled the Deccan. He set up his authority at Hyderabad and founded the dynasty of the Nizams. A few years later his example was followed by the subahdars of Bengal and Oudh, although in all these cases a formal recognition of the emperor's supremacy was continued.



MOHAMMED SHAH

Mohammed Shah, emperor from 1719 to 1748, was faced with constant wars. Unable to raise means of defence, he was powerless to prevent the Persian invasion under Nadir Shah in 1738.

Stephenson, London

These internal detentions might have been overcome if the house of Babar had happened to produce a great reforming ruler, but an external danger supervened with the suddenness of a thunderstorm, and fell upon the Mogul fortunes with shattering effect. In Persia another great military genius and conqueror had appeared in the person of the Turcoman Nadir Shah. He had made his authority supreme as a new shah, when he repelled the Turks on the Aras, and then he turned his attention to India with the desire of increasing his treasure from its

plunder. He had no other motive for his raid. Timurl was his exemplar, not Babar. In 1738 he captured Kandahar, and in



AN UZBEG RULER

This portrait of about 1570 (Bokhara school) shows Abdallah Khan (1556-98), the Uzbek ruler of Turkistan. A contemporary of Akbar, he was one of those conquerors who threatened the Mogul ambitions by asserting their independence.

From F. R. Martin, 'Miniature Painters of Persia, India and Turkey' (Quaritch)

the following year he crossed the Indus, marching straight on Delhi.

The unfortunate Mohammed Shah, taken quite unprepared, had no means of defence. He turned to the Rajputs; they would not listen. He summoned the subahdars, who should have come to his aid; they were too far off. He even appealed to the Marathas, but their new leader, the peshwa, was too busy in consolidating his authority by the conquests of Malwa, Gujarat and Berar. In this hour of need he could think of no better plan than to send his priests to supplicate the mercy of the invader as one Moslem prince appealing to another, to which came back the terror-striking answer: 'I am no emissary of mercy, but one of those scourges sent by God to punish the wickedness of nations.' This new Attila of the eighteenth century was as good as his word. He massacred the inhabitants of Delhi, just as his prototype, Timur, had done, and having collected all the spoils of the palaces, reckoned at one hundred millions sterling, including the famous Peacock Throne, he withdrew to Persia

leaving behind him a blackened track of burning towns and bewailing people. The Mogul dynasty could no longer pretend that it kept India safe from foreign invasion.

Nadir Shah did not stand alone. He had his successor and emulator in Ahmad Shah, the founder of the Durani monarchy in Afghanistan.

When Nadir Shah was murdered by his generals in 1747 Ahmad, the ablest of them and the head of the combined Afghan contingents, became the guiding spirit of an army which looked to plunder as the prize and recompense of victory. India held out the only prospect of such reward. Nadir had found it an easy prey; Ahmad assured his followers that their earlier success would have made it easier, and so in the very year of his accession he crossed the Indus and harried the Punjab. But on this occasion he did not reach Delhi, where fresh internal discords had weakened the Moguls and increased the calamities of India. Mohammed Shah died amid these scenes of public

woe. His son and successor, Ahmad Shah, after a brief reign was deposed by Alamgir, who in a few short years was murdered. His successor, Shah Alum, fled to Allahabad to pass more than ten years in exile from his capital. In the interval two great events had taken place. In 1756 Ahmad Shah (the Afghan) sacked Delhi, carrying off what Nadir Shah had overlooked, and by some strange oversight this included the famous Koh-i-nor, which remained in Afghan hands until, by an astute move, Ranjit Singh filched it from Ahmad's unfortunate descendant, Shah Shuja. The second event was the battle of Panipat, in 1761, the last of a long series at that famous spot which had decided the fate of India.

In all these Persian and Afghan invasions, save the last, the Mogul emperors had



PERSIAN SHAH WHO INVADED INDIA

This portrait by Muhammad Panah gives a realistic presentation of the great Nadir, shah of Persia from 1736 to 1747. He carried out a successful invasion of India in 1738-9, conquered Delhi and despoiled its palaces. He is seen here clad in a costume of dark red, lavishly adorned with pearls.

From F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (Quaritch)

been left to face the foe without any aid. The peoples and the princes of India remained inactive and looked on at the misfortunes of their titular ruler without concern. In the last Afghan invasion, however, the position was different. There had risen a new political power in India which had many of the elements of national force and influence behind it. The Marathas had waxed as the Moguls waned. The first four peshwas, whose Hindu dynasty was concentrated in the city of Poona, had proved themselves to be statesmen of superior calibre and had evolved a policy which comprehended the whole of India. Their conquests included the whole of Central India, the province of Gujarat and a great part of the Deccan. The Rajput princes were their tributaries and they levied the 'chouth' from Bengal. After Ahmad Shah had captured Delhi they realized that the time had come for them to act unless they were prepared to submit to a foreign yoke, and so, when rumours came in the summer of the year 1760 that Ahmad was again on the move towards India, the peshwa ordered all his military chiefs to assemble their forces and march northward to repel the invader.

It was a magnificent looking force that took up its position at Panipat. Each prince had brought with him not only his fighting men but his court; each strove to outdo his neighbour in splendour. The camp established for this host resembled a vast city with several hundred thousand inhabitants, the majority non-combatants. While waiting for the enemy to arrive the time was passed in festivities, and no heed was paid to the serious business of the occasion. At last it became necessary to think of shifting the camp to some other spot. The grain for the elephants, the



AHMAD SHAH IN PEACEFUL LEISURE

Ahmad Shah (1724-73) rose to high military rank under Nadir Shah, on whose assassination in 1747 he assumed power and founded the Durani dynasty in Afghanistan. From 1756 onwards he repeatedly invaded India. This contemporary picture shows him strolling in his garden with his servants.

Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin

fodder for the horses, the water supply for the men, all were exhausted. Still worse, the sanitary conditions of the camp gave cause for grave anxiety; fever and cholera made their appearance. The removal of the camp was ordered, but at that moment the enemy arrived and closed its outlets. The Marathas had many leaders but not one in supreme authority. What one did the others would not follow. Soon all was in confusion and fever and cholera made terrible ravages. At last, on January 13, 1761, no alternative was left but to sally forth in the attempt to cut a way through the besiegers. Both sides fought with desperate courage and for a long time the issue hung in the balance, but the death of the young heir to the throne of the peshwa dismayed the Marathas and many of them snatched at the opportunity to desert the field rather than

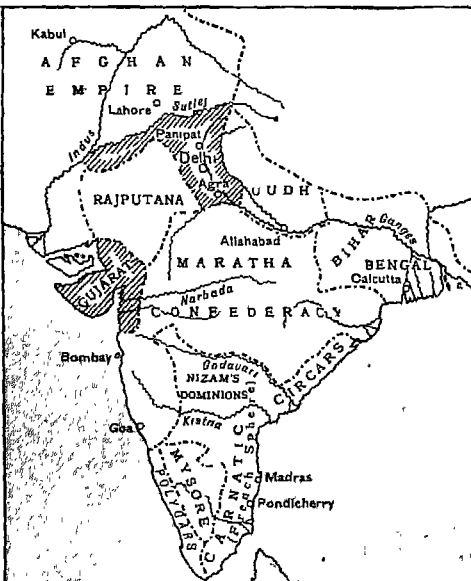
continue a struggle which might have ended in their victory. At the moment when the issue seemed dubious Ahmad brought up his reserve of picked Afghan cavalry and infantry, and this proved the turning point in the struggle. The Marathas were overwhelmed. It was said that 40,000 of them remained prisoners in Ahmad's hands and that he put them all to the sword. Panipat put an end to the Maratha chance of becoming supreme in India.

Before the battle the emperor Shah Alum had fled to Allahabad where he remained an exile with a humble court for eleven years. He amused his exile by rendering into verse some philosophical apophthegms that revealed his sense of his misfortunes and the stoicism with which he endured them. They showed at least that the literary habit had not entirely departed from Babar's descendants. In the interval Ahmad had exhausted his own strength, and although he continued to raid India it was on a much smaller scale than at first. Before his death in 1773 the Marathas, or, to be more correct, Mahdaji

Scindia, had found himself sufficiently strong to set Shah Alum again on the throne of his ancestors, and to proclaim his intention to defend him against all comers; and that declaration was made good for more than thirty years. One personal calamity befell Shah Alum within that period. Taken prisoner by a rebellious Rohilla chief named Ghulam Kadir in 1788 he was deprived of his sight. Scindia's troops arrived too late to save the emperor from this injury, but not to punish the miscreant. Ghulam Kadir was put to death.

A new chapter opened in 1803. Lord Lake having overthrown Scindia's forces at Laswari entered Delhi and was received by the aged emperor, a pathetic figure with his sightless orbs, in the Audience Chamber of the vast palace. To him the victorious general gave the pledge that henceforth the emperor and his descendants should be safe under British protection. They were safe against everyone save themselves. In a weak and misguided moment Mohammed Bahadur Shah, the grandson of the amiable and unfortunate Shah Alum, allowed himself to be made the tool of the mutineers of Delhi and Meerut in 1857. His assumption of independence lasted for but a few short months, ending with the formal deposition which brought the famous Mogul dynasty to its end three hundred years after Humayun had recovered and made sure the authority first established by his father in India. (See further in Chapter 166.)

Notwithstanding the reservations which have been made, the Mogul conquest of India was a marvellous achievement, and for the first 150 years their rule constituted a brilliant epoch of splendour and power, unsurpassed in any other kingdom of the world. It would probably have endured longer if Aurangzib had been more moderate in his designs and if he had fixed his southern frontier on the Narbada. But he was seized with the desire to extend his empire over the whole of the peninsula, and thus to establish for the first time in recorded history the unity of India. In form he succeeded,



THE MUGUL EMPIRE IN DECAY

Disintegration of the Mogul Empire followed the death of Aurangzib. Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad broke away; the Marathas and Rajputs conquered Central India; Persians and Afghans overran the rest; and in 1751 only Delhi, Agra and Gujarat were in Mogul hands.

for there was not a state or a province that did not admit his sovereignty, and long after his time, and even while the dynasty itself was in decay, the custom of seeking investiture from Delhi was observed by all the rulers, great and small, who were not too proud or too independent to rank themselves as feudatories of the Empire. The Moguls then were the first to give reason for regarding India as a single state, instead of a congeries of petty states distinguished from each other by differences of race, religion and customs that seemed to render any union between them impossible. That was the distinguishing feat of the Mogul dynasty in India, and it interests the British more particularly because they are the inheritors in the same task.

But apart from this accidental inheritance in the maintenance and strengthening of India's unity there is no resemblance or common ground between the Mogul and British systems. They had their bright periods, but the brightness was always tarnished by deeds at which humanity shudders. The greatest of their rulers in periods of debauch or moods of insanity showed himself to be little better than a brute. Restrained by no sentiments of natural affection for their own kith and kin, how could they have any feeling towards the millions of silent uncomplaining Hindu subjects who were regarded as mere beasts of burden so long as they contributed to the revenue, and as criminals to be decimated when they failed? Their only use in the eyes of the

ruler and his courtiers was to provide them with the means of gratifying their passions and their pleasures. Lest it may be thought that this statement is overdrawn the opinion of an English visitor to the Mogul's court in the concluding years of the reign of Aurangzib may be quoted:

They are the most cowardly, loose, despicable Government in the World, indeed not fit to be called a Government, having neither laws morality, honesty nor religion, nor any method of doing anything but cheating those they can and squeezing all in their power, and at that they are very dextrous and are not the least ashamed of the most palpable cheats or basest action imaginable if found out in it. No one minister speaks well of another, but are very open and free in their language, calling one another Rogues without this ever being resented. As the Ministers do not spare one another so neither do the common people the Ministers, nor even the Emperor, of whom they openly tell such stories that common modesty or respect would keep in silence. The Emperor is feared in deed because with the breath of his mouth he can make the greatest man a beggar. They are all his slaves but yet they presume so far upon his age and newfound lenity as to talk very vilifyingly of him.

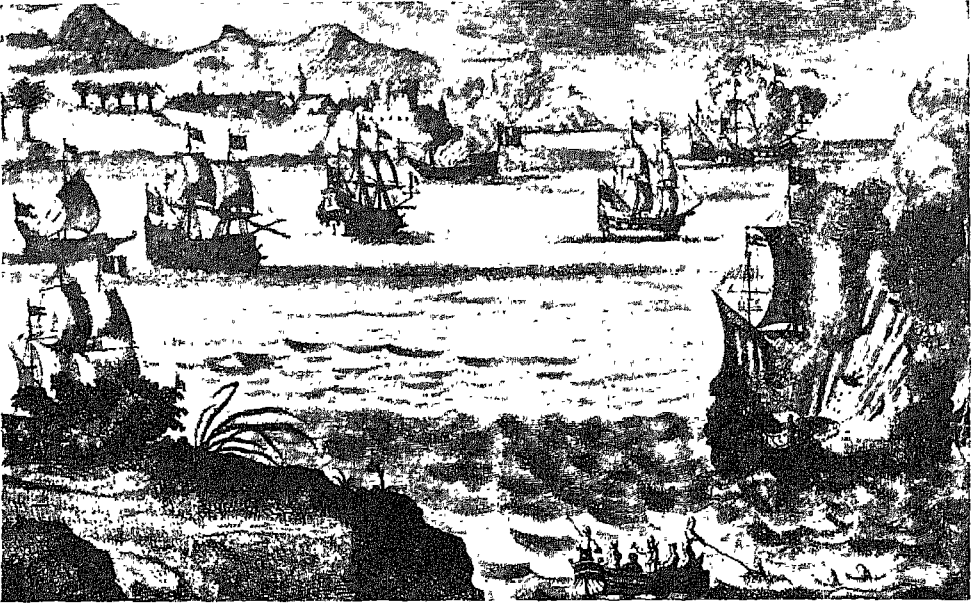
The natural and inevitable penalty for that system came when the Moguls were chastised by their own kinsmen at Delhi and Panipat, and only found temporary and nominal security as the pageants of the Maratha Scindia. For half a century this fading dynasty enjoyed much of the pomp if none of the power of its ancestry. When the end came amid the storm clouds of the Mutiny the pomp followed the power.



TWO OF THE LAST MOGULS

Top: Shah Alum (1728-1806), had a troubled reign until taken under British protection in 1803. His grandson Bahadur Shah, last Mogul emperor (bottom), was deposed after the Mutiny in 1857.

From Hendley, *Rulers of India*. Griggs.



The pirate ships of Morgan, that bloodthirsty Welsh buccaneer, are here seen defeating the Spanish fleet off Maracaibo in 1669. The town, on the Venezuelan mainland, was then held to ransom and sacked, the marauders dividing the loot of gold plate, jewels and silver. Part of the treasure hoard which was discovered under San José Church, Panamá, probably came from Maracaibo.

From Esquemelin, 'Buccaneers of America'



Captain Bartholomew Roberts (1682-1722), the famous Welsh pirate, appears here with two of his ships, the Royal Fortune and the Ranger, on the Guinea Coast, where he conducted a burning and pillaging expedition in 1721. Roberts was unique among pirates for his abstention from liquor, and he strove hard to put down drinking among his men. The amount of damage achieved by this corsair was tremendous, and he is said to have captured over 400 vessels.

SHIPS IN WHICH FIERCE PIRATES RAIDED THE RICH TOWNS OF THE WEST

From Johnson, 'General History of the Pirates' (ed. A. L. Hayward), Routledge & Co.

BUCCANEER AND PIRATE: A PHASE OF SEA HISTORY

Violent Outburst in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Centuries of the ancient Sea Spirit of Adventure

By E. KEBLE CHATTERTON

Author of *The Romance of Piracy*, etc

FEW of us are so little responsive as not to be thrilled at the mere mention of pirates and pirate ships: immediately we begin to conjure up in our imagination highly-coloured dramas of the sea, full of those exciting adventures wherein might is always right and the principal actors are lawless desperadoes.

But this wild sea roving in different seas and in diverse centuries represents something more than mere emotional value; it forms a most interesting chapter in the world's history, but also it is an expression of a certain human attitude which has been responsible for great and unsuspected sequels. When we think of the famous buccaneers belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we are considering rather a particular phase of a persistent tendency than some separate and isolated activity.

Basically and historically piracy is the active seeking of fortune by individual ships afloat; not an organized co-operative undertaking as with fleets of war, nor an arrangement with merchants to carry commerce. Originally, too, it was a profession rather than a crime, a venturesome speculation with all the potentialities of uncertainty. Thus, if we go back to the days of classical Mediterranean sea-faring, the Greek word 'peirân' which meant, literally, 'to attempt,' developed a secondary meaning 'to try one's fortune in thieving on sea.' Hence 'peirates' in Greek, and 'pirata' in Latin, signified a rover who was willing to take violent chances afloat. In this manner the name of 'myoparo' was given to a light and extremely mobile vessel which was employed chiefly by pirates. When one strange craft pursuing its avocation across that middle sea met

and hailed another with the question 'Are you a pirate or a trader?' it was neither meant nor regarded as a taunt.

It is as impossible to explain why some men throughout the ages of the world have preferred to be pirates as it is to give an adequate reason for choosing any career afloat instead of the security ashore. A man either has this instinctive bias, or he has not; but this adventuresome attitude has been the foundation of sea power and therefore of colonisation and imperial expansion. In certain periods piracy certainly became systematised and was conducted on a grand scale, as by the Moslem corsairs. During Elizabethan times many nominally legal adventures at sea were scarcely more lawful than the undertakings of Captains Kidd and 'Black-beard' Teach in later days. Privateering during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which

How Piracy led to expansion

formed such a marked feature of the Anglo-French and Anglo-American wars, afforded a fine outlet for those who wanted sea adventure combined with financial profit. If this roving was restricted to those vessels of private ownership which were furnished by the government with a commission known as 'letters of marque,' it was not far removed from plain piracy, and the Declaration of Paris in 1856 put so effective a stoppage to it that it was not revived even during the Great War. The sea spirit of adventure, the longing 'to attempt,' is still far from dead; but it manifests itself nowadays in such projects as Polar expeditions and long voyages in small ships.

It is a notable instance of the democratic influence of the sea that just as in Eliza-

bethan times sons from the best English families set forth on scarcely accredited undertakings to capture Spanish treasure ships, so in early classical days the summons of the sea attracted the most patrician no less than the most plebeian devotees. From about 580 B.C. until the time of the Roman Conquest the Aeolian Isles were practically a commonwealth of Greek corsairs. The Ionians and Lycians were notorious for their piracy; the Aegean Sea, Pontus and Adriatic were operational areas where the light swift-darting 'myoparones' and 'hemiolia' with other craft chased the big-bellied merchant vessels. The pirate-admiral, or 'archipeirates,' of efficiently marshalled and tactically competent oar-driven craft was no mere bandit, but a powerful fellow whom both Corinth and Athens feared.

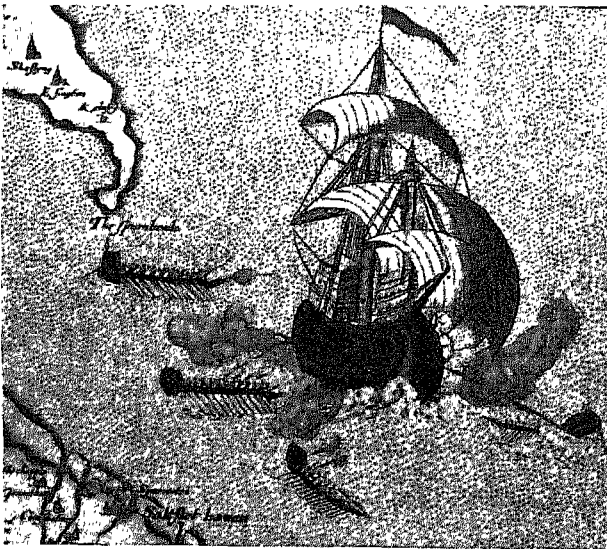
Similarly the Etruscan corsairs were a source of keen anxiety to the Sicilian Greeks, as the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands were a terror farther westward. It was at the opposite end of the Mediterranean during that period preceding the subversion of the Roman commonwealth by Julius Caesar that the Cilicians, aided by their neighbours from Syria, Pamphylia

and Cyprus, became pirates of such power that it was impossible for trading ships to leave port; the Mediterranean from east to west was, in fact, controlled by the corsairs, who could put forth a fleet of a thousand craft. This condition of affairs became so serious that Rome was compelled to send against them a powerful fleet which crushed the evil for the time being (see page 1777).

If we regard history not as a number of disconnected events but as a continuity of human effort subjected to innumerable influences, it becomes of no little interest when we observe that so long as Rome maintained a powerful navy piracy disappeared; but whenever she neglected her sea service the corsairs became active, the corn supply from Egypt was stopped, overseas trade became impossible and numerous Roman citizens of distinction were captured. Throughout the whole story of piracy it is only by law and order, by the triumph of right through properly constituted channels, that these 'enemies of the human race,' as Cicero called them, were finally to be overcome.

But before law must come food; it is difficult to convince a starving seaman that he must not steal. After the Roman occupation of Britain had ceased, and the 'classis Britannica' was no longer in existence as a defence, Britain's shores became open to pillage and plunder by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Later on, piracy in the English Channel became even a special privilege. The men of the Cinque Ports were allowed to plunder French, Spanish, Genoese, Venetian—any kind of vessels that passed along the coast, always excepting English craft. The result was that by the time of Henry III the Channel was about as dangerous as the Mediterranean had been.

Similarly in the North Sea merchant ships with their



PIRATES IN THE NORTH SEA

This drawing of a pirate ship off the mouth of the Humber is taken from a map of England in Saxton and Ryther's Atlas of England and Wales, 1579. Such illustrations frequently adorned maps of this period when pirates sailed in every sea where merchant ships might be assailed.

British Museum

cargoes of wool and wine, or Yarmouth vessels with their catches of fish, were the prey of pillaging pirates who swooped down and took everything. These activities were confined to no nation, and such was the dislocation of trade that from time to time kings of England were of necessity forced to make treaties with other rulers. In the year 1403 the chancellor of England, for instance, demanded 'full restitution and recompense' from the master-general of Prussia for the 'sundry piracies and molestations offered of late

Royal protection upon the sea.' Henry IV **against Pirates** wrote to the latter admitting that 'as well our as your marchants . . . have, by occasion of pirates, roving up and downe the sea' sustained grievous loss. There are few vessels so ill matched against raiders as fishermen using their nets. And just as during those memorable years 1914-18 the Admiralty had to send armed vessels to protect the steam trawlers and drifters working off the east coasts of England and Scotland, so as far back as the year 1295 Edward I had to send vessels to protect the ships netting the herring.

But there was as yet no naval force, no organized state sea power sufficiently strong to back up admonitions against robbery afloat. The pirate, by his very nature and calling, by his familiarity with grave risks of wind, wave and fighting, is the last man to be overawed by laws and ordinances. The merchants might go on complaining, but in a very real and special sense the freedom of the seas belonged as yet to the roving pirate. Thus, in the sixteenth century matters were proportionately just as bad as in the Middle Ages; it was only from the following century, when France and England began to own a real navy and thus impose their interpretation of international law and order at sea, that the first real step was taken to eradicate a long-standing evil. From then begins the exercising of a duty for the protection of merchant shipping in areas many hundred miles away from home; and even if this procedure was for a while neither continuous nor effective, yet the policing of waters rendered

dangerous by pirates has been regarded to this day as the work of the great naval powers. The most obvious instance is the presence of British, French and American warships in certain Chinese regions.

At the time of Henry VIII piracy in the Narrow Seas was still all-absorbing. On both sides of the English Channel this maritime industry, as veritably it had become, was beyond all control, and now the Scots had developed considerable ability in such remunerative work. Henry wrote to Francis I that complaints had been made by English merchants that their ships had been pirated by Frenchmen who pretended to be Scots, for which redress was unobtainable in France. In 1531 the annoyance was so serious that commissioners were appointed to make inquiries round the coasts, and Viscount Lisle, vice-admiral of England, was one of those directed to see into the matter. But still the nuisance went on, even although some culprits were captured and beheaded: it would be difficult to say which countrymen were the worst.

Thus in 1533, one October day, some English pirates captured a Biscayan ship off the coast of Ireland.

Four years later a couple of pirate ships manned by **Piracy in the Narrow Seas** seamen of Brittany played havoc as they lay in wait for English, Irish and Welsh craft on their way to St. James's Fair at Bristol. But similar pirates from Normandy, Spain and the Low Countries brought matters to such a crisis that Henry sent his vice-admiral, Sir John Dudley, with a small fleet to cruise between the Downs and St. Michael's Mount, between Ushant and the Scillies, and also off Lundy, in order to succour English ships and arrest foreigners who under the pretence of trading were mere sea-robbers. This precaution was only partially successful, and in 1564 we find Elizabeth ordering Sir Peter Carew to fit out an expedition and clear the seas of pirates who haunted the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall.

But during this latter part of the sixteenth century a fresh impetus was given to this reckless adventuring; an extraordinary glamour had come over the sea which now attracted men who hitherto

had been accustomed only to the land. Spain and Portugal had indicated that the path across the ocean was the way to wealth. England was still financially poor, and her trade in bad condition. Spain was rich through colonial enterprise, and therefore her shipping became an irresistible magnet for west of England mariners. Over and over again Philip demanded of Elizabeth that the nuisance should be ended, requesting that in no case should a convicted English pirate be pardoned, and that the queen's officers in west of England ports should not allow these marauders either to take stores aboard or even frequent the harbours.

By now piracy had become what smuggling was transformed into a couple of centuries later: it was an important industry conducted on the Narrow Seas, just as privateering was to become a profession pursued over the high seas, and in both cases there were financial backers. Financing the Channel pirates were landed proprietors not merely in the west, but in the east. By the year 1563, for example, the mayor of Dover, in association with some of the port's leading citizens, had already captured six hundred prizes from the French, and sixty-one Spanish ships, as well as other craft. When a few months later a hardened old Devonshire sea-dog named Robert Hitchins was arrested in the Channel Isles and afterwards executed at low-water mark near St. Martin's Point, Guernsey, where his body was left in chains as a warning, it was found that he had been a pirate all his life; just as some are brought up to the fishing industry.

Now the value of this persistent roving was this: it encouraged seafaring at a time when mariners were extremely few and most people had an utter dread of anything to do with shipping. It kept alive the spirit of adventure which could be trained for the service of the state, and two instances serve to show how in the time of national emergency the pirate could instantly change from being an enemy to become a most valuable aid. When in 1572 there was the probability of war, Elizabeth issued a proclamation pardoning all piracies hitherto committed by any

mariners who should now put their ships into her naval service. Nor must we forget that it was an English pirate named Fleming who at his own personal risk and out of sheer patriotism was the first to bring tidings of the Armada's immediate approach. It was John Smith, the great Elizabethan adventurer and founder of the English colony, Virginia, who wrote that 'Fleming was as expert and as much sought for' as any other pirates of the queen's reign, 'yet such a friend to his country, that discovering the Spanish Armado, he voluntarily came to Plymouth, yielded himself freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the Spaniards' coming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly that he had his pardon and a good reward.'

Pirate brings
news of Armada

Just before this historic event the seas off Britain's coasts, as Yorke complained to Lord Burghley in August, 1579, had never been so full of pirates; but, in the words of that knowledgeable John Smith, 'as in all lands where there are many people, there are some thieves, so in all seas much frequented, there are some pirates.' And in spite of all such risks yet 'it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge.' Now, as fishermen and Channel pirates transferred to ocean work and became crews carrying English merchandise down the Bay of Biscay and up the Mediterranean to the Levant, whence they brought home fruits and other goods, they were to suffer grievous experience at the hands of a totally different class of pirates.

These sea wolves of the south, these corsairs of Barbary, have a pedigree and a history which come into closest touch with some of the greatest events of history. After the downfall of the Roman Empire the Mediterranean was the happy hunting-ground for sea rovers and professional pirates, so that when Venice became a great commercial state she was forced to send her merchant vessels across to Acre in convoys escorted by as many as thirty or forty naval galleys. By the eighth century of the Christian era the extension

of the Moslem Empire, however, had become so considerable that Arab dominion included not only the Levant, Egypt, and the whole North African coast from the Nile to the Atlantic, but Spain, and even southern France. We know these Arab invaders to have been not merely mighty warriors but great architects, clever scientists and extremely able mathematicians: in fact, they were, immediately preceding the Elizabethan times, the most skilled of all in the science and art of navigation. They have left to us the Arabic word 'admiral' as a reminder of their maritime attainment.

After the conquest of Granada in 1492, however, the Spaniards drove the Moslems

finally out of Europe across the Gibraltar Strait into Morocco, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 the North African Moslems, cruel by nature but especially angered against all Christianity, became a consistent terror by sea to the Spanish, French, Genoese, Venetian and English shipping. This was the grand period of these Moorish pirates with their manageable craft, their immense resources, great daring, perfect seamanship and well-protected shore bases. But long after that date these Barbary corsairs continued to harass Christian traders with the utmost boldness and enterprise. So powerful did they continue that it required the efforts of all the great maritime European powers right down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century before their piratical might could be broken. And we may perhaps deduce from modern events that if the navies of civilization were removed to-day, the Moorish pirates would to-morrow resume their attacks against Mediterranean shipping.

Especially notorious were their activities under the leadership first of Uruj (Horuk), known as Barbarossa because of his red beard, and then, after he was slain by the troops of Charles V, of Barbarossa's brother, Khair ed-Din, who carried on the work with even greater ambition and more scientific detail. From a mere corsair colony Algiers became a pirate kingdom with vast numbers of men, of slaves who

had once been crews of Christian traders, with dockyards and foundries and fleets of ships, some of them typical Mediterranean galleys and others three-masted north European freighters captured and taken inside the protective mole to be refitted before setting out to rob other vessels. For generations and centuries it became both the duty and the difficult problem of the European powers to eradicate the nests of these wasps. Thus, although in the presence of Charles V the greatest Christian admiral of the time, Andrea Doria, routed the greatest admiral of the Moslems and liberated as many as 20,000 Christian slaves from Tunis, yet the looting from Algiers went on, to the great loss of English, Spanish, French, Dutch and Italian ships, as well as men.

Khair ed-Din, perhaps the most consummate and the cruellest pirate of history, died at Constantinople in 1548, but the tradition was well carried on by his successors. The names of Dragut and Ali Basha sent a shudder through every honest ship's company, and it was especially heart-breaking to English merchants building up a trade with the Levant that ships and cargoes should fall into the hands of these Algerine galleys. The aid of their sovereign Elizabeth was therefore invoked; but the English navy was not yet strong enough to make itself felt, so she endeavoured by means of diplomacy to obtain release of ships and prevent similar occurrences being repeated. Such vessels had been captured as the *Jesus of London*, the *Judith of London*, the *Swallow of London* and the *Elizabeth Stokes of London*, bound for Patrasso and worth about 30,000 florins. The *Nicolas of London*, the *Salomon of Plymouth*, with a load of salt and thirty-six men, the *Elizabeth of Guernsey*, the *Maria Martin* and many another good ship had all gone.

In the seventeenth century northern Europe took a more determined step. In 1617 France sent a fleet of fifty ships against the Barbary corsairs. Three years later the English navy of James I performed its first and last active service when with six royal ships and a dozen

merchantmen it set forth on a punitive expedition during October against the pirates of Algiers. But this undertaking was carried out chiefly as a concession to keep peace with Spain. It achieved little good; the whole affair was muddled, and the fleet returned to England in the following June. Indeed, so enterprising and bold were these Algerines that they thought nothing of cruising up the Atlantic to the western approaches of the English Channel, landing at the landlocked south Irish port of Baltimore and carrying off men, women and children.

In the year 1655, however, Cromwell's great admiral Blake was sent on an expedition against Tunis, and this initiative shows that at last England, at least, was resolved to make her ideas of maritime regularity respected; the day had gone when shipping should be endangered while on its lawful occasions. Tunis was a plague-spot, and the austere Puritan commander-in-chief was to perform a duty owed to Christendom; 'these barbarous provocations,' Blake wrote, 'did so far work upon our spirits that we judged it necessary for the honour of the fleet, our nation, and religion, seeing they would not deal

with us as friends, to make them feel us as enemies.' But Tunis was also invulnerable, and its pirates both intractable and insolent. So Blake entered the neighbouring harbour of Porto Farina, anchored his ships, attacked and, employing his ships' boats, set on fire nine of the enemies' vessels, and then retreated.

Many other expeditions followed, but these individual successes had no cumulative effect, for galleys could easily be rebuilt, slave labour was plentifully abundant, and there was no lack of crews. **Expeditions against Algiers** There were even many renegades who from love of adventure and lust of wealth denied their religion and nationality to become Moslem corsairs. Ten years after Blake's visit, Sir Thomas Allen was sent with a squadron to Algiers and was able to obtain release of all the English captives there held; but in 1671 Sir Edward Spragge had to go out against the Algerines, who unrigged their ships, and collected all the yards, topmasts and spars, which they lashed together by cables and buoyed by means of casks to make a boom defence; Allen's force, however, was able to cut the boom, the enemy's shipping was burnt, hundreds of his soldiers killed, the castles and town badly damaged, and the victory for the time being was complete. Yet again, four years later, Sir John Narborough had to be sent out with a squadron to chastise the Tripolitan pirates who still annoyed Mediterranean shipping. France, also, was compelled in 1681 to send Duquesne with a fleet up that very Aegean where in classical days pirates had roamed and prospered. French trade was now so endangered that Duquesne proceeded to the island of Chios (or Scio), which had been in Turkish hands since the year 1566. The French succeeded in destroying eight galleys, subjected the corsairs to terms, and three years later were able to get back all French captives, as well as 500,000 crowns for the prizes which had been taken.

In 1682 Duquesne also bombarded Algiers, the headquarters of piracy, but it still continued to be a blot on civilization until the nineteenth century. Partial successes had been achieved against it



ADMIRAL BLAKE

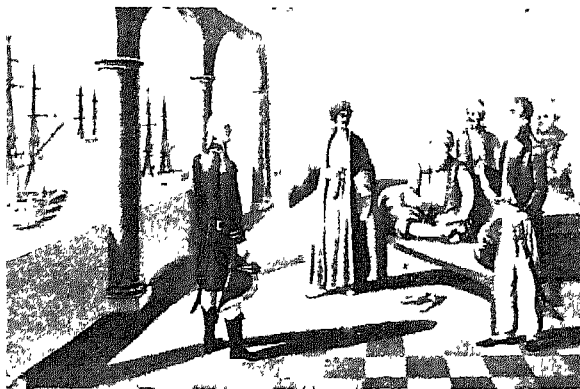
This portrait shows Robert Blake (1599-1657), commander of the Commonwealth fleet, as a young man. In 1655 he led an expedition against the notorious Mediterranean pirates and inflicted severe damage on Tunis.

Wadham College, Oxford

repeatedly, but it was difficult to capture; the Dey had five hundred guns mounted there, and the Algerine pirates still had their efficient frigates and corvettes. But some British subjects had been imprisoned; so in August, 1816, a fleet under Admiral Lord Exmouth, consisting of British line-of-battle ships, Dutch frigates and corvettes, bombarded Algiers, silenced the batteries, and boarded and set on fire the Algerine frigates, with the result that the following morning the Dey surrendered and twelve hundred Christians were released from cruel slavery.

Finally, just fourteen years later, Algiers was captured by the French, and that which was once a terror to shipping is now a winter resort.

We pass next to that other grand scale development of adventuring which is for ever associated with the Caribbean and has given to fiction so much skull-and-crossbones romance with its highly coloured background. The Moorish pirates of the North African coast and the buccaneers of the West Indies had three important characteristics in common, in addition to the seafaring sense. In both there was a fundamental hatred of Spain, both were men of desperate and adventurous nature, and greed of gain was their common incentive. Just as the corsairs of Barbary attracted 'hard-case' tough individuals from England, the Low Countries, Italy, the Levant, so English, Welsh, French and Dutch seamen from many a port formed a company whose history included daring projects marred by debauchery, robbery and crude brutality. If we forget the emotional thrill of these risky endeavours, and omit the warm hues of sea, sky and vesture, we get down to a particular phase of stark lawlessness. The characters, for the most part, stand out as unprincipled rogues, certainly not devoid of animal courage, yet lacking even that honesty supposed to be common among thieves.



ALGERIAN PIRATES MEET THEIR MATCH

In 1816 Lord Exmouth, with a British fleet, visited Algiers and is here seen in conference with the pirate Dey, after which the city was bombarded and the corsair fleet destroyed. Algiers had long been the chief seat of the Barbary pirates who were the terror of all civilized nations.

From Salomé, 'Expedition to Algiers'

And yet at the beginning the buccaneers were merely settlers on Hispaniola, the island which to-day we know as Haiti and Santo Domingo. The whole trouble began when they were driven from their habitations by the Spaniards, against whom an implacable hatred was developed. Angered men became desperate, desperadoes became criminals, the shores of Spanish America were infested, shipping was intercepted and terrorised, so that for generations these international filibusters were an uncontrollable menace. Santo Domingo was full of wild cattle, and the first buccaneers were cattle hunters. The name was derived from 'boucan,' a hurdle made of sticks on which strips of beef newly salted were smoked by the West Indians. The meat thus roasted was called 'viande boucannée,' and thus the French hunters of Santo Domingo who prepared their meat after this Indian fashion became known as 'boucaniers,' a name which was eventually to suggest nothing higher than a sea highwayman.

In origin buccaneering, by which we signify this illicit West Indian warfare, was really the old story of repercussion following on oppression. Spain, with its corrupt methods of governing and inconsiderate policy, created that spirit of resentment which is peculiar to those who have suffered by having once been ejected. The expelled nurse their grievance, return in force, their numbers are increased by

dissolute adventurers out for loot ; initial success engenders extravagant aspirations, and so the sinking of commercial ships in considerable numbers, the capture and sacking of cities, outrage, murder and blackmail follow until the climax of crime is reached and disunion breaks up the essential strength of this piratical activity. But we must remember that if the age was characteristically lawless, the English mind was still dazzled by that wonderful new light which the explorers and sea fighters during Elizabeth's reign had so suddenly revealed. As men in our own era have been known to

Effect of the new discoveries lose all sense of proportion when the goldfields of California or Australia were discovered, so the opening up of tremendous West Indian possibilities had an effect on their ancestors that was most unsettling. And in proportion as the once great and terrible power of Spain began to wane, so this new spirit with its youthful impatience, its impulsive desire to take matters into its own hands, increased and refused to be disciplined.

Few causes are so prolific of disorder as the existence of harsh and unconscionable regulations ; and to this reaction may be traced some of the greatest reforms in the world's history. By right of discovery Spain claimed in the western world the whole of America with the exception of the Brazils, which she conceded to the Portuguese. Sanctioned by the pope in a Bull of Donation, this priority and exclusiveness continued for a time unchallenged. By their enterprise in the seafaring arts the Spaniards had become the aristocrats of the ocean, and they regarded as mere pirates, rovers and thieves all other nations who should burst into the seas over which Spain had a claim. At a time when the possibilities of ocean faring were beginning to be appreciated by the English, French and the Hollanders, nothing angered mariners and adventurers so much as this southern arrogance.

On the other hand it was Columbus who, setting out from Spain, had been the first European to discover the Bahamas, Cuba, Haiti, Dominica. Not unnaturally, therefore, the West Indies for many years remained the undisturbed and undisputed

sphere of Spanish colonisation. The first settlement from the old country was in the island of Haiti, as it was called by the natives, or Hispaniola as Columbus had named it ; and the historical connexion between this fifteenth-century discovery and the story of the buccaneers is thus of special interest. But the genius for governing never belonged to the Spanish. Their treatment of the natives was cruel, murderous and treacherous ; these Haitians, together with slaves imported from Africa in the year 1505 and onwards, were compelled to suffer an existence of tyranny. Since that period the island has had an eventful history. As we shall presently see, French and English buccaneers in the early seventeenth century took possession of the western portion, where the French established a colony in 1640. In 1794 the negroes were at last freed, and Napoleon's effort in the early nineteenth century to re-enslave them brought about massacres, and finally the creation of a negro republic. And then, in 1844, came that cleavage in this 'island of misrule,' when the eastern portion became the Republic of San Domingo in revolt against the western, Haiti. The Spaniards having exterminated nearly all the original natives, the population to-day is almost entirely of African descent.

Now from early days of colonisation on this island of Hispaniola, or 'New Spain,' the occupation became less that of husbandry than the **Cattle hunting** pasturing of cattle, which **on Hispaniola** began to multiply, so that cattle-hunting was an established business. But quite early during the sixteenth century, in spite of all Spanish regulations to the contrary, there arrived on the Caribbean ships first from England and subsequently from France and the Low Countries ; for no laws could contain the new sea enthusiasm of northern Europe. These visits caused both uneasiness and opposition ; the French were especially numerous, with the English a good second. The mariners of all three countries needed meat, however, so they landed on the more secluded western portion of Hispaniola which was farthest away from actual Spanish control at the capital, hunted the cattle as they

wished and took the meat off to the ships. These three nationalities of seamen, prompted by their love of adventure and desire for gain, were united in their hatred of the exclusive Spaniard, and called themselves the 'Brethren of the Coast.'

No amount of whitewashing can conceal the fact that these pirates or sea rovers had set forth to practise hostility and to pay no respect to any law of Spain. And now not merely did they hunt Hispaniola's cattle, but they founded in that western area factories and establishments for curing the meat after the fashion of the West Indian. The north European ships, interlopers though they were, now came and began a trade in smoked meat, tallow and hides. Thus the history of the buccaneer begins, though the word did not come into use until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The French buccaneers, it may be noticed, were sometimes called 'flibustiers.' According to Professor Skeat this word was first used in 1587, and was a French corruption of 'vrijbouter,' or freebooter, which the Dutch rovers employed.

In 1586 Drake with his fleet had visited the West Indies and called at the islands of St. Christopher, Dominica and Hispaniola.

At the latter he sacked and burnt the capital, Santo Domingo, and in the end 'weari-
 Drake in the West Indies

we were content to accept of five and twenty thousand Ducats of five shillings six pence the peece, for the ransom of the rest of the towne.' And it is to be noted that this incident, and two years later the breaking of Spanish naval might in the Armada defeat, created so great confidence and encouragement among those inclined to embark on individual undertakings that English and French interlopers came to the western and north-western portion of Hispaniola in such numbers as to cause the Spaniards to abandon those two sections. We see, then, that before the sixteenth century was ended English and French sea rovers had acquired land and established themselves in the meat trade in Columbus's colony.

The English attitude towards discovery at this period is well illustrated by the

contemporary state papers. About the year 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert was granted by his sovereign a patent 'to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people,' though actually Gilbert assigned this patent to others. There is, however, a letter dated August, 1585, written to Sir Philip Sidney by Ralph Lane, who refers to the infinite riches of Hispaniola, after having dwelt on the island for five weeks; and if we would understand these pirates,

sea rovers, buccaneers, National spirit freebooters — call them fosters adventure what you will—we must

never forget that national and individual self-expression, daring speculation and commercial adventure were at the back of this colonial and anti-Spanish enterprise. The seventeenth century was to see the Elizabethan seafaring of the previous century put to more practical use, and the result was a greater increase of wealth. While the East India Companies were opening up to northern Europe the riches of the Orient, the treasures of the West Indies were being revealed by corporate no less than private effort. Spanish restriction could no longer be tolerated by expanding nations.

If we select the year 1613, we find that in the West Indies the Spaniards owned, besides Hispaniola, the islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica. Most of the other islands were either desolate or inhabited by a few savages. In 1625 the island of St. Christopher in the Lesser Antilles was colonised by English and French, and after this were established a number of West Indian companies just as there was a Muscovy Company or an East India Company. It is true that in 1629 two Dutch ships came into Falmouth with twenty-four English planters from St. Christopher, which had now been taken by a strong Spanish fleet of thirty-four vessels. But such set-backs did not have a permanent ill effect.

The possibilities of Barbados and the Bahamas appealed to certain Englishmen who had money to invest. Thus the former had been granted to the earl of Carlisle, who had sent over from England great numbers of persons 'towards

the planting of it.' Similarly there was a company of 'Adventurers to the Islands of Providence and Henrietta' to which various investors contributed £500 each, Lords Warwick and Brooke providing the arms and ammunition and each adventurer undertaking to obtain as many willing men and boys as possible for the company's service, who were to leave England by January 10, 1631. The labourers were to have half the profits of the land cultivated, and the adventurers the other half. Such colonies were under the rule of a governor; they had the power to make laws and erect forts and had full jurisdiction, with power of life and death.

How did this further colonial enterprise affect the buccaneers? The answer

is that it aided them both directly and indirectly. **Colonising aids the buccaneers** Already by 1638 cattle from Hispaniola were being

sent to Providence, and there were more ships calling at the buccaneer settlement for trade. But especially encouraging was this increasing north European aggression against the long-continued Spanish exclusiveness. Indeed, so greatly did the cattle business prosper that the pioneers took possession of that small island Tortuga which lies just off the north-west of Hispaniola. Twenty miles long and seven miles wide, it had the advantage of being separated from the Spanish island by the sea. Further, it had an excellent anchorage.

On the settlement of Tortuga by the English and French hunter-mariners, some became purely 'boucaniers' or hunters; others applied themselves solely to cultivation of the soil and were known as 'habitants'; but there was a third class who could not resist the call of the sea, and must go adventuring to get their living by private warfare against shipping that plied in these waters. Finally all three sections became amphibians, hunting, planting and roving in turns. Gradually more and more trading vessels called at Tortuga, and some remained to throw in their lot with this Anglo-French community. Thus, if most of the hunting ashore was done by the Frenchmen and most of the roving at sea by the English, yet

there was no dividing line and the word buccaneer now becomes synonymous with filibustering and the cattle business.

Buccaneering attracted men of good family from both France and England to swell this unique corporation with its violent independence. Some on coming out relinquished their honoured names, others had left Europe because having got heavily into debt they longed for an opportunity by which to obtain wealth quickly. The buccaneer pirates were able to keep up a private and unofficial sea warfare against the Spanish West Indian ships in addition to the more peaceful pursuits ashore. But this is to be noted: that when England became openly at war with Spain, English buccaneers were given letters of marque and became licensed privateers. In like manner the Dutch buccaneers called themselves 'zee roovers' or wandering sea robbers not ashamed of their calling.

But the buccaneers on Tortuga had lulled themselves into a false sense of security and neglected to fortify their base, with the result that in 1638 when many of the men and ships

were at sea, the Spaniards came across, captured it, and massacred many of those who

had remained ashore. There survived of these, however, sufficient to form with other English, French and Dutch mariners from all parts a nucleus of three hundred who still kept on their amphibious life of hunting and cruising. But there is not always law among the lawless, and three years later the Frenchmen by cunning became sole possessors of Tortuga and forced the Englishmen to leave. French garrisons were introduced into western Hispaniola and the English were elbowed out of there also.

Thus it was that the English buccaneers, having been actually expelled from all chance of cattle hunting, became sea adventurers solely. Instead of hunting cattle part of the time they hunted Spanish ships all the time. The West Indian harbours of the various islands which now were being colonised by English planters became convenient anchorages for these wanderers. Not merely did the colonial governors at this time not interfere

with the buccaneers, but they were glad to see their ships arrive. For they brought in their Spanish prizes and sold here the valued commodities. They enabled the colonists to have a larger variety of goods than otherwise would have been possible, and, in short, it was all good for trade. Moreover, the governor himself who granted commissions, or licence, to seize

Spanish ships was himself entitled to a tenth of all the prize money thus brought in. And there was this loophole in case England should be at peace with Spain: the privateer could always get commissions from the Portuguese against Spain, and the governor could always clear his own conduct by disavowing the buccaneer and all his works.

At home both the English and French governments realized that in this hardy, tough, well-trained body of seamen, plucky, desperate and determined fighters, there was always ready and on the spot a force that would prove invaluable the moment another war with Spain should break out. Off and on, either hostilities or unsettled relations and the rumours of war with that country troubled the West Indies right down to the Battle of Trafalgar. Thus, the West Indian buccaneer received such encouragement that he increased in strength and daring. On the principle that unity is even stronger still, the French and English buccaneers in 1654 had joined together and carried out an expedition against a portion of that territory which we know to-day as Nicaragua. Ascending a river of the Mosquito shore, they plundered New Segovia and achieved considerable success. This expedition was indicative of the more ambitious schemes which marked the middle era of buccaneering when it became something far greater than petty piracy. It was the first of their great land undertakings.

In that same year, however, the Spaniards took Tortuga from the French, and during December preparations in England were being made for an expedition under General Venables to Hispaniola. Although this was not successful, it did lead to the capture of Jamaica. Dis-

covered by Columbus in 1494, colonised by the Spaniards from 1509, Jamaica from the time it became English in 1655 was to play an important part in the progress of buccaneering. One finds among the state papers a warrant dated November 13, 1655, for letters of reprisal, in other words permission to go buccaneering, being granted to Peter Butler, David Sellick and William Alford, because their ship *Mayflower* had been seized in Hispaniola's capital Santo Domingo. In the taking of Jamaica great assistance was afforded by the buccaneers, and not unnaturally the subsequent opening up of more creeks, bays and ports was a still further encouragement to these freebooters. A few years later the French again became possessors of Tortuga, and there rose to notoriety such intrepid cruising men as Pierre of Dieppe, who with only a boat's crew captured a Spanish galleon; or Montbars the Exterminator, whose drastic methods are sufficiently indicated by his name; or



A FRENCH BUCCANEER

The career of François l'Olonois, a seventeenth-century pirate chief, was characterised by barbarous cruelty. He plundered and ravaged the towns of the Gulf of Venezuela and on one occasion massacred the whole crew of a Spanish vessel.

From Esquemelin, 'Buccaneers of America'

François l'Olonois, another brutal savage who massacred heartlessly. But the Portuguese buccaneer Bartolomeo Portu-guez and certain of the English rovers were not less ill famed.

The reaction to the Spanish oppression became scarcely less impudently inde-pendent. The buccaneers in their unre-strained freedom and untamed power even did not hesitate to demand and receive tribute from Spanish towns both on the

American continent
Mansfield & Morgan and on the West
in the West Indies Indian islands. But

there must now be introduced on to the Caribbean the two most outstanding names at this period. Captain Edward Mansfield, or Mansveldt, by reason of his daring and popularity, had been chosen by the buccaneers as their admiral, and he conceived the idea of founding an independent buccaneer estab-lishment on the island of St. Catherine, which measures about four and a quarter miles long by two and a half wide. To-day, lying off the east coast of Nicaragua, it is known as Old Providence Island to distinguish it from New Providence Island in the Bahamas. With him as his second in command sailed Henry Morgan, who had been born in Glamorganshire about the year 1635, and had gone out to Jamaica, where he eventually joined with the buccaneers and took part in some successful cruises. A powerful expedition consisting of 15 vessels and 500 men set out from Jamaica in the year 1664. Old Providence Island was captured from the Spaniards and a Frenchman left in com-mand. Mansfield now came back north-east, though the governor of Jamaica showed him discouragement, and the pirate admiral sailed for Tortuga, but died on the voyage. Later on the Spaniards were able to retake Old Providence.

The official attitude towards these rovers must now be examined. In June, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford arrived in Jamaica to become governor. And among the instructions issued to him before leaving England the friendship of Colonel Edward Morgan was particularly recom-mended to him. This Colonel Morgan was lieutenant-governor and uncle of Henry Morgan the buccaneer. At the date of

Modyford's appointment the buccaneering question had become a somewhat difficult matter to statesmen. The pirates were scouring the Caribbean in such strength that if they were to be suppressed it would require about half a dozen English men-of-war to deal with them. They were desperate and numerous, and 'had no other element but the sea, nor trade but privateering.' There were at least a dozen such ships with 1,500 men; it was time for them to be taken in hand, but if mere 'naked orders' were issued forbidding them the Jamaican ports, it would force them to prey on English no less than on Spanish shipping. They could always be sure of obtaining letters of marque and hospitable reception at the New Nether-lands and Tortuga, and therefore a drastic and resolute policy was likely to do more harm than good.

Modyford from his reports clearly shows that he deemed it best to treat the buc-caneers with prudence and moderation, and endeavour if possible to reduce them from wild seafaring to peaceful planting. Yet he used them as con-venient when their force
Modyford and
was required. Thus he **the Buccaneers**
gave them commissions to

capture Tobago from the Dutch, which they did with a couple of frigates and eighty men. Modyford reported home that on April 15, 1665, Colonel Morgan had sailed against the Dutch with ten ships well manned, consisting chiefly of reformed privateers and 'scarce a planter amongst them, being resolute fellows,' in order to fall upon the Dutch fleet trading at St. Christopher. The remuneration was 'at the old rate of no purchase no pay,' and so there would be no cost to the king other than powder and 'mortar pieces.'

This casual employment of sea robbers, however, was like the use of a boomerang, which recoiled to do injury. A dangerous weapon had been employed which must inevitably do its own particular kind of harm. If in 1664 there were a score of privateers of all nations using the protec-tion of Jamaican anchorages, they were now debarred from taking in their prizes. Thus Tortuga again became a stronghold for these rogues where English, French, and Dutch worked together, causing great

havoc off the Jamaican coast. The French governor of Tortuga was even issuing commissions to the English privateers, who were far too satisfied with this profitable kind of life to be lured into planting. They had been too warmly encouraged, the business had gone on unrestrainedly too long. About fourteen pirates were captured, tried at Jamaica, and condemned to death under a statute of Henry VIII, but Modyford pardoned some of them and declared publicly that he would be pleased to grant commissions against the Dutch. The result was that before nightfall two such licences were actually taken out.

Among those who had crossed the Atlantic from England to these new colonies were some of the most riotous persons and the worst convict gaol-birds that ever broke a country's laws. These, together with the ruffianly mariners who had been profitably pirating or privateering for twenty years and more, were not the least likely to be touched by Modyford's vacillating policy.

Vicious type of colonist And Lord Willoughby, the governor of Barbados, writing home to Lord Arlington

at the beginning of 1666 gives an account of the Jamaican privateers taking Eustatia and Saba near St. Christopher. These men possessed commissions from Modyford, and he goes on to say that some of the privateers had rambled as far as Tobago, that they were masters of the situation, reckoning what they captured to be their own and themselves free princes to do as they pleased. They refused to listen to anything that had to do with the king's authority.

Among the buccaneers were such Englishmen as Sir Thomas Whetstone, Captains Davis, Buckell, Colstree and others with their frigates and brigantines. Modyford referred to them as 'the best men in the world.' And yet this same Jamaican governor in 1666 reported that two or three hundred privateers when off the Cuban coast, having been denied by the Spaniards provisions in return for money, had the temerity to march forty-two miles inland to the town of Santo Spirito, whence they carried off prisoners to their ships until the Spaniards sent down as ransom 300 'fat beeves.' This was done

without orders from Modyford but under Portuguese commissions. There was also the possibility that these fellows hovering off the coast might lead the enemy into Jamaica, which had little fortification.

It was because of this risk of losing their loyalty that the Council of Jamaica was compelled to concede the issuing of letters of marque to the buccaneers against the Spaniards. Further considerations were that by this means the island was kept replenished with corn, butter, cocoa and other goods; that it was the only means of keeping the buccaneers of Hispaniola, Tortuga and

Cuba from becoming **Letters of marque against Spain** openly hostile, infesting

the Jamaican plantations and doing endless harm. This concession of licences further seemed to be the best protection against Spain, and the only means likely to force the Spaniards into allowing free trade. The experiment of calling in commissions, of hanging some privateers, had failed; for the Spanish still captured English ships and either murdered their crews or sent them into Spain as prisoners.

Thus the cruising buccaneers, holding the key to the situation, had won the day. From now on till about the year 1685 they continued to increase in power, in aspirations and daring. Henry Morgan succeeded his former admiral, Mansfield, and set the pace in plundering, cruelty and consummate cleverness. It is unnecessary here to detail his assault on Puerto del Principe in Cuba, or on Porto Bello, or the sacking of Maracaibo on the north coast of the South American continent. At last, in July 1670, England and Spain made a treaty to terminate these buccaneering hostilities and establish West Indian peace. Article IV of the treaty provided that the two kings 'shall call in all commissions, letters of marque, and reprisals, and punish all offenders, obliging them to make reparation.'

Nothing could be more characteristic of buccaneering independence than the fact that this agreement between two great powers should be so completely ignored that before the end of the year Morgan assembled a gigantic fleet of 37 ships, took it across the Caribbean and then, after

further travel by canoe and foot, sighted the Pacific, fought the Spaniards, whose use of wild bulls proved ineffective, and on January 27 captured Panamá with all its riches. But from this expedition two important series of events followed. First, the sight of the Pacific Ocean with its shipping fired the minds of certain men among the buccaneers. It suggested new possibilities and an entirely new sphere so that they wanted to seek their fortunes on the South Seas. Morgan, however, forestalled this and on February 24 started the march back. All the same this new idea which now for the first time inspired the buccaneers' mind never died, as we shall see presently.



HENRY MORGAN: PRINCE OF BUCCANEERS

A portrait attributed to Rembrandt-van-Rijn shows Henry Morgan (1615-1688), the unprincipled but intrepid buccaneer who led many triumphant expeditions against the Spanish possessions in the New World. He was knighted by Charles II for his capture of Panamá

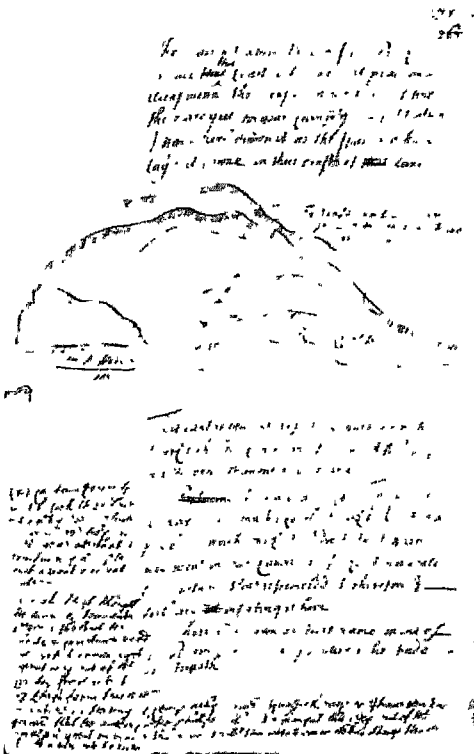
Permission of Fred C. Williams, Cardiff

The second series of happenings was brought about by the fact that after the Panamá expedition the men were not satisfied with their share of booty; there is little doubt that Morgan had enriched himself at the expense of his men, although it had been agreed that his own share was to be a one-hundredth part. The double-dealing rascal withdrew from his command and managed to slip away and reach Jamaica. Modyford was recalled and returned to England as a prisoner to answer for his having supported and encouraged buccaneering, and the following year Morgan also was sent home. But Charles II took a great liking to the ex-buccaneer, and in 1674 sent him back

to Jamaica with the rank of colonel and the title of knighthood, to be lieutenant-governor; and for fourteen years until his death he remained on this island as a rich man enjoying social prestige. Only in such a decadent era as the late seventeenth century could such an appointment have been made.

To succeed Modyford, Lord John Vaughan had come out as the new governor of Jamaica and he was charged with the duty of enforcing the Anglo-Spanish anti-buccaneering treaty. He was also to proclaim a general pardon to all piratical offenders provided that they now became planters. But the buccaneer was not so to be caught; he saw in the announcement a trap whereby the governor should be able to collect his 'tenths' of prizes; so, keeping well clear of Jamaican territory, the pirates for the most part allied themselves to the French filibusters and used Tortuga as their base.

The Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1670, being now enforced, freed the Jamaican ports of these sea rovers. The adventurous waters of the Caribbean, the Bahama Sea and the



DAMPIER'S LOG BOOK

On his various voyages Dampier, who twice circumnavigated the globe, took notes of all that interested him, especially objects of natural history. This page from his log book indicates the form in which his impressions were recorded.

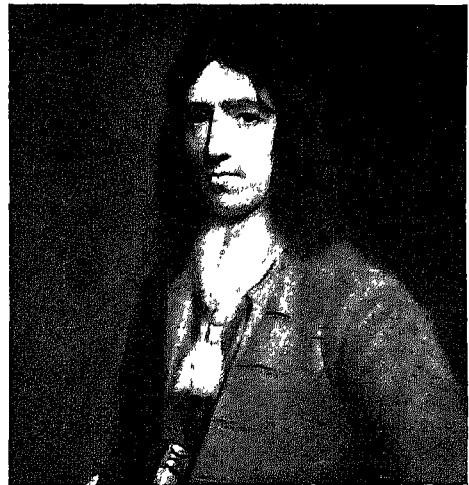
British Museum, Sloane MS. 3236

Gulf of Mexico, however, had an extraordinary attraction for north European sailors bent on adventure and gain, and acquiring hydrographical as well as geographical knowledge which was to be for the good of nations ultimately. In the life of such a man as William Dampier, who at various stages in his career was seaman, buccaneer, pirate, circumnavigator and captain in the Royal Navy, we have an instance of the new influence which was coming over seafaring and gave a status to the freebooter. The period of Dampier's life between 1652 and 1715 covers the time when buccaneering rose to its climax of prosperity as an organized force and then descended to disorderly piracy. If an ambitious young man in those days felt called to the sailor's life and wanted to see the world, the oppor-

tunities outside the Navy and the East India Company were few.

Dampier's case was typical. The son of a Yeovil farmer, he went to sea during his early days both in men-of-war and East Indiamen. He then went out to Jamaica as assistant manager of a plantation, but of course soon wearied of anything so dull. He next became a hand in a coasting trader and thus got in touch with the rough, lawless log-wood cutters of the Bay of Campeachy, in the Gulf of Mexico. These men varied their log-cutting with buccaneering and piracy, and in 1679 Dampier joined them on a buccaneering expedition which was plainly and simply anti-Spanish piracy, for they possessed no commissions.

But that Panamá expedition of Morgan in 1671 was really the beginning of a new epoch; for the sight of the Southern Sea had fired the buccaneering imagination and suggested the possibility of winning far greater rewards than in the West Indies without having to observe the formality of even pretending to get letters of marque. Morgan in his new capacity of colonial governor was showing great severity towards the followers of his former profession. The South Sea was an almost untouched area with its Spanish



BUCCANEERING EXPLORER

Desire for fortune and adventure lured William Dampier (1652-1715) to a buccaneering life. In 1699 he commanded expeditions to Australia and New Guinea, thus typifying the spirit of discovery engendered by privateering.

National Portrait Gallery, London

shipping, its South American colonies and unvisited islands. So the Isthmus of Panamá was now seized by these adventurers the buccaneers, who proceeded to plunder Spanish ships and coastal towns as far south as San Juan Fernandez Island which Defoe was to make famous when in 1719 he published his *Robinson Crusoe*.

The South Sea period of the buccaneers under such leaders as John Coxon, Richard Sawkins, John Cook, Bartholomew Sharp, John Watling, Edward Davis, Eaton, Swan and the like was an era of great enterprise, tremendous power and undoubted daring. Neither Spanish squadrons (which they attacked and defeated) nor even the wild Cape Horn (which they doubled) had any terrors for them. From California down to Chile the inhabitants of the coast-line dreaded these sea wanderers. There were inevitably quarrels among them and violent disunions, so that some men followed one leader, and some remained loyal to others. In this way the oceans of the world became the hunting ground of various practical cruisers. Thus, for instance, in 1683 Dampier threw in his lot with John Cook who, starting from the western side of Hispaniola, cruised up to Virginia accompanied also by Edward Davis, Lionel

Wafer and Ambrose Cowley. Afterwards they sailed across the Atlantic to Cape Verde and Sierra Leone, down south round Cape Horn, up the Pacific to Juan Fernandez, visiting the Galapagos, and so to New Spain, where Cook died and was succeeded by Davis. The latter was joined by other rovers, especially English and French, who had arrived across the Isthmus of Darien from the Caribbean, so that the buccaneers in the Bay of Panamá numbered over a thousand.

But the prosperity of these corsairs was well on the wane. In addition to the determined Jamaican policy, and to the mutinies and jealousies of the leaders and men, **Government action chiefly arising out of the against the pirates partition of spoil or the loss of prize wealth through gambling at dice, there was the firm action of the government at home.** When Sharp and a few others reached England in 1682 they were tried for piracy on the South Sea, and only by insufficiency of evidence evaded the gallows. In Jamaica certain notorious offenders were hanged. Excessive drunkenness and brutal debauchery impaired the efficiency of some cruises, though there were leaders who maintained stern discipline in their ships. Such captains as Sawkins and Watling, for instance, would never allow dice to be used on Sundays. Davis, who was lucky enough to reach the West Indies in 1688, after voyaging round the Horn and up the South Sea, just at the time when a proclamation had been issued offering the king's pardon to all buccaneers who quitted their roving, was not the ferocious pirate of fiction but a real commander of ships and men.

A further cause of the decline in buccaneering was the war which broke out between France and England in 1689; and certainly by 1690 the southern ocean was free of the buccaneer terror. During the Anglo-French war English buccaneers aided their own countrymen, and French filibusters received from France positions of high rank both afloat and ashore. James II, in consequence of complaints made by Spain, was compelled to issue a proclamation 'for the more effectual reducing and suppressing of pirates and privateers



THE PENALTY OF PIRACY

Government action in the late seventeenth century reduced the popularity of buccaneering when arrest and condemnation were frequently the freebooter's lot. This picture shows a pirate being hanged at Execution Dock, Wapping.

From 'The Malefactors' Register,' 1779

in America.' After the Anglo-French hostilities were for the time ended by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, there was fresh prohibition and rovers were encouraged to leave piracy for planting. The times and prospects having now changed, many former buccaneers became planters and settled down as good colonial citizens, while others could not let the sea alone and became crews of merchantmen; but there were yet others who were too old sea-dogs to learn new habits. Bereft of West Indian bases where they could land and riot, they robbed ships of all nations and in all seas. Thus the original character had quite changed. Hatred of Spain in her exclusive protectionist policy, her arrogance, her cruelty and treachery had been the original motive of this sea roving; and the freedom of the buccaneers had been allowed to increase partly because England was too busy with civil wars, and partly because the French and Spaniards were mutually so jealous; now England, France and Spain were equally determined to discountenance the resulting lawlessness.

It must not be thought that even this international effort could clear West Indian waters instantly. There were men

such as Edward Teach (nicknamed 'Blackbeard,' as the **The career of Teach** Moslem Uruj had been called 'Redbeard') who remained piratical to the last. Teach had come out from Bristol to Jamaica, and shipped as one of the crew in an English privateer during the French war, which lasted from 1702 to 1713. But when the Peace of Utrecht was signed in the latter year, he refused to recognize it, turned pirate and was joined by great numbers of seamen. Ashore he was the swaggering, terrorising, self-indulgent braggart; afloat he was the fierce, untamable pirate of the story books, brave as a lion, brutal as a savage. He was killed in 1718, but not before the coasts of the West Indies, Carolina and Virginia had been reduced to a state of great trepidation.

But the thin legal line which divides piracy from privateering was scarcely visible to many captains and crews of desperate and adventurous spirit; and all those long-drawn-out wars of the eighteenth century, when letters of

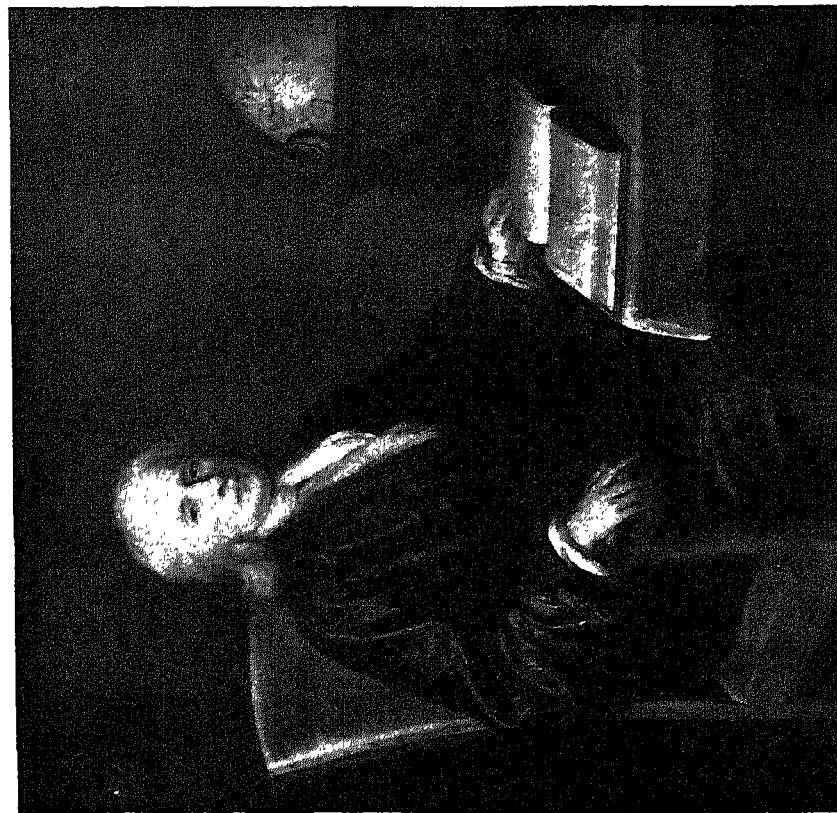


TERROR OF THE SPANISH MAIN

The ruffianly pirate Edward Teach was the dread of the West Indies and the Spanish Main until he was shot by Lieutenant Maynard in 1718. To enhance his grim appearance he was wont to stick lighted slow-matches in his black beard.

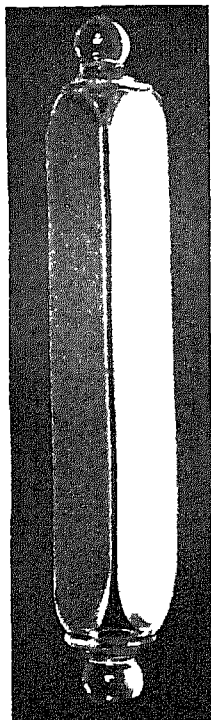
From Johnson, 'General History of the Pirates' (Routledge)

marque were freely granted, could not fail to encourage attacks on shipping by the same men in time of peace. It is well that privateering is now illegal, yet it is easy to understand that eighteenth-century pirates like Captain Avery and others who made Madagascar a convenient base and the Indian Ocean a happy roving ground for capturing East Indiamen; or Captain Bartholomew Roberts, who cruised in West Indian waters, off the east coast of America to Newfoundland, off the Guinea coast, and across the Atlantic; or that notorious American, Charles Gibbs, who was not born till 1794 and carried piracy well into the nineteenth century: found the call of the sea and the means of rapid personal enrichment too powerful to be resisted. But since those days the outlet for the roving spirit has found too many legitimate channels, and the might of the navies belonging to civilized powers is ever at hand to suppress piracy wherever and whenever it may reassert itself.



ENGLAND'S GREATEST MATHEMATICIAN AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHER : SIR ISAAC NEWTON

Isaac Newton was born at Woolsthorpe Manor (right) near Grantham in Lincolnshire, December 25, 1642, and it was in the garden of that house that in 1666 he began the inquiries which resulted in his establishing the law of gravitation. About the same time he carried out his investigations into the phenomena of colour, using a triangular glass prism, finally proving that white light is composite and suggesting a theory of the atomic structure of light which somewhat resembles that now being developed. The portrait is from the painting by J. Vanderbank in the National Portrait Gallery, London



Family evidence makes it probable that this prism—presented to the British Museum by a collateral descendant of Sir Isaac Newton—was the one used in his study of the composition of light. It resembles the prism in Roubiliac's statue of Newton at Trinity College, Cambridge.



THE BIRTH OF MODERN SCIENCE

Discoveries in the Realm of Physics that followed
the intellectual Emancipation of the Renaissance

By W. C. D. DAMPIER-WHETHAM F.R.S.

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of *The Recent Development of Physical Science*, etc.

TO understand the profound change in mental atmosphere which the development of modern science produced for the educated part of mankind, it is necessary to realize the intellectual environment of the Middle Ages, and its transformation in the realms of literature, art and philosophy brought about by the Renaissance. The outlines of medieval thought can be found in earlier chapters of this work—see especially Chapter 117; here we need but recall them in briefest summary.

The Dark Ages of barbarism and ignorance which followed the breakdown of the Roman Empire were slowly lightened in the west of Europe by the recovery of some parts of the learning of the Ancient World. Save for a few exceptions like the biology of Aristotle and the mechanics of Archimedes, the chief interest of Greek sages lay in the general questions of metaphysical philosophy, and not in the specialised problems of science. Even Aristotle based his physics on philosophic ideas such as the natural stations of heavy and light substances, and the incorruptibility of the heavenly bodies. And the medieval schoolmen applied their acute intellects to the incorporation of Aristotle's philosophy and science together with Christian dogma into a closely reasoned synthesis, in which divine revelation, metaphysical doctrines and natural knowledge, social structure and the rules of conduct held their appointed places.

This scholastic philosophy reached its highest level in the thirteenth century, and its greatest exponent in S. Thomas Aquinas. Parts of it were inconsistent with the hard facts of nature, which experimental science once launched would soon encounter, and the final fate of those

parts lay hidden in the crude experiments of Roger Bacon (c. 1210–c. 1292). But the time was not yet ripe, and the unhappy friar made no mark on the scholastic synthesis, which, backed by Church and State, seemed established for ever in heaven and earth.

Far more effective were the philosophic attacks of Dun Scotus (1265–1308) and William of Ockham (d. 1347), who questioned the possibility of demonstrating by reason **Rationalism** of the dogmas of the Church. **the Schoolmen** These dogmas must be accepted on faith, while the subjects of philosophy must be examined by reason. This gave scope for philosophy to press its inquiries unhampered by theological presuppositions, and freedom for religion to develop its emotional and mystical elements. Nevertheless the rationalistic system of the schoolmen prepared the way for science in that it created a strong belief in the essential intelligibility of things, a belief necessary for science—which, at all events, must make the assumption that like causes produce like effects, the assumption of the uniformity of nature.

The outpouring of intellectual activity which we call the Renaissance was formed by many confluent streams. Among them was the wider outlook produced by the great voyages of discovery, which increased geographical knowledge and showed that the earth was a sphere by the convincing proof of circumnavigation.

The gold and silver of Mexico and Peru not only enriched directly the countries which conquered them, but produced also a great indirect effect as they circulated in other lands. An increase in trade and industry is often checked by the failure

of currency and credit to expand with it. This deficiency in purchasing power leads to a fall in the general price level, which, unlike the real cheapening due to an improvement in methods of production, depresses industry, and thus checks civilization and learning with it. The treasures of the New World more than supplied the needed currency, in their abundance the value of gold and silver fell, that is, nominal prices rose. Trade therefore flourished, and industry developed in new directions. This led to an acceleration in the growth of wealth in Europe, and gave leisure and the opportunity for study to some who were able to profit by it.

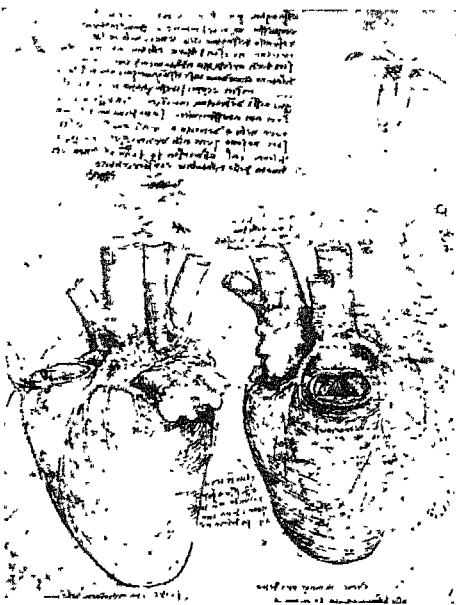
The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 drove Greeks and Greek manuscripts to the West, and helped in the revival of learning. The recovery of the texts of classical authors led to an appreciation of literature for its own sake, to an admiration for the scattered remains of ancient art, and an understanding of the nature of the problems of Greek philosophy. In particular the works of Aristotle became more fully and more

generally known, and served as an encyclopedia of philosophy and science. The first task then was to recover old and forgotten knowledge, the second to realize that more remained to be learnt, that nature was better worth studying than even Aristotle.

The Renaissance and the Reformation were in reality an appeal to the facts of history from the complete and closed circle of scholastic rationalism, and thus they also played their part in preparing the ground for science. When at a later date observation and experiment became the accepted method of advance, men again appealed to the tribunal of hard fact—in this case of nature. In contradistinction to the rationalism of the schoolmen, which deduced what the facts should be from a given story of creation and a given system of philosophy, the man of science, working by the light of a crude and naïve realism, took appearances at their face value, and concerned himself with *how* things happened and not *why*.

Modern science began its uninterrupted advance in the seventeenth century with the work of Galileo, who had fully learnt this necessary limitation in his experimental researches, but its germs are to be seen in our fragmentary knowledge of some of his predecessors. Especially in the manuscript note-books of that universal genius Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) are to be found forecasts of discoveries for which later men became famous (see page 3233). Though also a philosopher, Leonardo was primarily an engineer and an artist, and therefore he approached the problems of mechanics, optics, anatomy and physiology from the practical side and with a modern outlook.

Leonardo understood the impossibility of perpetual motion, the equivalent of the conservation of energy, and hence deduced the law of the lever, regarding it as the elementary machine from which other machines are derived. He recovered Archimedes' knowledge of the pressure of liquids: he began the study of their motion and the propagation of waves over their surfaces, and thus passed to the problem of waves in the air and the



LEONARDO AS ANATOMIST

Leonardo's note-books contain anatomically accurate in all details. Those in the heart illustrate the action of the blood and suggest consideration of the function of the valves.

Original at Windsor Castle, Edouard Rouveyre, Paris

phenomena of sound. In astronomy he conceived of a mighty machine conforming to definite laws—a remarkable advance over the prevalent Aristotelian ideas that the heavenly bodies are divine, essentially different from our world, needing an 'Unmoved Mover' to keep them in motion. He recognized that parts of

the earth have been laid down slowly through geological ages by deposits in water. He dissected human bodies, and made drawings accurate in all details, those of the heart suggesting a knowledge of the function of the valves; he described the action of the blood as it circulates and makes and re-makes the tissues of the body; he constructed a model of the optical parts of the eye, and showed how an image is formed on the retina. He dismissed scornfully the follies of alchemy, astrology and necromancy; for him nature is orderly, non-magical, subject to immutable necessity, to be investigated by observation and mathematical reasoning founded upon it. Had Leonardo completed and published his work, science might have started on its course a hundred years before it did.

The next figure to emerge clearly from the mists of the pre-scientific age is that of the Polish mathematician Nicolaus Kopperrnigk (1473-1543), who Latinised his name as Copernicus (see page 50). Copernicus was dissatisfied with the prevalent view that the Earth is the centre of the universe, and that the Sun and planets move round it in cycles and epicycles, a theory worked out in complicated detail by Hipparchus, improved and recorded by Ptolemy, and firmly embedded in the scholastic synthesis. Copernicus took the vague speculation of Pythagoras that the centre was the Sun (probably in ignorance of its more definite formulation by Aristarchus), and showed how much more simply it explained the phenomena of the sky than did the Ptolemaic system. Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici) approved an abstract of the work. At a later date, when the reactions of the Copernican system on the scholastic philosophy were more clearly seen, it met with ecclesiastical censure, only tardily removed. While the Earth was accepted as the

centre of the universe, it was easier to believe that man is the crown of creation. However that may be, mankind at large is essentially conservative in mind. Caution, and indeed opposition, in regard to such a revolutionary change in the celestial status of the Earth was but natural.

The heliocentric theory, thus revived by Copernicus after eighteen centuries of oblivion, needed the application of the telescope to demonstrate its power of co-ordinating the phenomena of the heavens. Moreover, it could not exhibit all its conquering simplicity while men believed with the ancients that motion must be maintained by the continual exertion of force; a new science of dynamics was needed. Both these great advances were made by one man.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), the descendant of a noble but impoverished family of Florence, while lecturing on mathematics at Pisa, began *The work* those epoch-making researches of Galileo which laid the foundation of modern physics and astronomy. Aristotle taught that things were naturally light or naturally heavy—light things tending upwards and heavy ones falling downwards, the faster the heavier they were.

The reasoning by which this conclusion was reached is a good illustration of the ideas in which infant science had to grow. Democritus, in his atomic philosophy, held that in a vacuum all bodies would fall at equal rates—rightly, indeed, but with no experimental facts to support his belief. Aristotle argues that this conclusion is incredible, and that therefore no vacuum can exist. With this he rejects all the allied concepts of the atomic theory. If all substances were composed of the same ultimate particles as Democritus thought, Aristotle says that they would all be heavy by nature. A large mass of air or fire would then be heavier than a small mass of earth or water, and the earth or water could not sink through air or fire as it is known to do. Aristotle, in common with his contemporaries, had not grasped the idea now known as density or specific gravity, which seems first to have been understood by Archimedes; it is the relative weight per unit volume that really determines rise or fall. Aristotle

concludes that the motion is due to an innate instinct leading everything to seek its natural resting place, the heavier body faster than the lighter.

This belief was incorporated in the orthodox philosophy of the medieval schoolmen, and was still firmly held when Galileo, by dropping bodies from the leaning tower of Pisa, showed the incredulous onlookers by the conclusive test of fact that, *except for the retarding effect of air*, all bodies fall at the same rate.

In 1592 Galileo became professor at Padua, and in 1609 he heard a rumour that a Dutchman had constructed a

telescope which magnified
Revelations of distant objects. Galileo,
the telescope from his knowledge of re-
fraction, immediately con-

structed a similar instrument (see page 51), and soon had made one good enough to magnify thirty diameters. At once discovery followed discovery. The surface of the Moon, instead of being perfectly smooth and unblemished, as held by philosophers, was seen to be covered with markings which gave all the indications of rugged mountains and desolate valleys. Innumerable stars hitherto invisible flashed into sight, solving the problem of the Milky Way. Jupiter was seen to be accompanied in its orbit by four satellites with measurable times of revolution—a more complex model of the Earth and its one satellite moving together round the Sun as taught by Copernicus.

But, if these discoveries were to his contemporaries Galileo's most striking achievement, his establishment of the fundamental principles of dynamics is perhaps an even more enduring title to fame. Continuing the work on falling bodies, he satisfied himself that a body running down an inclined plane acquired the same velocity as though it had fallen freely through the same vertical height. He was thus able to reduce the speed of falling bodies to measurable values, and to show experimentally that the velocity increased proportionately with the time, and the space traversed with the square of the time. He showed that a ball rolling down one plane would roll up another to an equal vertical height whatever the length of the plane. As the slope of the

second plane was reduced, the ball, in rising to the same height, rolled farther and farther horizontally.

Hence it followed that a body once set in motion would move straight forward indefinitely, till stopped by friction or deflected by some other force. This result had to be taken as a crude fact. Galileo and those who came after him offered no explanation of its mystery. But, accepting the fact, great consequences followed. No Unmoved Mover or mighty vortex was needed to carry forward the planets; all that indicated an unknown force was their perpetual deflection from a straight path as they circled round the Sun. The principle of inertia was established; the great problem of the physical universe was correctly formulated at last; and the man was at hand. In 1642, the year that Galileo died, Isaac Newton was born.

But before we trace the consequences of Galileo's work as it culminated in Newton's supreme achievement, other trains of thought must

be followed. The new Gilbert's work
method of experiment used on Magnetism
by Galileo was employed

also by William Gilbert of Colchester (1540–1603), fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge, and president of the College of Physicians, who founded the sciences of magnetism and electricity. In his book, *De Magnete*, Gilbert collected all that was known about magnetism, and added many fresh observations. He investigated the attraction between magnets, and showed that a magnetic needle when freely suspended not only set roughly north and south, as in the mariner's compass, but also dipped, in England, with its north pole downwards, through an angle depending on the latitude. He pointed out the importance of these results in navigation, and inferred from his experiments on the set of the magnetic needle that the earth itself must behave as a huge magnet, with its poles nearly but not quite coincident with the geographical poles. Gilbert also examined the forces developed when certain bodies, such as amber, are rubbed, and coined the word electricity from the Greek 'ēlektron,' amber. To measure these forces he used a light metallic needle

balanced on a point, and extended the number of bodies which gave the effect.

Gilbert went farther and speculated about the cause of magnetic and electric forces. Taking the idea of an aethereal, non-material substance from Greek philosophy, he imagined it to be emitted as an effluvium from the magnet or electrified substance, and by embracing neighbouring bodies to exert attraction on them. He extended this idea to gravity, and even, in a half mystical way, to explain the motions of the Sun and planets, each globe having a characteristic spirit within and around it, determining the orbits of the planets and the order of the cosmos.

Gilbert was court physician to Elizabeth and James I, and was awarded a pension by the queen to enable him to carry out his researches, which are mentioned as examples of the method of experiment by Bacon in the *Novum Organum*.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), lord chancellor of England, impressed by the failure of the scholastic philosophy to advance man's know-

Bacon and the Baconian method ledge of and power over nature, set himself to consider the theory of

this new method of experiment. He arrived at the view that, by recording all available facts, making all possible observations, performing all feasible experiments, and then by collecting and tabulating the results by rules which he himself very imperfectly laid down, the connexions between the phenomena would become manifest and general laws describing their relations would emerge.

It is easy to criticise this treatment. Advances in science are seldom made by the pure Baconian method; the number of phenomena and of the possible experiments is too great. At an early stage insight and imagination must come into play; a tentative hypothesis must be framed, its practical consequences deduced mathematically or by other logical reasoning, and compared with the facts by observation or experiment. If discrepancies appear, a new guess must be made, and so on till one is found that is in accordance with, or as we may say 'explains,' all known facts. The hypothesis may then be called a theory, which may serve to



PIONEER OF ELECTRICIANS

By his experiments William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth, made important contributions to the sciences of magnetism and electricity. His principal work, *De Magnete*, contains the theory that the Earth is a large magnet.

Engraving after the portrait by Harding

co-ordinate and simplify knowledge, till modified or superseded by one more suited to the enlarged vision of a later time.

It is probable that Bacon had little or no influence on those who were actually carrying on experimental science. Nevertheless, he did something to improve instructed thought about the scientific problems of his day. The world had listened to many philosophies, and had seen no corresponding record of facts wherewith to test them. Rightly, therefore, in Bacon's eyes, authenticated facts were the urgent need of the age. Bacon himself made no successful or striking experimental contribution to natural knowledge, and his theory and method of science were over-ambitious in range and inadequate in practice. Yet he was the first to consider the philosophy of inductive science and profoundly influenced the French Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century. In terms of conscious power and statesmanlike eloquence, he expressed ideas much in advance of his age. The doctrines of the schoolmen were both

outgrown and worn out. The world of philosophic thought was astir and ripe for a change, and Bacon pointed out what was roughly the right road to a sounder and wider knowledge of nature.

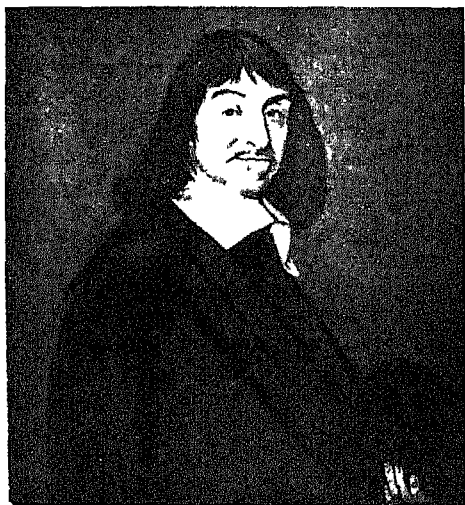
The writings of Francis Bacon lead us to the work of René Descartes (1596-1650), who forged new mathematical tools for physical science and also laid the foundations of modern critical philosophy. Descartes showed how much unverified assumption underlay the generally received philosophic ideas. He turned from the medieval accumulations of interwoven thought, built up from Greek philosophy and patristic doctrine, and tried to base a new philosophy on human consciousness and experience, ranging from the mental apprehension of God to observation and experiment in the physical world.

In mathematics he took the great step of applying the methods of algebra to the problems of geometry. Two straight lines are drawn at right angles to each other from a fixed point or origin. They may then be used as axes to specify the position of any point in their plane by stating the distance x of the point from one axis and its distance y from the other. The distances x and y are called the co-

ordinates of the point, and the different relations between x and y correspond to different lines or curves in the plane of the diagram. Thus, if y increases proportionately as x increases, that is if $y = x \times \text{a constant}$, we pass evenly over the diagram in a straight line. If $y = x^2 \times \text{a constant}$, we have a parabola, and so on. Such equations may be treated algebraically, and the results interpreted geometrically. In this way many physical problems, insoluble or very difficult before, were made possible for those who attacked them. Descartes' treatise on geometry was studied by Newton and had much influence on his youthful mind.

Descartes also made an attempt to apply the known principles of terrestrial mechanics to celestial phenomena. And here, in spite of his main philosophic position, he seems to have based his treatment on the Greek and scholastic idea of antithesis. He contrasted the world of matter with the world of spirits. Spirits are personal, discontinuous. Matter therefore must be impersonal, continuous, and its essence must be extension. The physical universe must be a closely packed, continuous plenum, with no empty spaces. In such a world motion can only occur in closed circuits; there is no vacuum into which a body can find room to pass. Hence Descartes concluded that the planets move at the centres of vortices, themselves carried in a greater whirlpool round the sun. As a bit of straw floating in an eddy on water is whirled to the centre of motion, so planets are drawn towards the Sun, and falling bodies towards the Earth.

This theory of vortices obtained much vogue before, and indeed after, the publication of Newton's work. It was a bold attempt to reduce the great problem of the sky to dynamics, and as such made its mark on the history of scientific thought. But Newton showed that the properties of Cartesian vortices were inconsistent with observation. For instance, the periodic times of different parts of a vortex are in the duplicate ratio of the distances from the centre, and, if the planets in their vortices are carried round in the Sun's vortex, this cannot be reconciled with



FOUNDER OF CARTESIANISM

René Descartes (1596-1650), mathematician and philosopher, settled in Holland in 1629 and lived there for twenty years. Shortly before leaving in 1649 for Sweden, where he died the next year, he sat to Franz Hals for this portrait.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

Kepler's third law, which describes the facts of planetary motion.

Another Frenchman, Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), better known as a theologian (see page 3867), founded the mathematical theory of probability, originating in games of chance, but of great importance in modern science and philosophy. He was also an experimentalist. By carrying a barometer, an instrument newly invented by Torricelli in 1643, up the Puy de Dôme, he showed that the mercury column fell as he ascended and the pressure of the atmosphere became less. The invention of the barometer and this verification of its theory constituted one of the most important advances in the science of hydrostatics since the days of Archimedes.

We must now return to the history of the subjects of mechanics and astronomy in the age which preceded the life of Newton. The motions of the planets had been observed,

Tycho Brahe and John Kepler served, measured and recorded by the Greeks, and described by Hipparchus and Ptolemy in terms of cycles and epicycles round the Earth (see pages 48 and 2081). Inspired by the ideas of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe of Copenhagen carried such observations and measurements to a higher degree of accuracy, and the accumulated results of his lifetime fell into the hands of his follower, John Kepler (1571-1630). Kepler subjected Brahe's results to laborious examination, and at last found that they could be described by three statements: (1) that the planets travel in paths that are ellipses with the Sun in one focus; (2) that the areas swept out by the radius vector in any orbit are proportional to the times; (3) that the squares of the periodic times are proportional to the cubes of the semi-axes major (or of the mean distances).

We have now sketched in outline the state of physical knowledge in which Isaac Newton (1642-1727) began his great work. It is said that while idly watching a falling apple at his home at Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire, when driven from Cambridge by the plague of 1666, he was led to speculate about the cause of the fall, and to wonder how far the apparent attraction of the Earth for the



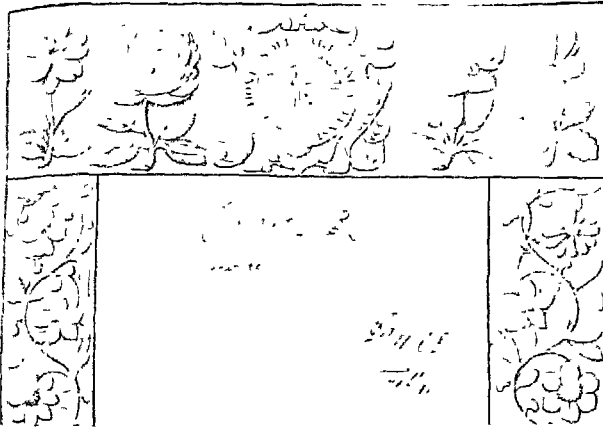
THEOLOGIAN AND SCIENTIST

World-famous as a Christian apologist and master of French prose, Blaise Pascal (1623-62) was also a remarkable mathematical genius. He contributed much to the study of atmospheric pressure, equilibrium of fluids, and probability.

Engraving by Edelinck; photo M. C. L.

apple would extend—whether indeed it would reach the Moon and explain that satellite's continuous fall towards the Earth away from a straight path. The idea of a force decreasing as the square of the distance increased seems already to have been in Newton's mind, and probably in other men's also, but there was one great difficulty in the way of gravitational theory, which Newton at all events appreciated. The sizes of the Moon and of the Earth are so small compared with the distance between them, that, roughly at all events, the whole of each body may be treated as concentrated in one place. But, as regards the apple, the Earth is gigantic and near, and the problem of calculating for the first time the joint attraction of all its parts at a point on its surface was one of great difficulty. It was probably for this reason that Newton put away his calculations.

But by 1684 the general question of gravitation was in the air. Several fellows of the Royal Society (founded by a charter of Charles II in 1662) had been discussing in particular whether a planet moving under gravity, as suggested by Kepler's third law, would describe an ellipse in



LANDMARK IN SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

The great age of scientific discovery in England opened with the foundation of the Royal Society by Charles II in 1662. His signature, with that of his brother James, is inscribed on this page of a book containing the signatures of the fellows.

Courtesy of the Royal Society

accordance with his first law. Halley, despairing of obtaining a solution from other people, went to visit Newton at Trinity College in Cambridge, and found that he had solved the problem five years before, though he had mislaid his notes. However, he wrote out a new solution for Halley, and sent it and 'much other matter' to him in London. Thus stimulated, Newton returned to the subject, and in 1685, overcoming the difficulties of the mathematical integration, he proved that a sphere of gravitating matter attracts bodies outside it as though all its mass were concentrated at its centre.

The successful demonstration of this remarkable theorem justified the simplification by which the Sun and planets were taken in calculations as massive points, and cleared the way for Newton's original investigation, by which he sought to connect astronomical forces with the Earth's pull on bodies falling to the ground. Using a new French measurement of the Earth, made in 1679, he returned to his old question of the apple and the Moon. The Earth could now be taken as having a centre of gravity at the centre of its form, and the verification of his surmise was simple. The distance of the Moon is 60 radii of the Earth, and the Moon falls towards the Earth away from a straight path by about 0.0044 feet in one

second. If the inverse square law were true, the same force should be $(60)^2$ or 3,600 times as intense on the surface of the Earth, and should cause a body to fall $3,600 \times 0.0044$, or about 16 feet in one second. This was in accordance with the observed acceleration of gravity. Thus Newton showed that the familiar fall of an apple or a stone to the ground and the majestic sweep of the Moon in her orbit are due to one and the same unknown cause.

His rationalisation of Kepler's laws extended the result to the planetary motions, and the whole known movements of the solar system could then be deduced from the one

assumption that each particle of matter in that system acted as though it attracted every other particle with a force proportional to the product of the masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. The heavenly bodies, to Aristotle divine, incorruptible and different in kind from our imperfect world, were thus brought into the range of man's inquiry, and were shown to work in one gigantic mechanism, in accordance with the dynamical principles established by the terrestrial experiments and inductions of Galileo and Newton. The publication in 1687 of Newton's *Principia*, the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, marks perhaps the greatest epoch in the history of science.

It will be seen that Newton returned to the sound method used by Galileo in the experimental part of his work. Newton took the recorded facts, used his unrivalled scientific insight to frame a theory in accordance with those facts, deduced mathematically all possible consequences of the theory, and again compared these consequences with observed or experimental phenomena.

In the *Principia*, Newton formed no hypothesis as to the cause of gravitation. That is not necessary for its mathematical

investigation. He confined such speculations to *Queries* in his book on *Optics*, and put them in the form of mere suggestions. But Newton's position was not understood by some of his contemporaries. Huygens and Leibniz, for example, objected that Newton's 'action at a distance' was unscientific because incomprehensible. They never clearly separated science and philosophy as Newton did. Even Descartes, as we have seen, based some of his physical views on philosophic doctrines, and the criticism of the Newtonian system by the Cartesians is vitiated by this weakness. Newton's science is primarily concerned with a mathematical co-ordination of the phenomena. Only as the whole of science is gradually built up can a little, faint light be thrown on the metaphysical problems of reality. That is in truth the end—perhaps an end which may never be reached—and not the beginning. Even a solution of the limited problem of the physical cause of gravitational attraction is not necessary for the mathematical astronomer. The inductive and descriptive law of mass and of inverse square is for him enough.

The accuracy of Newton's synthesis proved to be amazing. For more than 200 years it sufficed to explain all known facts in gravitational astronomy, and to predict phenomena afterwards observed. Not till mass was found to increase at the enormous velocities of radioactive particles, and thus became ambiguous, did trouble arise.

Nevertheless unexplained 'action at a distance' is unsatisfying to the human mind, and many attempts have been made to picture its mechanism by the impact of flights of ultra-mundane particles, or by transmitted strains in a universal aether. But when Einstein reduced matter and gravity to geometrical problems in a space-time continuum, these attempts were shown to be needless. The theory of gravitational force was then superseded by a wider and more accurate generalisation—a supersession which Newton himself was prepared to expect. For the intervening two

centuries the Newtonian formulation was more than enough to hold the field, and it still remains an approximation so accurate that the experimental resources of civilization must be exhausted to detect its divergence from nature.

Among Newton's other results only the most important may here be noted. He finished laying the foundations of dynamics so well begun by Galileo. He made Newton's work in Dynamics the fundamental distinction between inertia and gravity, mass and weight, and proved experimentally that they were proportional to each other. He also stated clearly the equivalence between action and reaction, with the deduction that the total momentum of a system cannot be changed by internal forces. In the *Principia* he incorporated a complete treatise on the dynamics of a particle.

Newton's greatest quality was his supreme power of applying mathematical reasoning to natural problems, and in using that power he much improved his mathematical tools. As early as 1666 he seems to have invented the infinitesimal calculus under the name of the method of fluxions, and used it for his own inquiries, though he was accustomed to throw the proofs when obtained into geometrical forms. Owing to a long delay in publication, a similar discovery was made by Leibniz, either quite independently or stimulated by a sight of some of Newton's manuscript papers, and, as Leibniz used a more convenient notation, his form of the calculus is now universally employed.

Again, Newton's researches in optics alone would have placed him in the front rank of men of science. In 1666 he 'procured a triangular glass prism to try the celebrated phenomena of colours,' and finally proved that white light was composite, made up of a number of colours, which could be separated by one prism and recombined by another. He described the colours of thin plates, and suggested in explanation a theory of light which, for long discarded, is now seen to bear a remarkable resemblance to quite recent ideas, for, to Newton, as to Planck and J. J. Thomson, 'the structure of light

anatomy, based not on what Galen taught, but on what he himself had seen in dissection and was prepared to demonstrate in the lecture room.

Thus, before the end of the sixteenth century, anatomy, first of the biological sciences, was freed from the trammels of ancient authority. Phys-

Physiology was slower to and **Embryology** escape. Michael Servetus, an Aragonese physician and theologian, discovered many of the facts of the circulation of the blood. But its actual mechanism and the function of the heart in maintaining the flow were only made clear when William Harvey (1578-1657) was led 'to give his mind to vivisections.' After studying at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and at Padua, Harvey became physician to James I and then to Charles I, who gave him all facilities and showed personal interest in his researches. Harvey retired to Oxford with the king, and was made warden of Merton. His book on the heart was published in 1628, and a second book, *De Generatione Animalium*, in 1651. This contains the most notable advance in embryology recorded since the time of Aristotle. Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood was completed by Malpighi in 1661, as soon as the application of the microscope made visible the structure and function of the capillary vessels connecting the arteries and the veins.

The treatment of disease by vegetable drugs led to an increase in the knowledge of plants cultivated, at first in the gardens of monastery and convent, and then in those maintained by societies of apothecaries. 'Herbals'—books containing descriptions of plants and their properties, medicinal and culinary—began to appear at the end of the sixteenth century, and to find their way to the shelves of public and private libraries.

The microscope led first to the study of the anatomy of plants, and later to correct ideas about the functions of the different plant organs. The fruit was soon recognized as developed from a female element, but it was not till the end of the seventeenth century that definite experimental proof was given by Camerarius (1665-1721) that the anthers were the

male organs, and that in their absence no fertilisation or seed formation was possible. On the sex organs of plants—Linnaeus (1707-1778), a Swedish botanist founded the first systematic classification of plants, a classification only superseded by the modern method of grouping plants according to their probable natural relations in the scheme of evolution.

A corresponding development in the knowledge of animals was stimulated by the information acquired by travellers and by the arrival of specimens in royal menageries. The close of the first stage in modern zoological science was marked by the publication by Buffon (1707-1788) of an encyclopedic *Natural History of Animals*. Here again the microscope when applied gave an insight first into intimate structure and then into the functions of the organs of animals, and showed the existence of vast numbers of minute living bodies, both animal and vegetable, previously unsuspected. In ancient and medieval times men believed that living things might arise spontaneously from dead matter. Frogs, for instance, it was held, might be generated from mud by sunshine. The first serious doubt seems to have been



WILLIAM HARVEY, PHYSIOLOGIST

Perhaps the most important contribution ever made to physiological science was an *Anatomical Disquisition on the Motion of the Heart and Blood*, published by William Harvey in 1628. This portrait of the great physiologist was painted by Cornelius Jansen.

Courtesy of the Royal College of Physicians

raised by Francesco Redi (1626-1697) who showed that, if the flesh of a dead animal were protected from insects, no grubs or maggots appeared in it. Redi's work was confirmed and extended by the abbé Spallanzani (1729-1799), who proved that not even minute forms of life would develop in decoctions which had been boiled vigorously and then protected from the air. Here we see anticipations of Pasteur and modern bacteriology.

If alchemy led by one path to medicine, by a broader road it opened up the field of modern experimental chemistry. The problem of matter, like that of astronomy, appealed strongly to Greek philosophers, and, with the recovery of Greek learning at the Renaissance, their formulation and attempted solutions of the problem became known to the modern world.

When matter is divided and subdivided, do its properties remain unchanged? Is earth always earth and water always water however far the process of division is carried, or are they formed of simpler substances combined in different proportions—the elements of which all matter is made?

The two chief answers to these questions offered by the ancients were the theory of the four elements of Empedocles—earth, water, air and fire, a solid, a liquid, a gas, and a substance even more tenuous—on the one hand, and the atomic theory of Democritus, as transmitted by Lucretius, on the other. Empedocles explained differences in properties by different combinations of his four elements. Democritus went farther, and referred differences in properties to differences in size, shape, position and motion of particles of the same ultimate nature moving in empty space. Thus the atomic theory of Democritus nearly

resembled modern views, but it had no basis secure in experimental fact, and could not withstand the destructive criticism of Aristotle. Because the atomic theory did not conform to Aristotle's preconceived ideas and deductions, such as the impossibility of a vacuum, he rejected it altogether, and the four elements of Empedocles and their derivatives held sway over the minds of men till brought up against the ninety and more different types of matter of modern chemistry, themselves now resolved into the common bases of protons and electrons.

These philosophic speculations, though of much interest, were of little practical use till experimental knowledge was available. An enormous amount of laborious and often dull work was needed before the atomic theory could be more than the happy guess of an armchair or peri-

patetic philosopher. Thus the origins of chemistry are to be sought and found in the laboratories of the Alexandrian, Arabian and medieval alchemists, searching in vain for the water of life or the touchstone which turns base metal into gold. Here and there an alchemist watched his crucibles with a single eye to knowledge and did not hide the results he obtained.

In this way throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries new chemical substances were coming to light, discovered in the search for medical remedies and industrial materials. But, for some time, there was no corresponding advance in chemical theory. Empedocles' four elements in the hands of the alchemists had been reduced to three, thought to be sulphur, mercury and salt, and some form of this view was generally accepted, though the atomic theory was revived, more from the physical than from the chemical



GREAT FRENCH NATURALIST

Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, began the publication of his *Natural History* in 1749, and 36 volumes appeared before his death. They contain remarkable anticipations of later discoveries in bacteriology and evolution.

Bust by Paron; photo, Giraudon

point of view, by Pierre Gassendi and Robert Boyle in the middle of the seventeenth century. Boyle, Newton and others of their school used the atomic theory to explain the nature of heat as the vibration of ultimate particles. Here again they approached modern views, though, since adequate experimental basis was lacking, their explanation had to wait nearly two hundred years for general acceptance.

The chief difficulty of the early chemists was to understand the phenomena of flame and combustion. When bodies are burnt, it seems that something escapes.

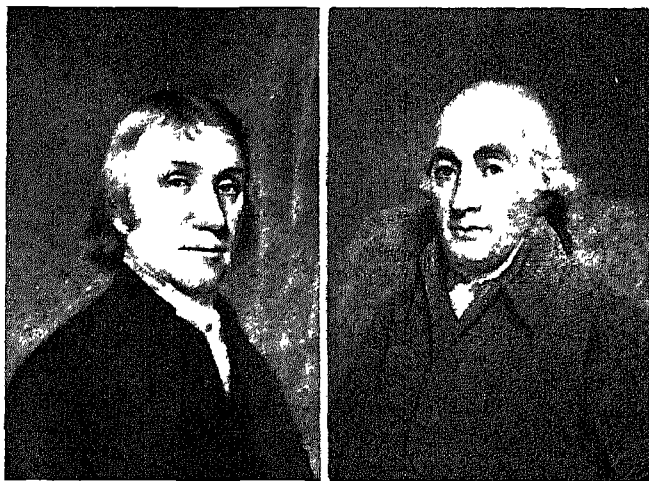
Discovery of Oxygen This something was called 'phlogiston'—the principle of fire—by G. E. Stahl (1660–1734), physician to the king of Prussia, and his theory dominated the chemical ideas of the whole eighteenth century. Boyle had shown that when metals were burnt the solid increased in weight; therefore, phlogiston must possess a negative weight, and Aristotle's conception of a body essentially light was born again out of due time.

In terms of this hypothesis chemical science learnt to express its facts; owing to its influence, isolated investigations which pointed to more modern views failed to impress the minds of chemists; they had to be re-discovered when time had undermined the phlogistic theory, and prepared the way for a simpler and more natural interpretation of the phenomena. In 1669, a century before the final discovery of oxygen, its existence in air and its significance in respiration and combustion had been demonstrated by John Mayow, a physician who practised in Bath and London. Again, oxygen was prepared from heated saltpetre by Borch in 1678, and once more in 1729 by Hales, who actually collected it over water. The isolation of hydrogen may even be traced back to

vinegar. Yet all these observations were forgotten and their meaning lost; air was still believed to be the only gaseous element.

The beginning of a change appears in the work of Joseph Black of Edinburgh, who about 1755 discovered that a new ponderable gas, distinct from atmospheric air, was combined in the alkalies. He named this gas 'fixed air.' It is what we now call carbon dioxide or carbonic acid. Nevertheless phlogiston still survived. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) prepared oxygen by heating mercuric oxide, and discovered its unique power of supporting combustion. He also showed that it was essential in the respiration of animals. But he described it as dephlogisticated air, and failed to perceive that his discovery had turned a new page in science. Again, Henry Cavendish (1731–1810) demonstrated the compound nature of water in 1781, and thus finally dethroned it from its old and proud position as one of the elements. But he still described its constituent gases as phlogiston and dephlogisticated air.

It was reserved for Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), who was sent to the guillotine with the remark that the Republic had no need of savants, to repeat the experiments of Priestley and



PIONEERS IN CHEMICAL SCIENCE

Joseph Black (1728–99), here shown (right) as limned by Raeburn, was the discoverer of carbon dioxide and evolved the theory of latent

iron filings on ——— by Mrs. Sharp

Gallery 1

Cavendish, and to grasp the fact that it was unnecessary to invent a body with properties fundamentally different from those of other material substances. By the unanswerable evidence of the balance, he showed that while, in a series of chemical changes, matter may change its state, it does not change in amount—the quantity of matter is the same at the end as at the beginning of every operation, and can be traced throughout by its weight. The constituents of water were seen to be gases with the ordinary properties of matter, possessing mass and weight, and Lavoisier named them hydrogen (the water-forming element) and oxygen (the acid-forming element). Burning and respiration were alike in kind: one a fast and the other a slow process of oxidation, each leading to an increase in weight equal to the weight of oxygen combined. The conception of phlogiston with negative weight became unnecessary and vanished from science. Thus the principles established by Galileo and Newton in mechanics were carried over into chemistry, and the

road opened for the tremendous developments of the next hundred years.

Simultaneously the Newtonian astronomy was advanced to greater accuracy with the help of more modern methods by Lagrange and Laplace, and, chiefly through its interpretation by the French mathematicians and philosophers, Newton's elucidation of the mechanics of the solar system was used to support a scheme of thought which he himself would have been the last to approve. Newton in his modesty likened himself to a child finding pretty pebbles on the sea-shore, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before him. He held that natural phenomena showed 'that there is a Being, incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, Who, in infinite Space' upholds and controls the universe. But some of his later disciples thought that the system he inaugurated might in their hands explain all things in heaven and earth, past, present and to come, in terms of mechanical conceptions. Matter and force had come to seem familiar, and what is familiar the mind tends to think that it understands.

The latter part of the eighteenth century and nearly all the nineteenth century were filled with the reverberations of a mechanical philosophy which was imagined by some to be the necessary consequence of the triumphs of an analytical natural science, starting with Newtonian astronomy and culminating in different directions in the work of Dalton, Joule and Darwin. Many of the votaries of that philosophy failed to see that, powerful as contemporary science was within its own limits, those limits were definitely circumscribed. It needed our modern awakening to the stupendous complexity of nature—an awakening which began in the last decade of the nineteenth century—to show that the age which opened with the birth of modern science had become too self-satisfied in its prime, and was destined to see but the prelude to the wider revelation which offers in our time even more beautiful pebbles for present and future Newtons to discover as they stand by the shore of the ocean.



FOUNDER OF MODERN CHEMISTRY

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) proved the constancy of matter in chemical reactions, re-discovered the constituents of air and water, and introduced the existing system of chemical theory. This picture of him with his wife was painted by David

Photo, Bullos

THE FRANCE OF LOUIS QUATORZE

Study of the actual Social and Economic Conditions
beneath the brilliant Superstructure of the Monarchy

By ROGER H. SOLTAU

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IT is a commonplace that the course of history never stands still, that institutions and ideas are in a state of perpetual transformation, and that what we call 'to-day' is but a fleeting stage between yesterday and to-morrow. Nevertheless, a clear distinction can be drawn between periods in which the element of rapid change predominates and others in which, on the contrary, society acquires a certain measure of stability. Institutions and ideas seem to stand out and attain a definiteness of form and purpose which reveals with peculiar clearness their inner significance, the elements whence they derive their strength and those that make for their decay. Among such periods we may place the age of Pericles in Athens, the Victorian era in England, and in France the age of Louis XIV.

Although officially king of France at the age of five, in 1643, Louis XIV did not begin his reign until the death in 1661 of his prime minister (and probably step-father) Cardinal Mazarin. It is one of the curious coincidences of history that father and son, Louis XIII and Louis XIV, should have been served, or more accurately virtually superseded, for nearly half a century (1624-1661) by two cardinal-statesmen, master and pupil, pursuing by very different methods the same end: the strengthening of the direct authority in France of the crown, and in Europe of France herself. Richelieu defined in oft quoted terms the policy which he and Mazarin carried out, and the fruits of which Louis XIV inherited:

I resolved to use all my energies and all the authority you would be pleased to give me, to destroy the Huguenots as a political party, to break down the pride of the

aristocracy, to reduce all your subjects to their due obedience, and to restore your name to the position it should occupy among foreign powers

No seventeenth-century French statesman could really formulate any other aims. From whatever angle we look at the matter, we must admit that strong government was the essential need of the country. After half a century of civil and religious strife Henry IV was murdered (1610) before he had been able to complete his work of internal consolidation, and Richelieu obtained power only just in time to save the country from a relapse into anarchy. No one

could reasonably blame him for reducing to obedience rebellious nobles or for depriving the Huguenots of politically dangerous privileges. Nor again could Richelieu be expected not to let France play her part in the re-making of a Europe so rudely shaken by the Thirty Years' War; it would have required an almost superhuman capacity for deflecting national policy from its hitherto unquestioned traditions of territorial expansion and military power. Nevertheless, the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, both at home and abroad, had its disastrous side. It rested on two fundamental assumptions, both erroneous in the extreme, which vitiated the apparently glorious results obtained.

The first of these was the idea that royal power and national greatness were interchangeable terms. Now it is true that a king is really powerful and great who thinks only of the nation with which he is entrusted, who considers himself to be prosperous, happy and successful if his people are prosperous, happy and



THE SUN KING

First of a series of coloured drawings made in 1653 for a court ballet in which Louis XIV himself took part, this reproduction shows the young king garbed as 'Le Roi Soleil,' by which title he was generally known.

Hennin Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo. Giraudon

contented. Such an attitude was that of Henry IV when he wished that 'every peasant should be able to boil a fowl on Sundays.' But the identification of king and nation becomes not only a mockery but an illusion when it is taken as meaning that all is well so long as the king is on his throne, as identifying his subjects' wealth with his, as depriving them of any desires, needs or aspirations of their own, as making of the kingdom, if not the king's plaything, at least his tool. Neither Richelieu nor Mazarin was able to see beyond this building up of royal power. In their eyes a strong king solved all problems; they failed to see that a strong king can co-exist with a wretched people,

with economic misery and, to a certain extent, with a virtually bankrupt state.

Further, in their desire for a strong monarchy, they took the view that it was not a necessary means to an excellent end, national prosperity, but an end in itself. Both Richelieu and Mazarin definitely accepted the Machiavellian view that the state is an end and a law unto itself, above ethical or religious considerations, and denying to its members the right of loyalty to any other allegiance, political, social or spiritual. 'Frenchmen first, Christians afterwards' expresses the idea in its most arresting way.

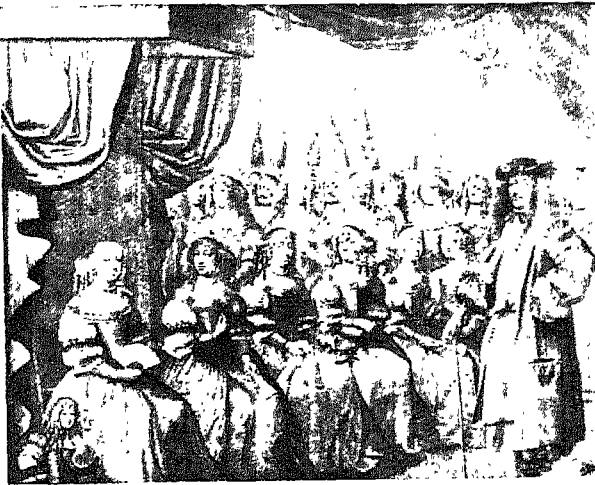
In the pursuit of such an ideal, all means were allowable. At the very time when the future Charles II of England was a refugee in France, Mazarin was justifying as follows his alliance with the republican regicide Cromwell:

It would seem that if one were to regulate one's conduct by the laws of honour and justice, one should not recognize that Republic. But as the laws of honour and justice should never constrain us to whatever is contrary to prudence, it is beyond doubt that we must without delay enter into negotiations with the English Republic.

The legacy of Richelieu and Mazarin to the young king was therefore that of a kingdom apparently well organized, administratively and politically, in which taxes were paid, and laws obeyed, and which by its natural advantages, its diplomacy and skilful policy had made itself the most powerful state in Europe. There was, however, another side to the picture, misery in the countryside, distress in towns, a depleted exchequer and a complete absence of individual and corporate liberty.

We are apt to think of dominant personalities as static beings, almost changeless and ageless. We usually visualise them at the moment of their best known popular achievements, and forget that, like all of us, they grew daily older, and were as liable as we are to variations of moods, desires and aims.

Louis XIV was twenty-three when absolute power came into his hands, and still held that power when he died at seventy-seven. During those fifty-four years, the



LOUIS XIV AMID THE COURT LADIES

The elaborate costumes and punctilious ceremonial of the court of Louis XIV were emulated by contemporary European monarchs. For the most part the French nobility lived idle lives, serving only to glorify their sovereign's magnificence. This picture shows the king surrounded by admiring ladies.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'

world around him changed; and as the times changed, so did the man. On many matters his views altered; the victories of the early years changed to bitter defeats; his sons and grandsons died; his popularity waned and his death-bed was the centre of petty intrigues and quarrels. The 'Sun King' (Roi Soleil), as he was called, rose indeed in glory, but disappeared in dark clouds after a long and stormy sunset.

And yet it is not impossible to fix some of his characteristics, at least sufficiently to form of his person and work a fairly accurate idea. The most superficial acquaintance with the seventeenth century conjures to one's mind the pomp and circumstance of a royal court in which etiquette and ceremonial had become a science, in which life is a perpetual pageant, of which the central figure is a king who is scarcely a man but almost a god. This picture is not inexact,

as far as it goes; but it is not complete. This king, for whom life seemed to be one long ceremonial, was in fact one of the hardest-working and professionally conscientious of men, taking his 'royal trade' more seriously than many a man his own duties. If he did not, like Napoleon, insist on the necessity of earning the salary he was paid—since in his own eyes his subjects' wealth was his own—he did believe that he had responsibilities he could not shirk. Having elected to be his own prime minister, he actually controlled the policy of all departments of state, not only in their main outline but also in their details. No one dared be remiss in the royal pres-

ence, or even outside it. Ministers had their administrative duties; courtiers had



'LE GRAND MONARQUE' IN PROFILE

This drawing by Charles Le Brun shows Louis XIV as a young man, proud and energetic king of seventeenth-century France in an age that took his name. It is difficult not to trace in the features the character of the man as history reveals it.

The Louvre: photo, Giraudon

to be present at every court function, and woe betide the man whom the king 'never saw' or 'did not know.' There was no eight-hour day at Versailles.

Mentally, Louis was of very average ability, with no originality of views nor great power to see very far ahead. He would have made a very poor ruler, had it not been for the one great quality not only of recognizing talents in others, which is not rare, but of not being afraid to surround himself with the help and advice of men vastly superior in ability, which is a much rarer gift. Of those ministers, it should be added, not one (except perhaps Colbert) was a genius; but they were all of them highly efficient, and efficiency was then more important than brilliance.

As an individual, however, Louis XIV was utterly spoilt by flattery. Brought up in an atmosphere of adulation—of adoration, almost—he could swallow the grossest compliments and could brook no criticism, particularly of his fancied powers as an artist, a musician, a poet and a dancer. He thought himself unsurpassed

as diplomat, statesman and warrior; and, while not above taking tactful advice, was apt to visit heavily on the offender any disparagement of his prowess. He was further possessed by an insatiable lust for military glory, which he pursued at any cost to the peace of Europe and to the prosperity of his people.

There was, in a word, a great contrast between the outward manner of the king, self-controlled, dignified, courteous, loving order and rule, and his restless, ambitious, self-satisfied mind, capable of setting Europe on fire for a dynastic gain or a wounded pride. Of love for his people he had none. 'He is more inclined,' wrote Spanheim, the ambassador from Brandenburg at Versailles, 'to treat his people as a master than as a subject; he relies on their submission and obedience rather than on their love or on his desire to relieve them.' He was religious, in a kind of way; of a religion that taught him neither mercy nor temperance, which made him see in persecution a way of atoning for the sins of his private life.



ROYAL PROPAGANDA: 'LOUIS XIV GIVES EAR TO THE POOR'

There is a lie implicit in this engraving. Authorised by the king about 1668, it shows His Majesty giving public audience, after the fashion of such great kings as Charlemagne, to the poorest of his subjects. Its publication was probably a politic move on the king's part to counteract the spread of grievances that were becoming more and more resented by his neglected people.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

'The king,' said Madame de Maintenon, 'will not miss a single ceremony or fast, but he will never understand the need for repentance and a spirit of true penitence.'

In spite of these warnings, Louis believed himself to be God's elect; the disasters that overtook his kingdom, the sorrows and bereavements of his private life, were warnings, it is true, but also assurances that 'he would suffer less in the next world.' He considered that his religious policy was all to the glory of God; in fact, he believed that 'God ought not to forget what he had done for Him.' Bossuet was almost the only man who dared at times tell Louis XIV home truths about himself. But, even then, his was wasted breath to tell Louis XIV he was but dust and ashes; he refused to believe it. This very ordinary human being considered that he was 'a representative of God . . . a visible divine being . . . to be looked upon by his subjects as they would look upon gods if gods made themselves visible.'

The glamour of Versailles is so closely connected in all minds with the reign of Louis XIV that one can scarcely avoid some reference to it. Originally a small village in a swamp about ten miles from

Paris, it struck the fancy of Louis XIII, who had the place drained, and built there a hunting-box. This Louis XIV enlarged, and after 1669 began the building of the palace which made the town famous. The royal quarters were of course not confined within the limits of the palace itself; street after street was filled with royal household offices, government departments, everything which is normally concentrated in the capital. To this must be added the private dwellings of the aristocracy; no one who valued the royal favour could avoid living virtually on the king's doorstep, for he insisted on almost daily attendance at court. Farther away were the poorer quarters, where lived the thousands of servants, workmen, labourers, without whom the whole life of the place would have come to a standstill.

This hive of activity revolved round one person, the king, who erected the town because he hated Paris; he could never

forget how, during the Fronde, his mother and he had had to escape from the Paris mob. The move of the court to Versailles was not in fact without political results; it alienated the Paris people from the royal family and gave to the life of the court an artificiality, a lack of contact with reality, which went a long way towards making the divorce between king and nation which was the root cause of the death of Louis XVI on the scaffold.

Nor were the millions spent on Versailles the only, or even the heaviest, part of the cost. Thousands of lives were lost through fevers among the workmen who had to turn

up the soil and cut the rivers that were to bring water. Saint-Simon tells us that when the Maintenon aqueduct was made 'it was forbidden in the encampment where the workers lived to speak of disease or of death, because of the large numbers carried away by the fevers,' and Madame de Sévigné writes that on one Saturday in 1678 'the king could not go to Versailles, partly because the buildings are not ready, partly because so many workmen have been dying that cartloads are removed from the hospital every night; it is done secretly so as not to frighten the workmen.'

An analysis of the king's day, and of the routine that never altered unless Louis was on the field with his armies, shows that he was never permitted, we will not say 'to be alone,' for this he never was, but even to enjoy the comparative privacy of a few friends' company. It is difficult for a person of the twentieth century to realize the minuteness and cumbrousness of the daily royal ceremonial. From the moment of waking to falling asleep, every minute and every action was fixed and regulated—so that one could always tell within a quarter of an hour what the king was doing. Beginning the day about 8 a.m., and after a 'levée' (in the literal sense of getting up), in which the presenting of every garment was the function of some specified dignitary, the king heard mass and then attended council. The royal luncheon meant endless formalities, the carrying in procession of the royal napkins in a silver vessel (before which even

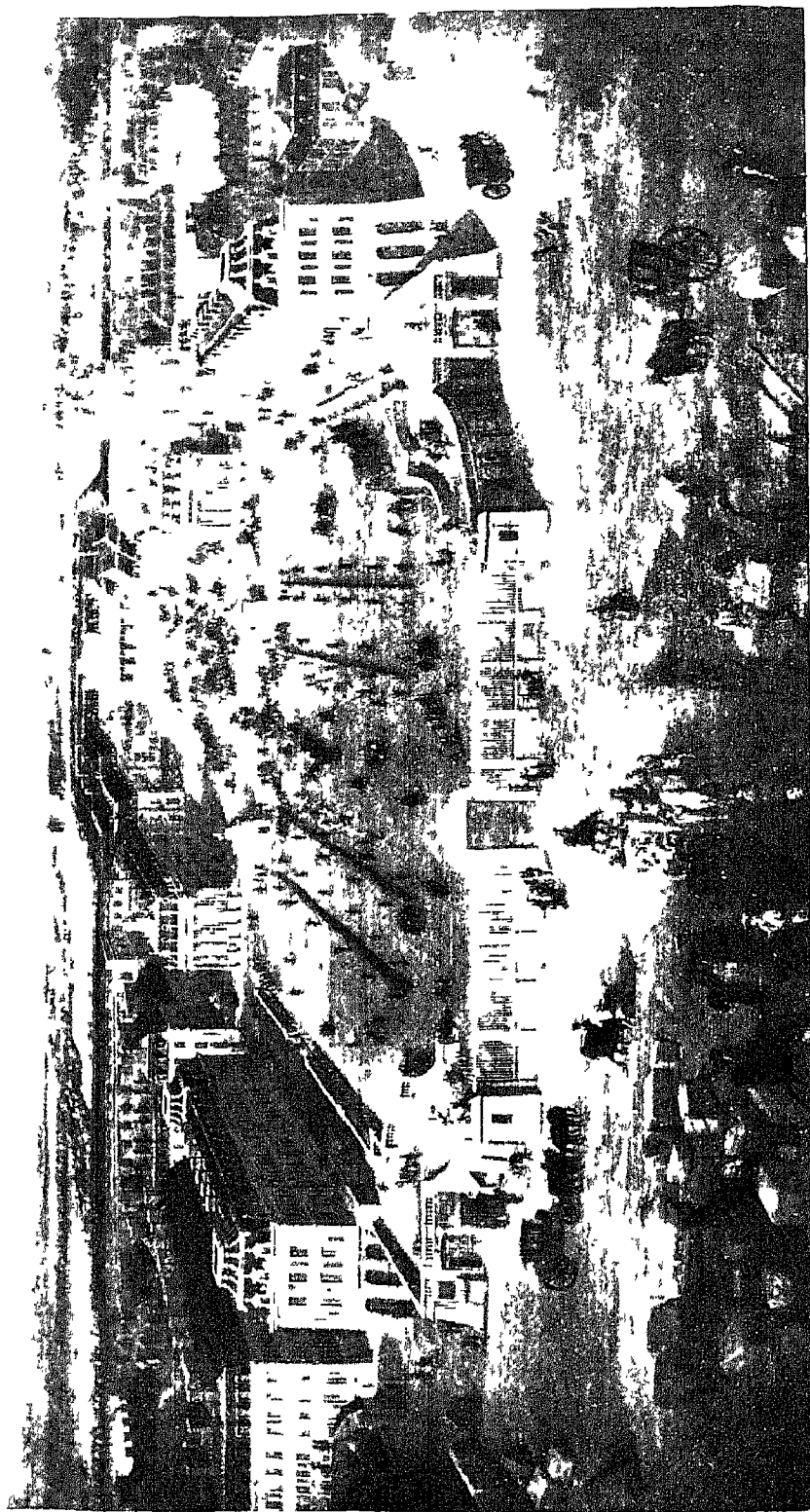
Price paid for
Louis XIV's whim

The building
of Versailles

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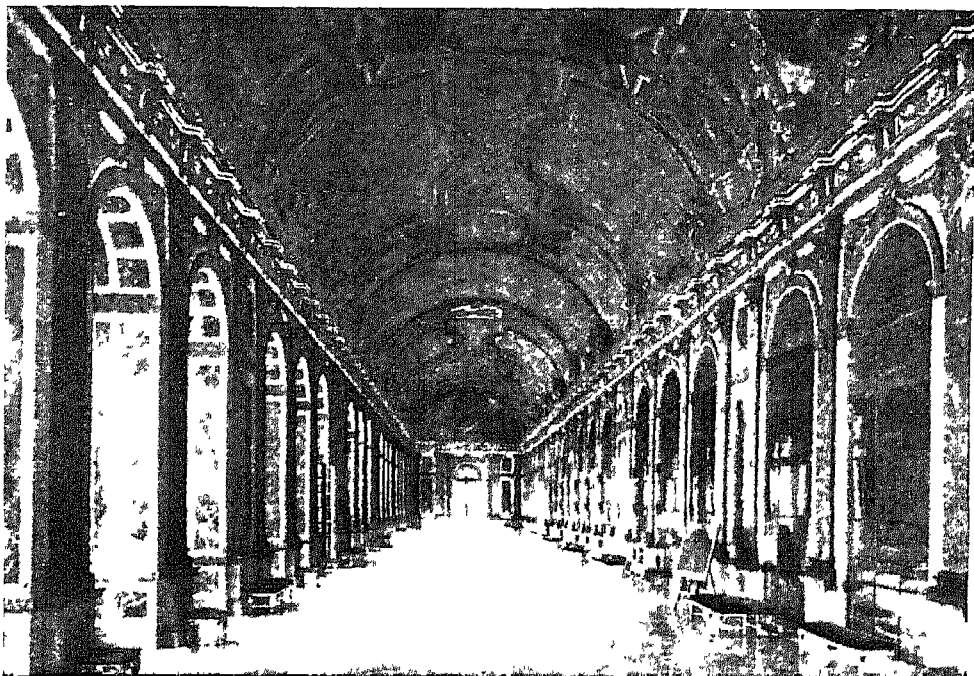
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SPLENDID PALACE BUILT BY A ROYAL AUTOCRAT . CHATEAU OF VERSAILLES IN 1722

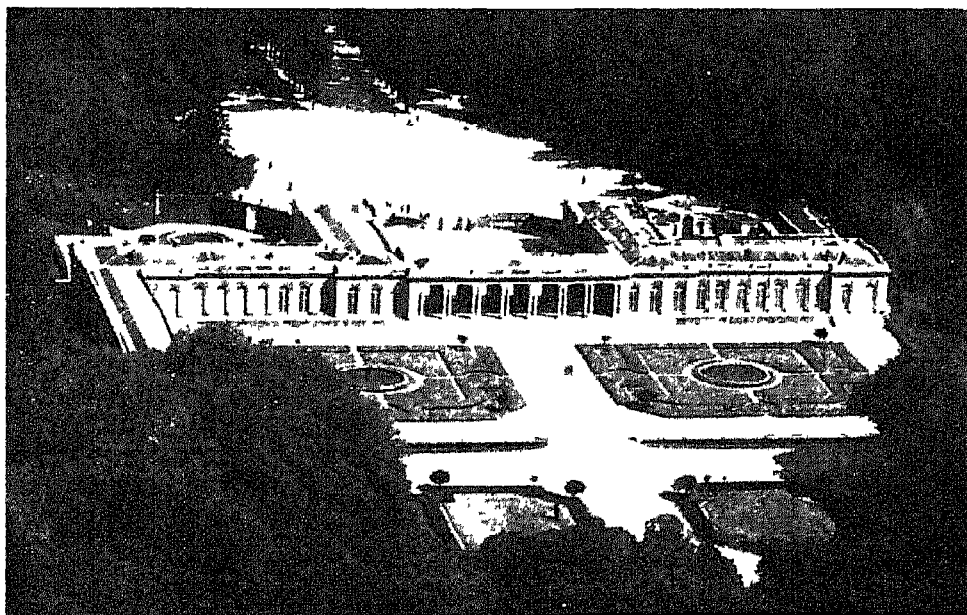
The palace of Versailles, begun in 1661, became in 1683 the chief royal residence of the kings of France. It was erected at the command of Louis XIV to enhance his majesty and proclaim his power. No expense was spared in the decoration of its mighty galleries and the adorning of its gardens with fountains and statuary. In the foreground of this painting by Denis Martin in 1722 is the Place d'Armes where the three avenues of St. Cloud, Paris and Sceaux converge. It is separated from the Cour d'Honneur by a stone balustrade and a gilded iron gate. The palace lies beyond

Musée de Versailles



In 1678 Mansart built the renowned Hall of Mirrors to the front of the Versailles Palace, facing the west; it has 34 arches 17 of them containing windows which overlook the gardens and 17 being filled with large mirrors Used as a throne room on occasions of state, the lofty apartment contains pictures by Charles Le Brun and numerous inscriptions glorifying Louis XIV

Photo, Alinari



The Grand Trianon within the grounds of the Versailles palace was built for Louis XIV in 1687 by J H Mansart to replace an earlier retreat erected in 1670 This air view shows the one storeyed building with its two wings, the residence at various times of many famous personages, it has been occupied by Monsieur, brother of Louis XIV, by the Grand Dauphin, Napoleon I and Louis Philippe The gardens of this palace are planned in the same formal style as those of Versailles

ARCHITECTURAL GLORIES OF THE VERSAILLES OF LOUIS XIV

Photo, Compagnie Aérienne Française

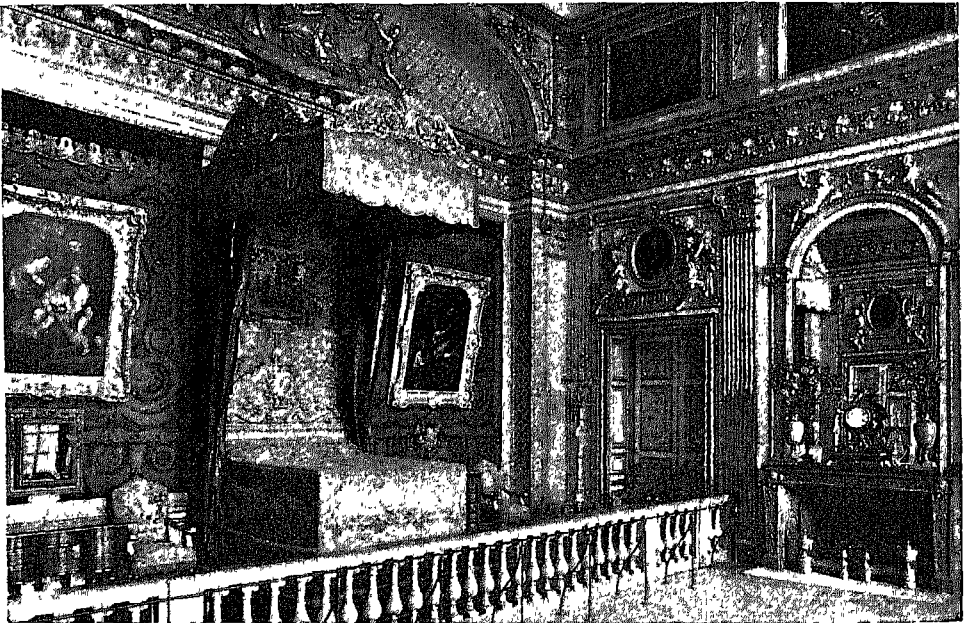
princesses of the blood must bow), and of the dishes, escorted by an armed guard. The king usually ate without company at table, although at 'informal' meals a few members of the royal family or household might sit down with him.

In the afternoon a walk or hunting—Louis loved out-of-door exercise—then more business with his ministers; and in the evening some entertainment and reception, with supper at ten—again a highly ceremonial meal—and bed at midnight, a process as complex as the morning rising. All this was gone through by the king while surrounded with crowds not only of courtiers but of visitors of all kinds who somehow forced an entrance—there were beggars and hucksters on the very landings of the staircases. This kind of life Louis endured for half a century without ever flinching from it or even complaining.

It is difficult not to feel some contempt for the 'tinsel magnificence,' the gigantic waste of time, money and labour which Versailles represents. The study of the court of Louis XIV must make the most confirmed pessimist confess that some

progress has been made since. But before we pass to a consideration of the other side of the picture, let us remember that Versailles was actually the capital of France, that this pomp-loving king, who seemed always on show, was not an idle puppet but a sovereign who actually ruled, and who was personally responsible for a very considerable share of the good and of the evil done in his name.

There was a great contrast between the glamour of Versailles and the effective work of government, between the divine-right theory and practical authority. Fortunately for France, Louis XIV believed that to take advice was a sign of prudence and soundness, not of weakness. Nothing of importance was ever done without reference either to the general council of state, the real source of all royal acts, or to one of its four standing committees, made up of actual responsible officials, not of people put there for show—it was one of the king's fixed rules never to call to the council any ecclesiastic and very few nobles. Louis presided himself over each of those sections in its weekly



GILDED GLORIES OF THE ROYAL BEDCHAMBER AT VERSAILLES

On September 1, 1715, Louis XIV died in this richly decorated bedchamber, where he had received daily, for so many years, the homage and attention of chosen nobles. The wood panelling is of white and gold, and in front of the bed is the gilt railing beyond which his courtiers watched the complicated performance of his toilet. Above the bed are gilt stucco carvings by Nicolas Coustou.

Photo, Graudon

meeting, leaving to the responsible minister the carrying out of the decisions.

The royal ministers were all of them middle-class civil servants who had served some apprenticeship in less important administrative posts before being appointed to the Versailles staff. In many cases they were specially trained by their fathers as their successors; both Colbert and Louvois belonged to 'ministerial families.' They were therefore highly competent technically; but, having no standing save the royal favour, they were not likely to oppose the will of a king who could at any time reduce them to nothingness. The general result was that while history has probably rarely seen 'a team of ministers working with so much devotion, toil, perseverance and continuity, and ardour for the service of the state' (Madelin), the period was singularly devoid of any original thought, of carefully planned, far-reaching schemes, of any really continuous policy, save in the most general terms.

To maintain authority within, prestige and territorial aggrandisement without, is not a lofty programme; the real point is why and how you do those things. Each problem was dealt with as it arose, competently and efficiently as a rule, but one cannot find in those fifty years any new theory of government, any great reform, any sweeping measure—except the disastrous blunders of the religious policy. Everything about the work was, in fact, second-class—efficient, good, as far as it went, but without genius or vision.

Government in the eyes of Louis and his ministers meant not so much the establishment of an order in which the necessary laws would be blended with respect for the liberty of the individual and of the local unit or professional body, but the imposing of one uniform royal authority on all and sundry. But such a uniformity was not easy to enforce, badly as it was needed. The France of Louis XIV was not yet really united as regards language; French was only general among the educated classes; local dialects still prevailed, and travellers stranded outside the big towns often found themselves in

a quandary as great as if they were in an entirely foreign country. There was not one system of law recognized all over the kingdom; certain parts of the country worked under written jurisprudence, others under customary law; and local legal precedents varied greatly from district to district. Provincial self-government, or at least separatism, was still a very real thing. France was indeed much more than a mere federation; but local privileges were still strong; they were often mainly formal, but they might include exemption from taxes and from certain laws. Provincial 'estates' or representative assemblies could give the royal authority considerable trouble; locally elected officials did not always do as they were bid; provincial 'parlements' or courts of justice often tried to impede the king's writ.

The building up of a political organization capable of establishing a single monarchical authority

over these diverse **Political organization** elements had been **of the country** the work of Richelieu

and Mazarin. It had necessitated a two-fold process—the setting up, in every place and for every department of life, of a royal civil service representing the king's law, and the simultaneous elimination of any local bodies or officials capable of exercising any authority that could raise itself against the king's. The danger lay in two directions—the remnants of feudal power in the hands of the aristocracy, and the relics of local communal or provincial liberties that might be found in local councils, corporations or provincial 'estates.' In some cases the actual court, official or body was suppressed; in others it was emptied of all real authority and only remained as an outward form.

The effective agent of all this authority was the intendant, a royal official instructed to 'supervise' every aspect of local life. The very area of his power indicated the purpose of his function; his constituency was none of the old traditional divisions, but a 'généralité,' that is, an entirely artificial administrative unit, created for financial purposes, normally bigger than a province (there were in 1661 thirty-two provinces and twenty-three generalities), but in no case corresponding



LOUIS XIV TAKES HIS QUEEN TO VIEW THE SPOILS OF WAR

n 1667 the towns of Douai and Courtrai capitulated to the French, and Louis XIV, rejoicing at his success, brought his queen from Compiègne to show her conquered cities to their new mistress. The triumphal entry of Louis XIV and Maria Teresa into Douai made a fitting subject for the court painter Le Brun to portray and, in collaboration with Van der Meulen, he produced this drawing to commemorate the occasion.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

exactly to one, so as to break thereby the provincial corporate spirit.

Over this district reigned the intendant, created by the royal will and answerable to the king alone. He did not replace any pre-existing official, but gradually absorbed into himself all the real powers exercised by everybody else. The provincial governor was still there, but the intendant actually controlled all armed forces; local courts went on sitting, but the intendant could himself try any cause in which the royal authority was particularly interested. At the sitting of the provincial estates, the intendant practically fixed the agenda, advised, demanded, threatened if need be. The towns might indeed have their mayors and corporations, but the intendant virtually made the elections, checked all accounts, really governed. He was also charged with the task of seeing that the king's laws were put into execution, and this was no sinecure—for France had the distinction of 'possessing the finest and wisest laws in Europe, but also the reputation of being the state where they were most openly ignored.' The intendant therefore had his hands full, particularly as he had to add to those direct duties the more subtle task of watching public opinion, and generally dealing with all other affairs concerning the welfare of the king's subjects.

It must besides be remembered that in the last resort the king was the sole source of all authority and law. Judges were only his delegates; he kept the ultimate right of quashing the verdict of

Absolute monarchy any court, of pardoning, and also of condemning where a lower court had acquitted. He could—and did—imprison any of his subjects for reasons of his own choosing; he was often petitioned to imprison, in gaol or convent, husbands or wives, or children who were giving overmuch trouble to their relatives. Parents often requested the temporary imprisonment of young people about to contract an unsatisfactory marriage. Many social scandals were nipped in the bud by the royal prerogative of imprisonment without cause being shown; unworthy priests, notorious infidels, rebellious workmen, writers of libellous or scurrilous verse

could all be dealt with by this easy—if to us startling—method. It should be added, in all fairness, that Louis XIV appears to have been reasonable in the exercise of these arbitrary powers, and that there are many cases on record in which summary imprisonment saved a person from the greater harshness of arrest and detention through more formal processes; the king was more lenient than his own judges in cases of *lèse-majesté* or of duelling. But, when all is said and done, arbitrary justice remains the absence of justice.

It is hardly necessary to add that under such a regime there was no freedom of writing or of speech. We would expect—and we do find—a rigid censorship of all books and Censorship pamphlets, nothing must be of the press printed without the royal sanction. Even Bossuet, the court preacher, got into trouble for having published an episcopal charge without previous leave. But mere censorship of opinion was not considered adequate. Attempts at strictly matter-of-fact news-sheets, with no comments, all failed—the king not thinking it 'desirable that one should speak on behalf of all.' Colbert thought that eighty-four printers were far in excess of the needs of Paris, and took steps for the reduction of that number by the cutting down of the number of apprentices and of workmen admitted to master printer's rank. Thinking and reading overmuch were not thought good for the king's subjects.

In spite of all these restrictions, and of the terrible punishments inflicted on offenders, opposition to the regime was constantly manifesting itself in literature. Someone has called the 'ancien régime' an 'absolute monarchy limited by songs,' and this is true. At the height of Louis' power we find pamphlets, lampoons, verse of the most violent and often scurrilous sort. 'What is a king?' asks one of these leaflets. 'A man who is always deceived and a master who does not know his job.' 'What is a prince?—A crime one dare not punish.' And the following summaries of the foreign policy of the reign do not lack savour—or audacity: 'Driven out from Germany, defeated in Flanders, duped in Spain, beaten in Italy; every

where one hears said: 'What wretched days! cursed be his reign and his loves!' And this: 'To make war without fighting oneself, to make one's people die of hunger, is to be the son of Mazarin rather than the grandson of Henry IV.'

The opposition, never absolutely silent, grew more vocal as the reign went on, and was particularly violent in the last years. Its background and real force was the misery of peasant and artisan; its spokesmen all those to whom the system did not give adequate scope for self-expression, and denied any political freedom: lawyers jealous of royal officials; merchants and manufacturers, wealthy and prosperous, angry that their political status should be so inferior to their economic power; noblemen deprived of any political or administrative work, fuming at their enforced idleness and casting envious eyes at the powerful English House of Lords. To these must be added the numerous Frenchmen exiled for their religion, who could therefore write freely without fear of reprisals; but there were plenty of spokesmen even in France itself.

Two outstanding people represented this opposition—Fénelon, the archbishop of Cambrai, and Vauban, the engineer. The

latter's Royal Tithe is a terrible description of the sufferings of the common people at the end of the reign—a question to which we shall come later; the only thanks he got for his frank warning about the economic and social condition of the country was banishment. Fénelon's account is, if anything, more outspoken and contains significant words on the political situation when he writes:

The nation is falling into shame; it is becoming a public laughing-stock. Our enemies say openly that the government of Spain, which we used to scorn, never sank as low as ours. Neither people, nor soldiers, nor officers have any affection, or respect, or trust left, or any hope of revival, or any fear of authority.

The last words in particular are a forecast of the next reign; they herald the breakdown of the whole system.

It is impossible, in fact, to understand how revolutionary ideas could spread as they did in the eighteenth century if The spread of
we do not realize the revolutionary ideas
unbroken existence of
currents of opposition which, held in check by censorship, and weak when royal policy was successful, were ready to spring forth with violence if reverses abroad or misery at home gave them any opportunity. We must remember that the English civil wars had seen full-blown republicanism expressed and a king sent to the scaffold; it was impossible that subversive ideas should not cross the Channel and find some echo in France. In a hitherto unpublished memoir, read in 1927 before the French Academy of Social Science, Battifol showed how advanced political ideas took hold of public opinion during the civil wars of the Fronde. The words 'tyranny,' 'despotism,' 'revolution' were used; the demolition of the Bastille was discussed; the limitation of royal power and the calling of the States-General was demanded, in the name of popular rights. In fact, the word 'republic' was used; to the extent that in 1649 a republic was almost proclaimed in Paris.

In the face of such assertions it is clear that we must not exaggerate the respect and devotion shown to the monarchy in the reign of Louis XIV. There was really



FEARLESS CRITIC OF THE MONARCHY

François de Fénelon (1651-1715), archbishop of Cambrai, was a versatile writer. Perceiving the weakness of the Bourbon monarchy he dared to pen criticisms against Louis XIV's government. This bust is by Lenoir.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

very little free devotion to the person of the sovereign. Obedience was largely based on fear, and fear came from success. A victorious monarch could command allegiance; a defeated king became that most helpless of men, an impotent despot. In a letter to the king, drafted in 1692 (but never dispatched), Fénelon summarises in a few burning phrases the reign as a whole:

For the last thirty years your chief ministers have overthrown the old principles of government to bring your authority to an extreme. They did not talk of the State, or of Laws, but only of the king and his good pleasure. . . . You have spent your whole life away from the paths of truth and justice, and therefore away from the paths of the Gospel. The people whom you should love as your children, and who have so far been passionately devoted to you, are starving. After having loved and trusted you they are losing their love, their trust and even their respect. No longer do they rejoice at your victories; they are full of bitterness and despair. Rebellion is appearing everywhere. . . . You are afraid of opening your eyes; you are afraid of having them opened for you. . . . You do not love God; you only fear Him as a slave; you fear Hell rather than God. Your religion is only superstition and superficial little exercises. . . . You only love your glory and comfort. You bring everything back to yourself, as if you were the god of the earth, as if all else had only been created to be sacrificed unto you.

Any account of the economic conditions of France during the period under review is but the story of Colbert's economic policy. The study of his aims and methods, of the difficulties he encountered and of his final failure, will give us a more complete and exact picture of the times than any more formal survey.

The twenty odd years during which Colbert controlled a great part of the resources and policy of France are one of the great 'might have beens' of the history of any people endeavouring to break away from its traditional policy and aims. He visualised for France a new type of greatness and power, the pursuit of which would have virtually created a new France and perhaps a new Europe. The most important things in our life, whether personal or national,



ROYAL PUPILS OF FÉNELON

These three boys, the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, were all pupils of Fénelon. Upon Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin Fénelon sought to impress the theory that the king exists for the sake of his subjects.

Engraving by Sébastien fils, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon

are often the things we decide not to do; in many ways, the two most important events in the history of France are her two great refusals: in the sixteenth century to adopt Protestantism, and in the seventeenth to adopt the policy suggested by Colbert. For, seeing in economic and commercial prosperity more real power than in territorial aggrandisement or military success, he wanted to transform France from a continental into a great naval power, to make her more interested in trade than in diplomacy or conquest (see also page 3739).

Colbert's arguments were undoubtedly sound, and, even allowing for a possible over-optimism he was certainly right in his fundamental assumptions. But success was only possible on certain conditions which he did not altogether grasp: he minimised the material difficulties to be overcome; he did not take an altogether correct view of the best methods to be pursued; and he failed to allow for tradition and national psychology.

We need not dwell over such initial and removable difficulties as defective



FAMOUS FRENCH STATESMAN

This engraving by Lubin shows Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), whose persistent endeavours to effect financial reform in France were nullified by the heavy national expenditure which his sovereign's ambitions incurred.

Photo, W. F. Mansell

communications, the absence of a uniform system of weights and measures, and an archaic system of economic regulations which were a certain hindrance to trade. Colbert did not neglect them, and was indeed responsible for a vast improvement in the road system of the country, and for a great development of the canal system, particularly for the cutting of the 'Two Seas' canal, which, 180 miles long, united the Atlantic and Mediterranean. He endeavoured, but without much success, to cut down the multiplicity of road and river tolls; he tried to simplify the system of weights and measures, though as a matter of fact it was over a century before the Revolution actually carried out their complete unification (see page 4135).

A more serious problem was the existence of numerous restrictions on internal commerce: the mass of petty regulations which hedged round every trade and industry, customs barriers around each province, and in particular the prohibition of the movement of corn from one part of the country to the other.

This matter is too important to be discussed without some reference to Colbert's economic theories. The order of the day was 'mercantilism'—the theory that, money being the truest form of wealth and being limited in amount, a country is prosperous in so far as it exports goods for which it receives money, and avoids importing goods for which it has to pay money out. This theory ignores the fact that international trade is based on exchange, and that therefore no country can be always selling and never buying; but it makes the grosser mistake of ignoring that wealth is not a fixed amount but something which is created by the application of human labour to the gifts of nature, and that consequently prosperity is not necessarily obtained at the expense of that of other countries.

We shall see presently the results of these wrong theories on Colbert's external policy. Looking only for the present at internal affairs, we see at once the deadly danger there was in applying mercantilism on a small scale, that is, in thinking of provincial economic prosperity instead of national. In a country where local feeling was still very strong, it was unavoidable that people should look on the province as a unit and defend themselves against the alleged competition of other provinces; particularly did they husband with jealousy their essential food supplies and not trouble overmuch about producing more than their bare needs. Even had Colbert been a greater economist, he could scarcely have broken down the barriers of provincial prejudice; reforming ministers of a later and more enlightened period tried in vain—ignorance and vested interests were too strong. France had to wait until the Revolution for the establishment of internal free trade.

It is nevertheless true that none of the difficulties we have so far discussed were in themselves an insuperable obstacle to the economic expansion of France. Mercantilism was wrong, doubtless, but it was the economic theory of a whole age and did not prevent the commercial development of England and Holland. But behind obstacles and detective theories

there lay a much bigger problem. For Colbert's policy of France as a great economic and naval power to be realized there was one essential condition—it must be followed steadily to the exclusion of any other, by the one person in whose hands lay the deciding of such matters, namely the king. No reforms in the economic or financial order would be of any avail if they were not related to a national policy as a whole; even less had they any chance of success if they should be steadily undermined by contrary measures and undertakings.

What did Colbert demand of the king? That he should put economic prosperity first, that he should not

Colbert's desire for economy pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of military glory or territorial expansion for their own sakes, but should only fight such wars as could bring practical advantages, and that the wars he did wage should be conducted rapidly and efficiently. And, lastly and chiefly, that he should be in all things and in every detail rigidly economical—no show, no pomp, no lavish expenditure on palaces or entertainments, no spending of a penny for which some tangible result could not be shown.

The mere statement of these conditions is enough to make us realize that they could not possibly be fulfilled. More was involved, however, than the mere personal character of Louis. Against Colbert was also ranged the resistance of French character and French tradition. The very fact that France had large natural resources fought against him: she was too prosperous to want more, she had no goad to make her exert herself. Nor was she interested in the sea or in colonisation. The trade with the few French colonies in the West Indies and West Africa was done practically entirely in Dutch and English ships, so that the markets for Canadian furs were London and Amsterdam, and English traders bought Senegal slaves to sell them to French planters in the West Indies. The colonies themselves were barely vegetating as commercial settlements.

There was indeed a brief period of real economic expansion in the early years of Colbert's power. But the outbreak of war

in 1668 soon put an end to any hopes he might have entertained that France and her king would take a realistic view of her possible destinies; tradition and inertia were too strong. The Dutch war was not, as a matter of fact, in direct contradiction with Colbert's aims. He saw rivals of French trade in the Dutch, and did not believe France could expand freely as long as Holland prospered. His commercial hatred here fitted in with the king's political ambitions. He disliked the Dutch for their republican traditions ('Republics make conquests by the bad example they give of freedom,' he said), but chiefly for their mercantile marine. He believed that every country should have a number of ships strictly proportionate to its population, and meant to put Holland back in her 'proper place.' He had very clear ideas as to what to do with the Dutch when the war was won:

If Holland became a French province, it would nevertheless be desirable to transfer to France proper certain of her industries; if she remained independent, she was to abolish all duties on French goods, while still being prevented from importing her manufactures into France; she was to cede virtually all her colonies, to recall her Near Eastern consuls and envoys, and to be forbidden to send any ships into the Mediterranean.

But Holland had first to be defeated, and the triumphant Dutch war had to be the last war of the reign. The Dutch war, however, was far from being either triumphant or the last war of Louis XIV; and this twofold failure marks the final defeat of Colbert's policy.

Having seen the might-have-been, we can now turn to a brief survey of what Colbert did actually accomplish. Colbert showed What Colbert himself really great in did accomplish three departments—industrial development, naval and colonial expansion and financial administration, without however achieving any striking successes, for the very forces that brought to naught his wider schemes proved an obstacle to his minor reforms also.

The striking feature of his industrial policy is his apparent forecast of what were to be two pillars of the modern industrial



SIEGE OF LILLE BY LOUIS XIV IN THE WAR OF DEVOLUTION

Louis XIV sought to gain certain Spanish territory in the Low Countries in the right of his wife, Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain. The War of Devolution, which his ambitions evoked, was mainly a war of sieges, and Lille, which he besieged in 1667, was forced to capitulate although allowed to retain its laws and privileges. This drawing by Le Brun and Van Meulen shows Louis XIV in the foreground with a spectacular view of the town beyond.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

system—the factory and vast capitalised undertakings. In an age when home industries and small concerns still prevailed, he saw the limitations of such a system and the need for expansion; and tried to get this carried out. He endeavoured to help the establishment of factories in various ways, by granting privileges to the more important ones (remission of taxation, both for the undertaking as a whole and for the employees, and monopoly of certain manufactures), and soon set on foot about a hundred 'royal factories.'

At the same time he encouraged people to invest in industrial in preference to state bonds—he despised the 'rentier' who only sought a small safe return, and perpetually tried to discourage him by measures which were calculated to discredit state investments: long delays in payments, reductions in the rate of interest, and partial repudiation of debt. But all without avail; people preferred these poor investments to the risks of industry. Nor did the manufacturers support him; they objected to his preferential treatment of 'key industries,' to his attempts at directing trade into channels that were more politically useful

than immediately profitable; and he complains bitterly that 'they only thought of their ease and of the convenience of their trade, wanting entire freedom of commerce for the sake of beggarly profits.'

It would be a mistake to say that he failed utterly in his attempts. The Venetian ambassador wrote:

M. Colbert wants to make France superior to all other countries in wealth, full of merchandise, rich in arts and fruitful in goods of all kinds, needing nothing and providing everything to other countries. He neglects nothing that can introduce into France the crafts of other lands. . . . He has hired workmen from England to teach the English process of tanning leather, so as to avoid buying foreign hides; he has borrowed from the Dutch their methods of cloth-making, as well as cheeses and butter; from Germany he borrowed the hat and tin-making industries; from Venice, lace and glass. The policy is to get hold of the cream of what the world produces. . . . The very best of what is found in all parts of the world is now being made in France.

Colbert's economic policy would have had more lasting results had it not been for the terrible economic consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. France lost many sailors; her silk, lace, tapestry, glove and cloth industries saw

their most skilful hands going to enrich foreign rivals; even Catholic workmen were forced abroad by the unemployment created by the exile of their Protestant employers. The banking world lost many of its leading lights. In a general way the peasant, virtually tied to his farm as his sole wealth, remained; the industrial worker left, knowing his services would be appreciated in a freer land. Louis XIV made to his enemies gifts of men and wealth that were worth to them far more than many battles. He laid the foundations of the economic power of Prussia, and greatly helped England in her bid for the commercial supremacy of the eighteenth-century world.

France never recovered from the blow. A general inquiry into her economic position, set up in 1679, reveals the weakness but suggests no remedies except more freedom for trade to seek profitable channels—in fact, less Colbertism. But Colbertism, with all its faults, had achieved results which the folly of Colbert's master had thrown away.

Side by side with industrial development at home, Colbert sought commercial

expansion without; he wanted markets for French goods and French agencies to export them. These markets had to be mainly outside Europe. Being almost constantly at war with most of her neighbours, France could not export to them; besides which, even in times of peace, her high protective tariffs created reprisals barriers abroad. But Colbert saw the possibilities of a colonial empire sucking up French goods as a sponge, and, following the custom of the time, saw in commercial companies the agents of colonisation.

Of the five great companies he either founded or tried to develop, two only, the East India and Canada companies, enjoyed even a short-lived prosperity. The colonisation of Madagascar was an absolute failure, the settlers considering that it was the duty of the French state to keep them supplied with stores. An attempt to expand the Levant trade was no more successful, owing to pirates, and to the slackness and corruption of the officials. The East India Company never received adequate financial backing, the public refusing to take up its shares, in



A ROYAL VISIT OF INSPECTION TO THE GOBELINS FACTORY

The works of the Gobelins, famous dyers and tapestry makers in the Faubourg Saint Marcel, were purchased by Colbert on Louis XIV's behalf in 1662. Le Brun was placed in charge, and designs for tapestry and furniture were executed there under his supervision. He is responsible for this sketch, a design for a tapestry, showing lively activity among the artisans upon the occasion of a visit by Louis XIV. Financial embarrassments necessitated the closing of the establishment in 1694

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

spite of pressure of all kinds, including the billeting of dragoons. The Company's monopoly of Eastern trade had to be withdrawn in 1682.

Matters fared somewhat better in Canada. Colbert had a real emigration policy, sending out every year farm hands and strong country girls. As a result the population increased rapidly—the 2,500 of 1663 had become 10,200 in 1683; the densely-populated French Canada of today is largely the fruit of Colbert's efforts. He was unsuccessful, however, in his attempts at racial fusion by the inter-marriage of Indians and French settlers, largely owing to the opposition put up by the Jesuit missionaries.

But on the whole Colbert's colonial policy failed. It failed because the colonies were too far away for people to be interested in them. Colonisation needs men, and Frenchmen

Failure of French Colonisation were no more prepared to leave home than

than they are now, preferring the known, however meagre, to the unknown, however plentiful. Colonisation needs money—money invested by men of vision, who are prepared to take risks; French investors preferred certain and rapid small returns to distant and problematic gains. In his colonial schemes as elsewhere Colbert's real enemy was national character.

The third department of Colbert's activities, finance, is so closely linked with that of the general destinies of the country that it demands fuller treatment; an understanding of the financial system of France in the seventeenth century is essential to any understanding of the period as a whole.

Few events have so profoundly differentiated the histories of France and of England as the fact that the French kings managed to obtain that control of finance which eluded the grasp of the English kings. The States-General—the French counterpart to the English Parliament—failed to establish themselves as an essential part of the French political system because they failed to make themselves indispensable for the obtaining of money. Louis XIV, like his predecessors, was therefore the master of his subjects'

wealth. Although it was possible to speak of 'grants' or 'gifts' or 'voluntary loans' made to the crown by certain bodies, such as provincial estates or municipal corporations, this was only a legal fiction. The king did not have to ask, he took; and was answerable to no one for the use he made of the money. The political consequences of such a power in the building up of absolutism are obvious.

The royal revenues in the seventeenth century came from five principal sources:

1. The revenues from the crown lands (rents from farms, **Sources of revenues from forests**). 2. The **Taxation** 'taille' or direct land tax.

3. The 'gabelle,' or salt tax, salt being a royal monopoly

4. The 'aids,' the term used of various forms of indirect taxation.

5. Customs duties, whether levied at the frontiers of the country or on goods moving from one province to the other. There was yet a sixth and essential source of income, namely borrowing.

The weakness of the system did not reside in the inherent nature of any of these taxes—normal methods of raising revenues are much the same everywhere. Had these taxes been uniformly spread and collected cheaply and efficiently, they might have sufficed to give the king an adequate revenue in ordinary times. But none of those conditions was fulfilled.

None of those taxes was levied equally in all parts of the kingdom and on all classes of society. The salt tax was not levied at all in certain provinces; while other provinces had bought their partial freedom from it. The 'taille' was levied in a different way in almost every province and the assessments varied, for no reason, to an extraordinary degree. The 'aids' were only raised in certain parts of the kingdom, and also varied from province to province. An inhabitant of France moving from one part of the country to another might find himself subjected to an entirely different system of taxation. Further, in every part of the country, whole classes of people were for various reasons exempted from taxation. All clergy, all nobles, all members of the royal household, nearly all officials paid no 'taille,' whether on land or on income; and most of those privileged people

claimed various forms of exemption from the other taxes they might have to pay. The one person who could never escape was the peasant.

If we pass to the method of collection, we find the same chaos. Some of the taxes were farmed out for lump sums to private tax-gatherers; in other cases a district was assessed at a certain total, and the collector had to do the partitioning of the tax between the tax-payers, being himself personally responsible for any deficiencies. Another device was to force the leading inhabitants to collect taxes for their village or district. Bribery and corruption were rampant, as might be expected.

Such being the system, it is easy to understand that the moneys reaching the

royal coffers were quite inadequate for the heavy expenditure of the crown. From

times immemorial the king had therefore been forced to resort to various expedients—sale of offices, creation and sale of sinecures, and even of titles; depreciation of the currency, reduction of the rates of interest on loans—and particularly borrowing on a large scale.

The net result was that in 1661 the French monarchy was heavily in debt, and that Colbert's first work was to try to restore some kind of order in the chaos. It would be unfair to him not to admit that he was eminently successful in this part of his task. All that good administration could do was done; corruption was greatly diminished; an end was put to the terrible leakage between the tax-payers' pocket and the royal coffers; assessments were rectified; and terrible punishments visited all those who were trying to enrich themselves at the king's expense. In this way, Colbert was able to effect a considerable increase in the royal revenue. In 1662 the net surplus was 32 million 'livres' (about one and a third million pounds sterling), in the next year 44. But as early as 1665 he begins to blame the king for extravagance; in 1666, with many apologies for the 'strong' things he is saying, he is upbraiding him for 'putting his pleasures and entertainments above all things,' and goes on to criticise expenditure on the royal stables, the king's and queen's gambling, pensions to



COLLECTING THE POLL TAX

The poverty of the French crown in 1695 drove Louis XIV to the imposition of direct taxation, and a graduated poll tax, ignoring all class distinctions, was levied. This picture shows the tax-payers lining up before the collectors

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'

favourites, elaborate outfitting of guards and servants, military displays 'which are dear and open to ridicule.'

Meanwhile, by putting up for auction the farming of taxes, he was able to increase the revenue accruing therefrom and prevented the waste due to farming being in incompetent hands. But while the revenue had more than doubled in the ten years 1666-1676, the surplus of 1661 had by 1670 become a deficit of three million, and henceforward deficits are a yearly occurrence. In vain does Colbert warn the king, tell him that the revenue has reached the absolute maximum that can possibly be hoped for, that expenditure must be reduced; to talk to Louis XIV about economy was like talking to a butcher about vegetarianism. In Colbert's own words, 'His Majesty thought ten times more of war than of finances.' Between 1670 and 1679 the total expenses nearly doubled, while the revenue decreased owing to the bad trade resultant upon war. Colbert found himself therefore reduced to

the financial expedients he had constantly blamed in his predecessors: creation of splendid sinecures that were put up for sale, sale of royal domains, sale of privileges, creation of monopolies (for example, of postal services in 1672, of tobacco in 1674), new taxes, clipping of coinage—and, of course, loans.

In spite of these measures, the deficits went on increasing. Every year saw an anticipation of the revenues of the next ;

in 1680 the arrears of
Increasing poverty 1678 were still unpaid
of the Crown Colbert warned the king
 again, tried to open his

eyes to the true state of affairs, how future revenues were being eaten up in advance, how government creditors might demand reimbursement and drive the state to bankruptcy—all in vain. The king's only answer was that he 'trusted him to act for the best'—and that he could not reduce his expenditure.

Meanwhile Colbert saw all his early hopes of great economic reforms, of beneficent, constructive expenditure, of financial reorganization melting into thin air. In vain did he make inquiries as to the state of trade, endeavour to keep money in the country, draw up plans for the creation of fresh national industries—even in peace time the king insisted on maintaining an army of 120,000 men, and court expenditure was higher than ever before. On September 6, 1683, Colbert died, aged 64, worn out by years of hard work that turned out to be largely wasted.

Wasted, that is, as regards the state. For Colbert and his family his tenure of power was not unfruitful. Of his sons, one succeeded him, another became an archbishop, a third a general, a fourth superintendent of royal buildings. All three of his daughters married dukes. One of his brothers was a bishop, the second a secretary of state, the third a general. In spite of the penury of the state he left an enormous fortune, accepting, among other gifts, a dowry of over a million for one of his daughters. France had to pay heavily for good advice given and never followed.

Once Colbert's critical eye was removed, all the old evils gradually reappeared.

None of his successors in the treasury had anything like his abilities, while the king's need for money went on growing. The expenditure on royal buildings increased year by year, and revenues were always inadequate. To all purposes France was bankrupt by the beginning of the eighteenth century; between 1708 and 1715 the revenue was 461 millions and expenditure 1,912 millions; at the end of the reign the public debt was 2,000 millions. Against such a situation no expedients, or even moderate reforms, could be of any avail.

The root causes of this financial chaos were not the wasteful wars of Louis, nor his extravagance over Versailles; these were but the symptoms of the disease. The manner itself in which

Louis spent money is but **Extravagance**
 an indication of the real **of Louis XIV**
 evil, namely, wrong concep-

tions of what constituted good finance and profitable expenditure. France was a wealthy country, but at no time was the king's revenue proportionate to the country's resources. We said that Louis considered his subjects' wealth as his own—but things would have been better had he really done so, and dared to take money where it was to be found in large amounts. What he did was to take it, at the terrific cost of armies of officials, from those who really had very little to yield, and borrowed it, at a ruinous interest, from the wealthy financiers and men of business, while large classes of the nation contributed very little.

Thus, while the state was in perpetually increasing difficulties, the country itself was not necessarily getting poorer. A good deal of the money borrowed by the king returned to the pockets of the people in the form of interest on loans; the 'rentier' class was growing rapidly, the middle class was becoming wealthy and acquiring a real control of the national wealth. It must not be forgotten that the aristocracy was sharing the fate of the monarchy; few nobles were able to stand the expense of life at court, and most were obliged to do as the king did—borrow, and mortgage their estates. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that monarchy and aristocracy were bankrupt long before the

Revolution—and the creditors were the middle class, who finally put king and nobles into the bankruptcy court in 1789.

It is one of the paradoxes of history that we know French society of the middle ages, or of the eighteenth century, and even ancient Roman or Greek society, better than French society in the seventeenth century. 'The people,' as Professor Lavissee puts it, 'have been overshadowed by the magnificence of Versailles.'

And yet if we want to get a correct picture of the France of Louis XIV, on however small a scale, we cannot confine ourselves to the court. France was not Versailles or even Paris. The outstanding feature of seventeenth-century France is the fact that she was then, as she was to remain for another two centuries at least,

primarily an agricultural country. The 'ordinary average Frenchman' of the time was a peasant. He might be a farmer-owner (about one-fifth of the soil was in peasant ownership), but he was more likely to be a tenant. He might have as his landlord a town dweller, a merchant, a professional man (another fifth of the soil belonged to the middle class), a nobleman, or some ecclesiastical body; his tenancy might be of many forms, varying from serfdom of a mild type to the payment of a rental so small as to leave him virtually independent. In any case his holding was almost certain to be small enough to be worked by him, his wife and his children, with the possible assistance of a journeyman or two. Then, as now, the women worked in the fields as well as the men.

The lot of the peasant, never very easy at best, was made much harder than it



FAMOUS PICTURE OF PEASANT LIFE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Descriptions of brilliant court life in the France of Louis XIV tend to obscure the fact that the country was still primarily agricultural and that the mass of the people lived by tilling the soil as farmers, peasant-owners or tenants. Louis Le Nain's beautiful picture, painted in 1641, shows a peaceful scene in a farmyard in haymaking time. It is afternoon: the men are away in the fields and a small boy entertains his companions by playing on the flute.

The Louvre; photo, Alinari

need have been by the two plagues of the seventeenth-century land-worker—taxes and periodical famines. The taxes were of many sorts. There were your dues to the local lord—remnants of the feudal system, when he provided local police and justice in exchange for payment in money, in kind, or in personal service. The king now administered justice and kept order, but the lord's dues remained—road tolls, bridge tolls, forced labour for repair of local highways, obligation to use the lord's mills on his own terms, to let his hounds run over your land. You were lucky, in fact, if the lord only levied what law or custom allowed; some nobles were local tyrants, against whom the royal officials seemed helpless. Colbert, in 1681, warned the newly appointed intendant of Limousin that 'the noblemen and powerful people of the province were always accused of levying many vexatious imposts on the people, under pretext of tolls, forced labour, taxes, vine duties, and a perpetual increase of manorial dues and many other methods which bear heavily on the people.' As a general rule, it may be said, the Church was an easier landlord than the aristocracy.

After the local lord came the king. We have already spoken of the extraordinary



NOBLE AND PEASANT

Among the many exactions which oppressed the peasantry were the feudal dues still demanded by the nobles, who in other respects had lost their feudal character. This engraving shows a lord receiving a peasant's hard-earned offerings.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Lerou's 'Histoire de France illustrée'

system of taxation which owing to innumerable exemptions put the real burden on the peasantry. And the king must be paid: the defaulter was ruthlessly sold up and imprisoned. Nor was direct taxation the only trouble; a great part of the cost of the army fell on the wretched peasant, who had to billet the soldiers, for whom no barracks existed, and who largely lived on the countryside as in enemy country. In addition to forced billeting was the forced requisition of corn, straw and horses, forced labour for the army, forced recruiting. The presence of troops was such a disaster that it was included, with pestilence and fire, among the visitations that justified a municipality in borrowing.

It will be seen from all this that, however fruitful the land, it was scarcely possible for a peasant to pay all his dues (among which we



INTRUDERS IN A PEASANT HOUSEHOLD

The three brothers Le Nain were renowned for their paintings of French peasant life, and this picture, by one of them, shows French soldiers gambling with peasants, in an inn where they are probably billeted. In addition to heavy taxation, the peasants were compelled to billet soldiers regularly.

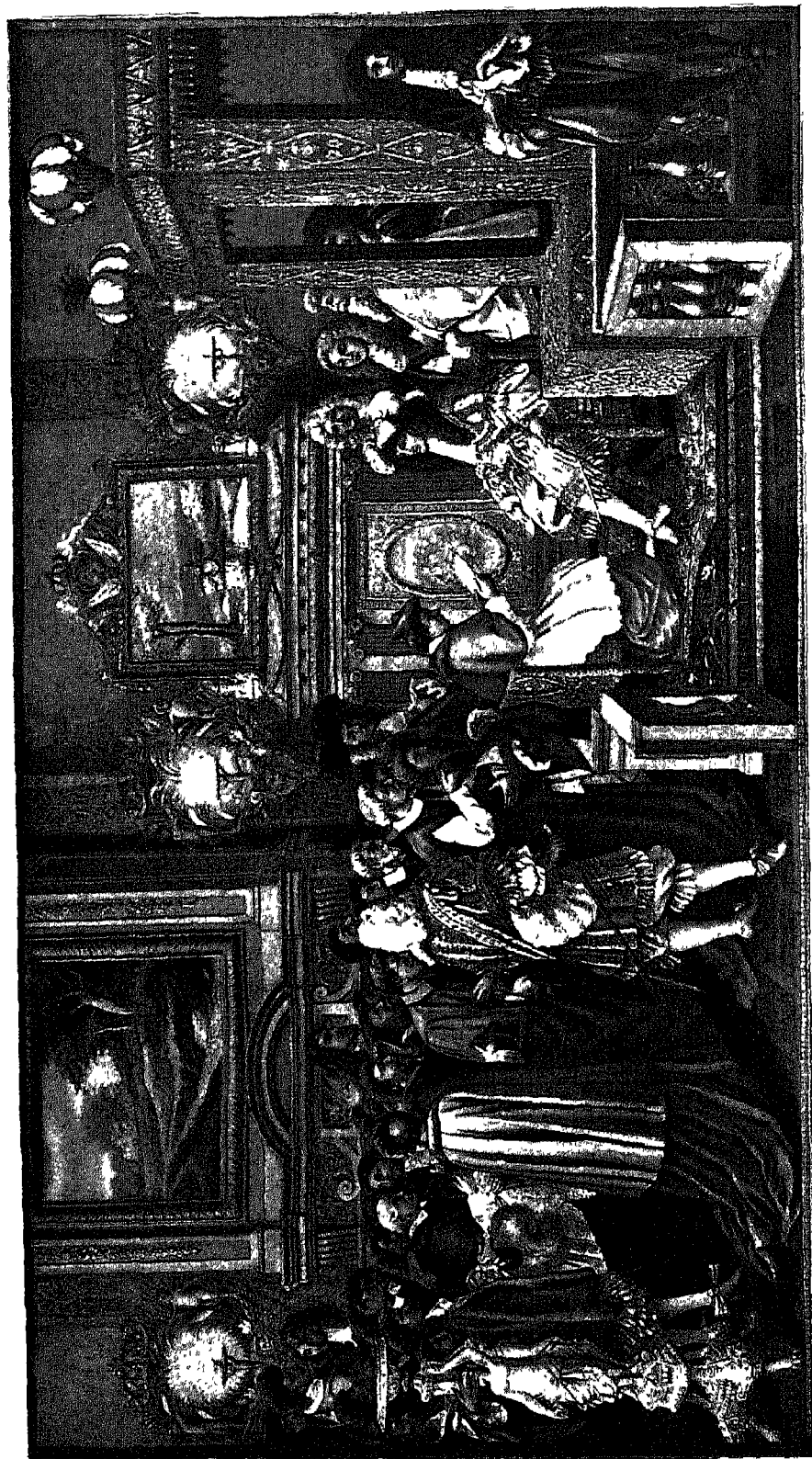
Parry Collection; photo, W. F. Mansell



HUMBLE FOUNDATION OF FRENCH SOCIETY: THE PEASANTS AS THEY LIVED

Antoine, Louis and Mathieu—the brothers Le Nain who were among the original members of the French Academy—collaborated in the genre paintings that throw such light on humbler domestic life during the first half of the reign of Louis XIV. In these two peasant vignettes we see what the social history of the period confirms: folk whose conditions make an appalling contrast with the luxury of the noblesse overlaid, yet who have attained sufficient prosperity to show their spirit by revolt when famine and mismanaged taxes threaten starvation.

Top, Ionides Collection, bottom, the Louvre (pl. 110, Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire)



LOUIS XIV AMID THE DAZZLING SPLENDOR PROVIDED BY THE TAXATION OF THE THIRD ESTATE

The magnificence and elaborate ceremonial of the French court are admirably brought out in a superb tapestry designed by the court painter Charles Le Brun and executed by the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins (see page 3849). It is based on a painting by Antoine Matthieus ; and the scene is an historical one. The duc de Créqui, French ambassador to the papal court, had been insulted, and Pope Alexander VII thought fit to send his nephew, Sigismondo Chigi, to apologise to Louis : the audience, a symptom of the relations of the French monarchy to the Papacy, was granted on July 20, 1664.

Manufacture des Gobelins, Paris.

were about to forget the by no means light Church tithes), meet all requisitions and have much left for himself. About 81 per cent. of his revenue is estimated to have been paid out in one way or another. And what if the land were not fruitful? What if the crops failed? The amazing system, already alluded to, by which corn could not be moved freely from one province to the other meant that the need of one region could not be met by the surplus of another. One of the results was that the peasant, un-

able to export any superfluous corn, did not attempt to grow more than what he personally needed or could sell in the district, with the inevitable consequence that there never were any reserves, and any shortage, however temporary, meant starvation. Add to this the primitive system of cultivation in vogue, and the fact that many parts of the country were not very fertile, and you get the second plague of the peasant's life, the danger of famine.

The French countryside lived, in fact, on a perpetual margin of starvation, of which countless testimonies could be given. In 1660 the Venetian ambassador described Paris and the court as full of gold and delights, while the provinces were sinks of destitution and misery. Both in 1663 and 1675 the governors of Dauphiné spoke of the peasants having to make bread with 'nut-shells ground with acorns and scraps of black wheat, rye or oats,' to eat grass and the bark of trees during the winter. In the Orléans district (one of the wheat centres of France) the peasants of 1687 were reported by a royal commissioner as 'feeding on fern roots boiled with barley and oats, having no beds save straw, no furniture, no clothes almost.' John Locke, the philosopher, wrote in 1676 that the peasant was crushed under the weight of badly distributed taxes, and adds that most villages were made of such wretched tumble-down houses that in England they would not be called hamlets. The governor of Limousin reports in 1692 some 70,000 beggars, having only half-rotten chestnuts to eat. Year after year Colbert mentions in his papers the misery of the people, 'which is perpetually being

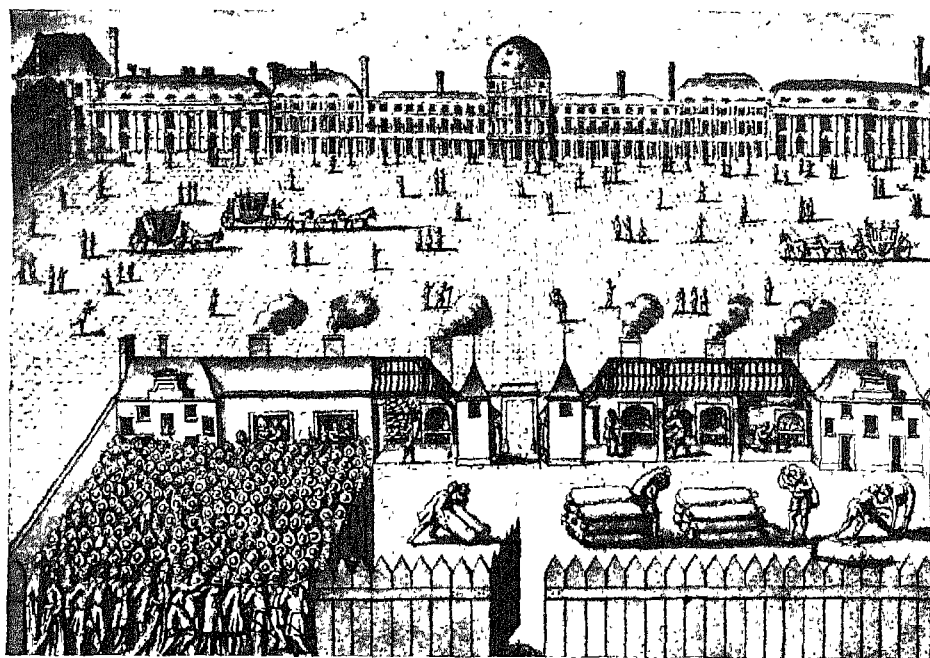
reported to him by officials, tax gatherers and even bishops' Note the 'even.'

The misery increased, if anything, as time went on. The last years of the reign saw several particularly bad winters—in the Montauban diocese there were over 400 deaths every year from starvation; in Vézelay at least one-tenth of the population were beggars. 'France is one huge miserable foodless hospital,' wrote Fénelon; while La Bruyère sums up the lot of the peasant in an often quoted page:

One can see fierce animals, male and female, scattered over the countryside, black, bloodless, and burnt up by the sun, tied down to the earth which they dig and turn up with unwearying labour, they have a kind of a voice, and when they stand up they show a human face. In fact, they are men. At night they withdraw to their burrows, where they live on black bread, roots and water. They spare other men the trouble of sowing, ploughing and reaping to live, and deserve therefore not to go short of the bread they have sown.

The natural result of such conditions was, as might be expected, frequent revolts. There was scarcely a year without some rising—and these in all parts of the country: Brittany in 1662 and in the same year the region of Boulogne (a very serious business, as a result of which 400 men were sent to the galleys); Poitiers, Bourges, Bordeaux and the Pyrenees in 1664; the valley of the Ardèche in 1670, with terrible reprisals; Bordeaux again in 1674, when the governor wrote that 'many insolent speeches were made as to the benefits of the former English rule, so that if the king of England were to use the opportunity of the present feeling and make an attack on Guyenne, where the Protestant party is very strong, he might in the present circumstances give us much trouble'; in 1675 Poitiers and Brittany again. Thus the dreary list could continue.

Social discontent was such that the monarchy might have been in serious difficulties had any organized opposition been possible. But risings were inevitably local; absence of easy communications made united effort impossible; further, town and countryside were never united, the merchants and professional classes invariably siding with the crown in the



BREAD FOR A HUNGRY PEOPLE : ROYAL ATTEMPT TO ALLAY DISCONTENT

An old drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, after medals of the year 1662, shows the scene in the court of the Tuileries during the famine of that year. At Louis XIV's command bakehouses were erected there and a distribution of bread was made to the starving people. The king, recognizing danger in the general dissatisfaction with his policy and extravagance, took this apparently beneficent measure in order to placate public opinion.

crushing of the peasantry, even if they, on their side, were soon after to protest against some fresh taxation. Louis XIV had no difficulty in maintaining his authority in a country of no social or economic cohesion.

The modern divorce between agricultural and industrial life was of course unknown to the seventeenth century. Largely unemployed during the

Society in the towns winter, the peasant often became a weaver, while his wife spun or made lace; the days of

the factory were not yet. Often the agricultural labourer endeavoured to migrate, temporarily or permanently, to the town in which he hoped to find a more assured sustenance than on the land. But he was scarcely any better off. Unable, for reasons which we shall expound presently, to enter any of the regular trades, he could only offer his services as an unskilled journeyman for a miserable wage. With bread one sou a pound, his daily wage would probably not exceed seven or

eight sous per day, and might be less; while any striking was punishable by law.

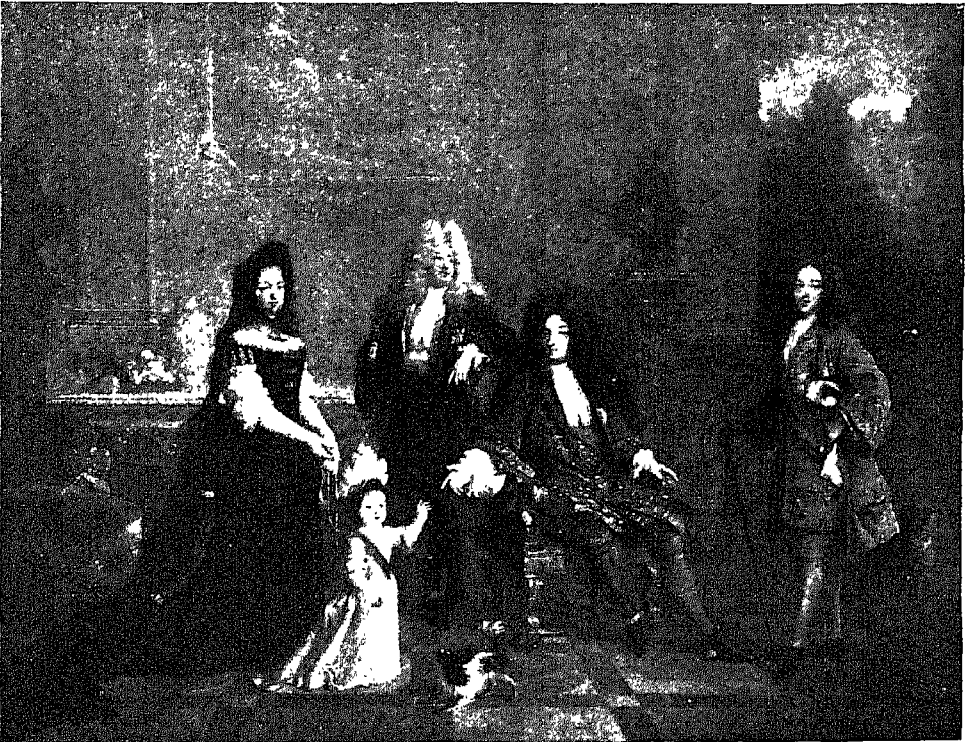
Further, while paid holidays were unknown, unpaid interruptions for festivals and holy days were frequent. Add to this appalling housing conditions, and it will not be wondered at that the towns were not more settled than the countryside. Most towns were full of beggars; Lister, the celebrated physician, describing his travels in France in 1658, complained of 'the crowd of poor and destitute making progress difficult, whether on foot or by coach'; and in 1662 the poor of Paris petitioned the king, speaking of their great number, their inability to find any work, and parishes having far too many to deal with to be able to give relief to all, while hospitals were full to overflowing.

It was impossible, we said, for an outsider in search of work to enter one of the regular trades, whether industrial or commercial. Each calling formed a close corporation, to which admission was only

possible by lengthy apprenticeship or by heredity. In addition to the innumerable regulations made by the corporation itself, each trade had to obey the army of laws and rules made by the government for the proper control of commerce. The commercial world, from the wealthy merchant to the youngest apprentice, was thus a world unto itself, closed to outsiders, jealous of its privileges and of those of the city which it virtually represented in its guild merchant. There was, of course, a number of people who lived in close contact with it without being of it—bankers and financiers, speculators and jobbers—and whose power, officially ignored, and often despised, was ultimately to be an important factor in the breakdown of a system too rigid and traditional in its methods to adapt itself to changing conditions.

Of professional people, in the modern sense, there were but few. Teaching was in the hands of the clergy, doctors were still closely connected with the more menial class of barbers, and, save for a few brilliant exceptions, were still singularly ignorant of their craft. A list of theses presented for medical degrees before the University of Paris between 1648 and 1714 reveals titles which show that Molière's railing at doctors had good justification: 'Is sneezing a natural act?' 'Are illegitimate children wittier than legitimate?' 'Should the phases of the moon be taken into account when cutting one's hair?' 'That if a fever drops on an even day of the month, it is sure to return.'

The enormous civil service was a class by itself; so was the corporation of the lawyers, or 'gown nobility' (so called in



FOUR GENERATIONS : LOUIS XIV AND HIS FAMILY

The great influence of Madame de Maintenon on Louis XIV's character and way of life endured for the last thirty years of his reign. Widow of the poet Scarron, she had been governess to Louis XIV's children and became his wife in 1684. Nicolas de Largillière's painting shows the king (seated) with this powerful lady. The other figures in the family group are Louis XIV's son, the grand dauphin, his grandson, the duke of Burgundy (right), and the duke of Anjou, child of the latter.

Wallace Collection

opposition to the aristocracy of the sword). The main feature of the lawyer class was its extraordinary independence. Judicial posts being inherited or bought, the king had virtually no power over any magistrate. This might have created a large body of free-minded men, able to dispense justice without fear or favour. But the very fact that their offices had been heavily paid for made judges short of money and notoriously open to bribes—the French judiciary of the seventeenth century was, with a few exceptions, a class of narrow-minded, traditional officials, more anxious of their privileges than of justice in general, largely corrupt and only moderately efficient.

Of this last point the ludicrous ease with which law degrees could be obtained—largely by presents to the examiners—is an eloquent proof, as is this statement of a foreign observer: 'Posts in the Parle-

ment being bought and sold, the court is filled with ignorant men, some being even the sons of butchers; they consequently give foolish verdicts, and the king is glad to see this body thus destroy its own reputation, with the idea that it will never again be able to try and act as a kind of guardian to the monarchy' (Memoirs of Primi Visconti). The plays of Molière tell what the common people thought of the law, its delays, red-tape and cruelty.

If indeed we pass from the judges to their victims—the term is not too strong, however guilty the poor wretches may have technically been—we find a heart-rending picture of suffering and misery. 'A prison,' said Father Fromentières, 'is the house of the devil, not only because of the guilt of its inmates, but because of the pains of hell it contains. Hunger, nakedness, disease, affliction, loneliness, are the fate of all those who enter.' Condemnation to the galleys was a sentence to slow death—those who did not collapse by the roadside when walking in a 'galley chain' or convoy to the port were not likely to survive very long on board. Complaints are also frequent of men detained in prison or on a galley long after they should have been released: in 1673 the bishop of Marseilles reported men who had served

their term two and three times over; in 1679 a man sentenced in 1665 to two years was still a galley slave, so was another sentenced in 1660 to five years. Legal trials still contained torture as a normal method of cross-examination, which frequently led to innocents confessing to crimes they had not committed in order to avoid further torments.

The clergy formed another close corporation, sharply divided between a higher clergy, usually of aristocratic birth and amazingly worldly, and a miserably paid lower clergy, sprung from the people, often with excellent intentions, but its degradation also incredibly ignorant and narrow-minded. 'Should your son be ill-favoured, coarse, heavy-minded, stupid, a hunchback or a cripple, he is worth nothing to the world, so you make him into a priest,' said Father Lejeune, while Bishop Fléchier winds up a scathing description of the manners and morals of the diocese of Clermont by telling of a certain priest who 'when carrying the Sacrament to distant farms, was accompanied by a clerk with a gun, so that, should game appear, he put down the holy vessels, and took his gun and either killed—or missed—the prey.' It would no doubt be unfair to generalise overmuch from such instances, but the testimony not only of satirical literature, but of contemporary sermons and other ecclesiastical sources, is too strong in its unanimity to leave one many illusions as to the general condition of the Church under Louis XIV.

The power of the clergy was financial. It alone had large wealth, of which it could to some extent dispose freely; it alone could give—or not give—to the crown. Not indeed that Louis admitted this: he maintained that 'kings had by nature the free and entire disposal of clerical wealth, whether secular or regular, to be used according to the good of the state.' But in point of fact the clergy was able to accompany its gifts with conditions, and to exercise a real influence over the religious policy of the crown: the quarrels with the Papacy and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were largely inspired, and certainly supported, by the French clergy.

We have already alluded to the position of the nobility in the government. Kept by Louis XIV out of any political or administrative responsibility, not allowed by tradition to engage in commerce, not even to develop their lands, because if they did it would become exempt from certain taxes, they were almost invariably idle and poor. Many a noble family was on the verge of bankruptcy; many nobles could not afford to marry; all saw in war their only possible occupation. Debarred from public life they had no interest in any possible reforms; in spite of the excellent intentions of many, the class as a whole remained an economic parasite, living on dues wrung out from its peasant-tenants, or on sinecures at court, or on royal pensions—unless they filled their empty coffers by marriage with an heiress of non-noble birth. Even the theoretically close caste of seventeenth-century nobility was not closed to wealthy parvenus (the term 'nouveaux riches' is actually found in contemporary writings). Writers like La Bruyère and St. Simon are full of allusions to the rapid decay of the real old aristocracy and to the rise of a new aristocracy of money, 'who own the finest estates and of whom the real nobles are glad to be the sons-in-law.'

Of the morals of the age it is not necessary to speak at any length. Strict ethics were not the strong point of French civilization in any class of society; contemporary memoirs, the plays of the time (those of Molière especially), the large mass of satirical literature and the sermons of the band of great preachers who flourished at the time show that France was certainly no better in the seventeenth century—if perhaps no worse—than in most other periods in her history. It is true that after his marriage in 1684 to the ultra-

devout and puritanical Madame de Maintenon Louis XIV turned over a new leaf and led during the last thirty years of his life an existence very different from that of his earlier years; but he only succeeded in

masking slightly the dissoluteness of the court and of many members of the royal family—a dissoluteness which, driven underground for a time, was to burst forth into the amazing scandals of the Regency of Philip of Orléans.

What is however worth noting is the extraordinary coarseness of an age that prided itself on its polite manners. Court ladies apparently endured language—and actions—that would scarcely be tolerated in a guardroom; what would be to us the most elementary decency was violated at every turn. Among the least repulsive characteristics of the period we may venture

to mention a gluttony that appears to us incredible, the general habit of eating all solid food with one's fingers (forks were an innovation which Louis would never tolerate at court), an absence of sanitary arrangements, which made even Versailles smell like a cesspool. In spite of all its pomp, it was a rough and comfortless age: houses were badly heated, badly lit and badly ventilated; epidemics were frequent, smallpox being particularly virulent; the veneer of refinement only thinly veiled the fact that the France of Louis XIV had not left very far behind the barbarous habits of the Middle Ages.

If we now try and sum up the social characteristics of the period, we shall see that these are two: rigidity and lack of cohesion. French society is made up of a number of classes or sets, each strictly defined and closed, jealous of its traditions and privileges, and unable to sink its own immediate fancied interests in any common cause. Cut off from each other, these



FRENCH ECCLESIASTIC

One of the three 'estates' was the ecclesiastical order, who, on official occasions, ranked immediately after princes of the blood. This engraving by Bonnart shows a cleric in his cassock.

From Larousse, 'Histoire de France'

various classes are only directly linked to one body, the crown. The king is the source of all their advantages, the creator of those very privileges that separate them. He is thus able to play them off against each other, and to retard the formation of any internal social unity.

And yet such a judgement cannot stand permanently. When we have said that material life was still rough, that manners were uncouth save for a superficial polish, that morals were crude, we have not exhausted the matter: we must not forget the extraordinary literary greatness of the age—a greatness that would make the period stand out, even if it were utterly undistinguished in any other particular.

The reign saw (mainly during the middle period, 1661–1685) the greatest comic writer of France and perhaps of the world, Molière; the most profound and finished tragic writer, Racine, and his less polished but glorious rival Corneille; the only great fabulist of modern times, La Fontaine; the most penetrating literary critic, Boileau. Pulpit eloquence reached its highest point in any age or country with Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon. The work of the greatest French scientist, philosopher and master of prose, Pascal, was entirely done in the reign of Louis. And in addition to these men of



FRENCH MASTERS OF THE TRAGIC AND THE COMIC DRAMA

The prestige of the court of Louis Quatorze was enhanced by the great and gifted writers who lived during his reign. The works of Molière (top, painting by Mignard), who has been called the creator of modern comedy, exploit the weaknesses of mankind, and the tragedies of Jean Racine (bottom left, engraving by Edelinck) are one of the glories of French literature. The classic themes of the dramatist Pierre Corneille (bottom right, engraving by M. Lasne) are vigorous but less highly finished.

Top, Musée Condé, Chantilly (photo, Giraudon); bottom right, Bibliothèque de la Comédie Française (photo, Giraudon)



QUEEN OF LETTER WRITERS

The subject of this portrait by Nanteuil is Madame de Sévigné (1626-1696), famous as the writer of witty and essentially human letters which throw a valuable light upon the social life of the France that she knew

Musée Carnatalet, Paris

genius there was a crowd of less distinguished men who would have been an ornament to any age: La Bruyère, the writer of satirical character sketches; La Rochefoucauld, the witty framer of cynical maxims; Madame de Sévigné, the perfect letter writer and word painter; and a host of playwrights whose misfortune it was to be overshadowed by the great trinity already named. And although the same galaxy of exceptional talent was not forthcoming in other departments of art, the pictures, statues and other decorations of Versailles reveal the existence of many artists of no mean merit, to whom the grandiose schemes of the Sun King gave a unique chance of revealing a talent that might otherwise have blushed unseen.

We cannot just say that Louis was merely 'lucky' to have been the contemporary of so many men of

genius. Happy coincidence cannot, of course, be entirely ruled out, but Molière's works, and in particular his *Tartuffe*, that castigation of religious hypocrisy (that subtle attack on religion, say some), would have been killed by organized opposition had it not been for royal support; Racine and Boileau were court historians, Corneille was a royal pensioner and Bossuet a court preacher. In fact, there is scarcely a great name in the literature of the period that does not receive from Louis XIV some of the recognition that gives genius its real chance.

It must not be thought, however, that the patronage extended by Louis to arts and letters was an entirely disinterested tribute. Nor was it even a vague idea that it could, to some extent and in some undefined way, contribute to the glory and the prestige of the reign. There was behind it all a very definitely conscious purpose; it was in fact but a part of the centralisation policy already studied. Men of



SUPREME PULPIT ORATOR

The French bishop Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), here portrayed by H. Rigaud, was famous throughout France for the strength and sincerity of his preaching. His funeral orations are classics, those on Condé and Turenne being especially notable.

The Louvre: photo, Graudan

letters, artists, musicians had been in the habit of receiving patronage from wealthy nobles, who thus created bodies of virtual retainers whose swords—and pens mightier than swords in the age of the lampoon—were at their service. This must come to an end: in the France of Louis XIV there must be but one patron of art.

It became necessary therefore to organize arts and letters into a regular civil service 'ad maiorem regis gloriam.' A very mediocre poetaster, Chapelain, who knew everybody, was entrusted with the distribution of royal patronage, singling out for favour poets and historians, as the former rendered immortal the deeds chronicled by the latter. A regular system of pensions was soon set up, the recipients of which were not confined to France; court historians were appointed; poems without number appeared, monuments and statues erected. In addition to this, the French language, still liable to strange variations of dialect, still lacking a rigid syntax, vocabulary or spelling, had to be reduced to strict uniformity. Founded by Richelieu and encouraged by Louis XIV, the French Academy became a marvellous instrument of linguistic centralisation, and thereby of cultural unity.

The literary interest of the period, however, does not lie so much in the individual or collective greatness of the writers as in the manner in which the literature reflected to a very special degree the political and social tendencies of the time.

We do not mean by this any specific reference to current events, much less any comment on them. Apart from 'court literature' there is, on the contrary, a most remarkable unanimity of silence over the doings of the king. Why? Partly, no doubt, because of an utter indifference to politics. In an absolutist age, with no freedom of the press, no liberty of discussion, it is a dangerous thing to talk politics—it is safer to talk of other things. So seventeenth-century writers do talk of other things; they discuss man in general rather than the Frenchmen of their own day, they confine themselves to what we may call the fundamentals of universal psychology, and go to Greece and Rome for their heroes. To find contemporary allusions in classical literature is an amusing pastime, but requiring much ingenuity and imagination. One exception might be made for La Fontaine, who does occasionally introduce in his Fables thinly veiled satire, using various



LOUIS XIV AT THE ACADEMIE FRANCAISE

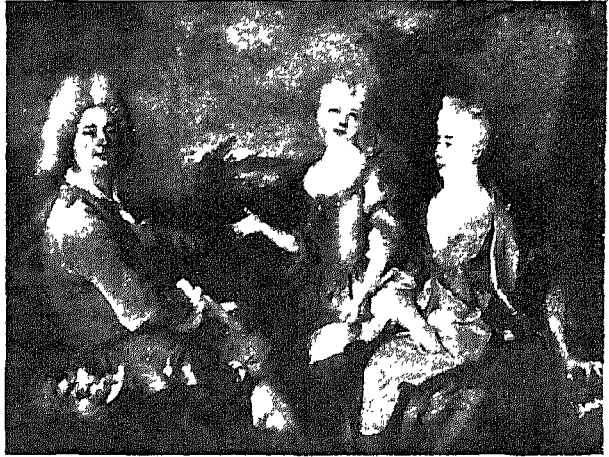
A royal edict of 1635, inspired by Richelieu, transformed a small society of earnest literary men into the celebrated Académie Française. Louis XIV took a great interest in its activities, and it became thoroughly representative of French literature, numbering Racine, Boileau, La Fontaine and Corneille among its members. The Académie produced, in 1694, a dictionary of the French language; this picture from the 1696 edition shows members of the Académie presenting a copy to Louis.

British Museum

animals as transparent cloaks for easily identified social types and even actual individuals.

But, it may be said, allusions to contemporary events need not be critical. Are there no references to the glorious wars, to the conquests? No indications of Frenchmen taking pride in national achievements? And the answer is that, except for 'official' literature (odes by poets laureate and so forth), there are none; and the reason is that to most Frenchmen these were not national, but royal achievements. There can be no deep love of country, or pride in her doings, when there is no liberty, no responsibility, no direct share in policy. The utter indifference of the people to the wars and successes that were to them but the king's wars is to us an extraordinary feature of the period. In fact, we should correct a statement made above, and say that there are allusions to the wars, but only as an expression of deep war weariness in the later period of the reign. Whatever imperialism there was in French policy came from the king, not from the people.

We should also remember that, far more than in our own day, this literature was that of a select few, the educated middle and upper class. The great mass of the people was totally illiterate and consequently out of contact with anything written. In no sense is all this literary output national; it is intensely sectional and at the same time universal in its utter detachment from contemporary issues and standpoints. And yet it is curious to see how the political theories of the reign found, as it were, a counterpart in the literary and artistic doctrines which dominated the age of Louis XIV. It was an era of fixed rules of beauty, of rigid canons of taste. Dogmatism in art grew as it were with royal absolutism. It produced imposing results,



SELF-PORTRAIT OF A PORTRAITIST

This complacent portrait of the French artist Largillière (1650-1746), with his wife and daughter, was painted by himself. His gift for portraiture and skill in colouring earned him considerable success, but his work is characterised by that lack of originality prevalent in the art of the age

The Louvre; photo. Alinari

at the cost, of course, of originality and spontaneity. The drama is hedged by the rigid rules of the 'three unities'—see further in Chapter 153—and it is amazing how it became possible for dramatic art to flourish within these restrictions. But not only the drama was thus checked and regulated; every literary 'genre' found itself forced to comply with certain standards of form and matter, of which Boileau was the great exponent.

These standards are interesting because they are an expression of prevailing ideas. They rest on the assumption that beauty and truth are the same; that the rational is the beautiful. This was the translation into art of the philosophy of Descartes (see page 3824). For Descartes all final truth was within the reach of the unaided human reason, a faculty possessed by all men. The use of reason, applied with method, and according to the strict rules of intellectual discipline such as are found in mathematics, had no limits or boundaries. This recourse to reason excluded the appeal to other human faculties, in particular to sentiment, or feeling, or emotion—to what later philosophers were to call intuition, or to what theologians would term mysticism.

This Cartesian philosophy found its incarnation in the French conception of



'L'HONNETE HOMME

This seventeenth-century portrait of the marquis de Barbezieux provides an example of the typical French gentleman of the period. Extravagant dress and courteous manners were the criteria by which this age judged its 'gentlemen.'

Bibliothèque Nationale; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'

the gentleman—'l'honnête homme.' The French gentleman must be polite and courteous; he must have excellent manners and refined speech; he must avoid all roughness or brusqueness of deed or word; he must keep his desires and passions under the strict control of his reason, and avoid like the plague all enthusiasm, pity, emotion. He need not be moral as long as his vices go with good manners, and holds virtue without good manners to be worse than vice. Above all, he must not be a fool.

The literary application of Cartesianism is evident. If thought has its rules, so has art. If reason be the last criterion, then beauty must be rational, mathematical. What will matter, therefore, will be exactness of proportion, symmetry, correctness of outline. Caprice must be shunned. Excellence will consist not in originality but in doing supremely well along the lines accepted as correct. There is no room in

all this for a Shakespeare with his erratic genius, too overflowing to be cribb'd, cabin'd or confined within a body of rules. Success can only be obtained by a rigid adherence to accepted standards.

It is evident that there is little room for nature in the scheme: the interpretation of nature is bound to be subjective, personal, not standardised; it is therefore banned from literature, and you get the phenomenon of the greatest literary age of France having no lyrical poetry, no descriptive prose. Nature is also banned from literature because it has no mind; the only subject with a mind is man, and the study of man is the only theme which classical authors will touch: drama, essays, history, philosophy, theology, fables—all deal with man, and particularly with the permanent and universal in man—his passions, instincts, ambitions and loves.

During the last years of the reign, the reaction which we saw in every other department of the national life manifested itself also in literature. Just as feeling and emotion claimed once more their place in religion in the mystical movement of Quietism associated with Madame Guyon and Fénelon, so they re-emerge in literature in the works

of the last-named, who **Emotional reaction** virtually introduced in Fénelon's works subjectivism, personal pleasure, as an adequate criterion not only of artistic beauty but even of ultimate truth. Politically, this reopening of the door to sentiment expresses itself in a new sympathy for the suffering of the poor, a genuine desire for the alleviation of misery, even at the cost of scrapping hitherto accepted ideals: Fénelon attacks war, and the policies that make war inevitable; he believes in political liberty as it flourished in England; he puts mankind before country. Fénelon is thus the herald of the new tendencies, literary, social, political, religious, which after finding fuller and deeper expression in the subjectivism, the love of nature, the sentimentality of Rousseau, finally burst forth in the great anti-classical, anti-traditional movement known as Romanticism (see Chap. 161).

Against the royal policy of absolutism and uniformity in every department of life

—political, economic, social—there might have remained a last preserve of freedom, the sphere of the mind and soul; but it was here, as a matter of fact, that this royal policy was made to prevail even more savagely than elsewhere.

In earlier parts of this chapter we have seen how shaky were the foundations of the apparently magnificent edifice of seventeenth-century France. But the political and economic revolution that eventually overthrew it might never have happened, or at least might have been very different, had it not been for the revolution in men's minds, which became so much more than a merely political or economic

movement that many of its early friends, aghast at its course, endeavoured to stop it by the restoration

of the main foundations of the old order, the Church. If the French Revolution took the course it began by following, it was because the Church, by being identified with the old order itself, had lost its hold on the masses; if after a short while the Revolution was checked, not by the forces of that old order, but by forces which had begun by favouring the Revolution, it was because of the reassertion of the soul of the nation itself. People may put up with much political tyranny or anarchy, with much economic subjugation or great material distress—but only as long as they are free to worship (or not to worship) God according to their own conscience.

Such a freedom Louis XIV was not prepared to grant. In this he was by no means singular. Religious toleration was not a seventeenth-century virtue. In endeavouring to establish religious uniformity in his country, Louis XIV was but following the example of virtually every sovereign who had hitherto been strong enough to attempt such a policy; admirers of Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth and Charles I can scarcely cast the first stone. The one difference between them and him was that they were fortunate enough to fail and he was so unfortunate as to succeed.

This is no paradox. There is no Englishman, whatever his faith, who would not agree that England would have been

permanently crippled in her development—religious, moral, intellectual and even material—by the success of any one of her sovereigns in really crushing out every form of religious thought and worship save that of one church, whether Anglican or Catholic, Presbyterian or Independent. The tragedy of France was that all 'nonconformity' was crushed. Movements within the Church, which might have enriched her life and widened her outlook, were crushed no less relentlessly than the Protestant movement outside it. It was not merely a matter of outward conformity sheltering a variety of standpoints; it meant the ruthless stamping out of every opinion that did not harmonise with that section within the Catholic Church which at that time chanced to predominate.

The Wars of Religion had ended in the rejection of Protestantism by the great mass of Frenchmen. The Reformation had failed, but the problem still remained of removing the grievances which had caused it to arise. Had all been well with the Church, there would have been no need for reform; but all was not well, nor did the Council of Trent really meet the need. Many who had felt unable to identify themselves with the new movement were keenly anxious to see the old Church supply some of those elements on which the Reformers had insisted, and which, whether moral or mystical, came to a stressing of the personal element in religion. 'Hardly anyone outside the Protestant church had any real piety,' says Professor Strowski of France in the days of Louis XIII. Half a century later it was no longer true. A revival of religion sprang up within the Catholic church, of which the names of S. Vincent de Paul and S. François de Sales indicate the deeper and more spiritual elements.

Among the chief artisans of this revival was the Society of Jesus (see Chap. 142). It is barely an exaggeration to say that within certain limits the Jesuits controlled the religious policy of the realm. The limits were those of their own popularity and of royal authority. They had many enemies: the secular clergy were jealous of the success of a religious order;

educationists envied them professionally. Even nationalists were suspicious of an organization with headquarters abroad and a foreign general. Thus, in fact, it was their chief obstacle given virtually a free hand as long as they waged war against unbelief or heresy, they dared not appear too openly as the champions of Roman authority against the liberties and privileges of the national churches, and in the thirty years' conflict that raged around the respective powers, financial and administrative, of king and pope over the Church of France (the 'Gallican quarrel,



FOUNDER OF JANSENISM

Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) desired to reform the Catholic Church from within. His violent opposition to the Jesuits was embodied in a posthumously published work *Augustinus*. This engraving is by Herbert after Champaigne.

1664-1693) their power and prestige were seriously shaken.

It is necessary to stress this insecurity of the Jesuits' hold on power, in order to explain the violence of their attack on all those who threatened their authority. It was not merely self-defence: it was also an attempt to divert the attack from themselves on to others. They were ultimately responsible for the crushing by Church and State together of the three religious forces that threatened their monopoly: Jansenism, Quietism and Protestantism. In every case they led the attack (or counter-attack, if you

will) not merely because of a real danger to the Church, but also because of the necessity of finding an enemy whose existence would justify their own. An army with no foe to fight is not worth keeping, and it should be noted that when those three forces were crushed the Jesuits rapidly lost their hold and were expelled from France in 1762.

We said that many were looking for a more personal religious life, stressing more the moral and mystical elements of religion. The providing of those elements within the Church was the work of Jansenism and of Quietism.

The story of Port-Royal has often been told. Just as Methodism was born in John Wesley's rooms in Lincoln College, so was Jansenism really launched on the world by the 'solitaires' of that little monastery by the gates of Paris. Port-Royal, originally a small nunnery, had through the zeal of its mother superior, Angélique Arnauld, and the blazing fervour of her spiritual director, the abbe de St. Cyran, become a centre of what we can only term a puritan revival within the Church. The number of nuns rapidly grew, and a large number of laymen, the



FAMOUS ABBESS OF PORT-ROYAL

Philippe de Champaigne painted this portrait of Mère Angélique Arnauld (1591-1661), mother superior of the convent at Port-Royal which under her guidance, inspired by the abbé de St. Cyran, became a centre of Jansenism.

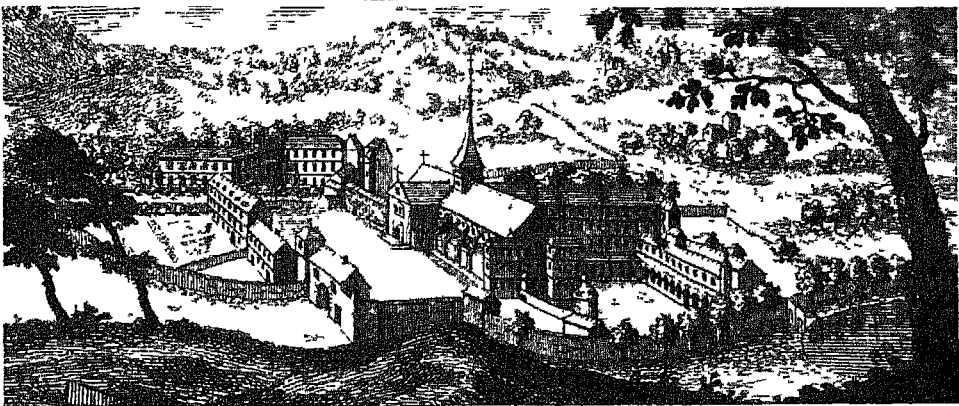
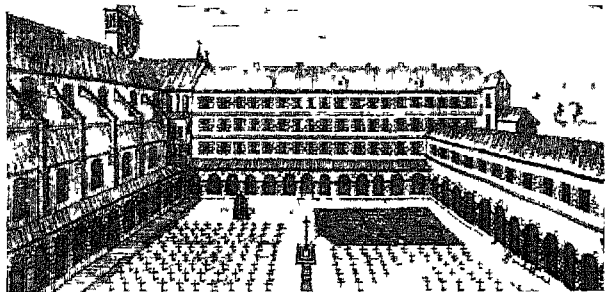
The Louvre, photo Archives photographiques.

'solitaires, gave up the world, their professional and business life, and came to live all around the monastery, free from all vows, but monks in fact if not in name entirely given up to religious and social work—education, care of the sick, study, prayer, meditation and last but not least active propaganda for the theological and moral teaching of St Cyprian and his great friend Jansen, bishop of Ypres.

The theology of Jansenism differed from orthodox Catholicism on highly technical points concerning grace, free-will and predestination, on which matter it savoured considerably of Calvinism while invariably maintaining its abhorrence of all heresy. But although it was officially persecuted and finally crushed as a theological heresy, its early success and its unpopularity with authority were quite unconnected with heresy. It was as a movement of moral reform that Jansenism made its appeal and awoke hostility. It stood for everything we are accustomed to associate with the term 'Puritanism'. It appealed to all those who saw in the Christian religion a strait and narrow way, a crushing of natural instincts and passions. It stood therefore in sharp opposition to the views and methods of the

Jesuits, who, anxious not to make the practice of religion too hard, wished to bring into the fold of the Church all who were not deliberately impudent unbelievers.

Between the two schools of thought the battle was soon pitched. It began with years of warfare by sermons and pamphlets, of which Pascal's Provincial Letters owing to their amazing powers of wit, sarcasm, moral indignation and brilliant style proved to be the finest piece of destructive criticism in any language. It then passed on to the refusal of sacraments and absolution to prominent Jansenists and led on to the attempt to exclude all Jansenist clergy from their livings or monasteries and to demand from them the signing of a formula condemning the teaching of Jansen (1661-62). An attempt to break up the Port-Royal community proved abortive (1664-65) and for the next twenty-five years the efforts



PORT-ROYAL, CENTRE OF JANSENISM AND CULTURE

The convent of Port-Royal, founded in 1204 by Mathilde de Garlande, stood midway between Versailles and Chevreuse, in the valley of the Yvette. It underwent a great revival under Marie Angélique Arnauld in the seventeenth century and became a centre of education, the aim of its teaching being moral rather than intellectual. Moral recluses frequently spent their lives there and were buried in its cemetery (top). Louis XIV ordered the destruction of the buildings in 1710.

From *Nerrolone ou l'Abbaye de Port-Royal*, Amsterdam 1711.



APOSTLE OF QUIETISM

Jeanne Marie Guyon (1648-1717) was a well-born and attractive widow who devoted her life to spreading the Quietist doctrine of 'passivity'. Although supported by Fénelon, she underwent imprisonment in the Bastille for teaching heresy.

From Dreux de Radier, 'L'Europe Illustrée,' 1755

of the Church were diverted from the Jansenist problem to the extirpation of Protestantism by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to a terrible quarrel between the pope and king about their respective spheres of authority.

With Protestantism out of the way and the Gallican controversy settled, the field was once more clear for the fight against Jansenism. A new complication arose, however, by the appearance of a fresh heresy, in no sense akin to Jansenism theologically or even temperamentally, and yet springing from the same source and arousing the same hostility.

Just as the teaching of Port-Royal was meeting the need for a stricter morality, for a keener grip on the ethical and serious side of religion, so the doctrines of Quietism appealed to those who found in official Catholicism an inadequate insistence on the need for and possibility of a direct communion of the soul with God. Molinos, a Spanish priest (who must not be confused with the Jesuit Molina), taught that the devout soul had nothing to do but to remain in 'quiet' contemplation before God, suppressing its personality and

ignoring all external helps to mystic communion. Although this doctrine was condemned by Rome in 1687, it spread rapidly, and became known in French court circles through the influence of a Madame Guyon, a great friend of Madame de Maintenon, and of Archbishop Fénelon.

It is easy to see that, while Jansenism and Quietism would scarcely appeal to the same people, they were bound to make the same enemies. Both doctrines stressed the direct, personal, non-sacramental aspect of religion; both almost ignored the official channels of grace, both had been declared heretical by the Papacy; both were an appeal to potential Catholic nonconformists. Finally, and this is a most important point, both attracted political malcontents who saw in religious opposition a way of expressing hostility to the monarchy and the court. It is an inevitable penalty of the close linking of throne and altar that discontent with the one should express itself by opposition to the other. There is no doubt that among the followers of Jansen, and later of Madame Guyon, were many who had been in close sympathy with the rebels of the Fronde, or who were in close touch with the parliamentary circles where was to be found, as we have seen, the only attempt at organized resistance to the crown's policy.

The last years of the century saw, therefore, a simultaneous attempt at crushing both heresies. Not, indeed, that they made a common defence against a common foe; **Jansenism and Quietism** each thought to ward off the attack by joining in the onslaught against the other. While Fénelon, the Quietist, expressed his detestation of Port-Royal, Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux and court preacher, who was suspected of Jansenist leanings, led the attack on the other heresy, and obtained the banishment of his colleague and rival. Jansenism, having a definite geographical centre and a more precise body of teaching, was more vulnerable than the somewhat elusive Quietist tendencies, and bore the brunt of the renewed storm. Its influential supporters abandoned it and in 1710 Port-Royal was razed to the ground, the tombs violated, and Jansenist teaching finally

condemned in the papal bull *Unigenitus*, as 'false, pernicious, seditious, impious, blasphemous and savouring of heresy'. In point of fact Jansenist and Quietist tendencies lingered on for many years, all the early part of the reign of Louis XV was to be shadowed by the old controversies. But the real force of Jansenism as a moral revival had spent itself long before the bull *Unigenitus*.

Why were the Jansenists and Quietists not left alone? From Jesuit jealousy of Port-Royalist education and fear of heresy, Jansenists, Quietists or any other 'ists' must be crushed, because no deviation could be authorised from the one standard type of religious life and organization to be found in official Catholicism. It was the old confusion between unity and uniformity, a confusion that has been the bane of the political as well as the religious life of France.

If no differences were to be allowed within the Catholic Church, much less was any toleration likely to be given to any religious body outside it; the extirpation of Protestantism was the logical accompaniment of the crushing of Jansenism and Quietism.

The Edict of Nantes had given the Protestants freedom to worship under certain conditions in all towns where Protestant communities existed at the time. Although thus limited in its scope, it had proved broad enough

Protestantism —generously interpreted, it **in France** is true—for Protestantism to develop and organize itself. In 1661 Protestants numbered about one and a half million (about one-fifteenth of the total population), mainly concentrated in a few definite areas (Normandy, Paris, the south-east and south-west).

The cardinal-statesmen, Richelieu and Mazarin, had both maintained the freedom guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes; but from the very moment of his accession to power Louis XIV decided otherwise. He states in his *Memoirs*:

I framed as early as 1661 my policy towards them—not to weigh them down by any fresh rigorous measures, to guarantee to them what they had obtained from my predecessors, but to give them nothing beyond that; and to do all this within the

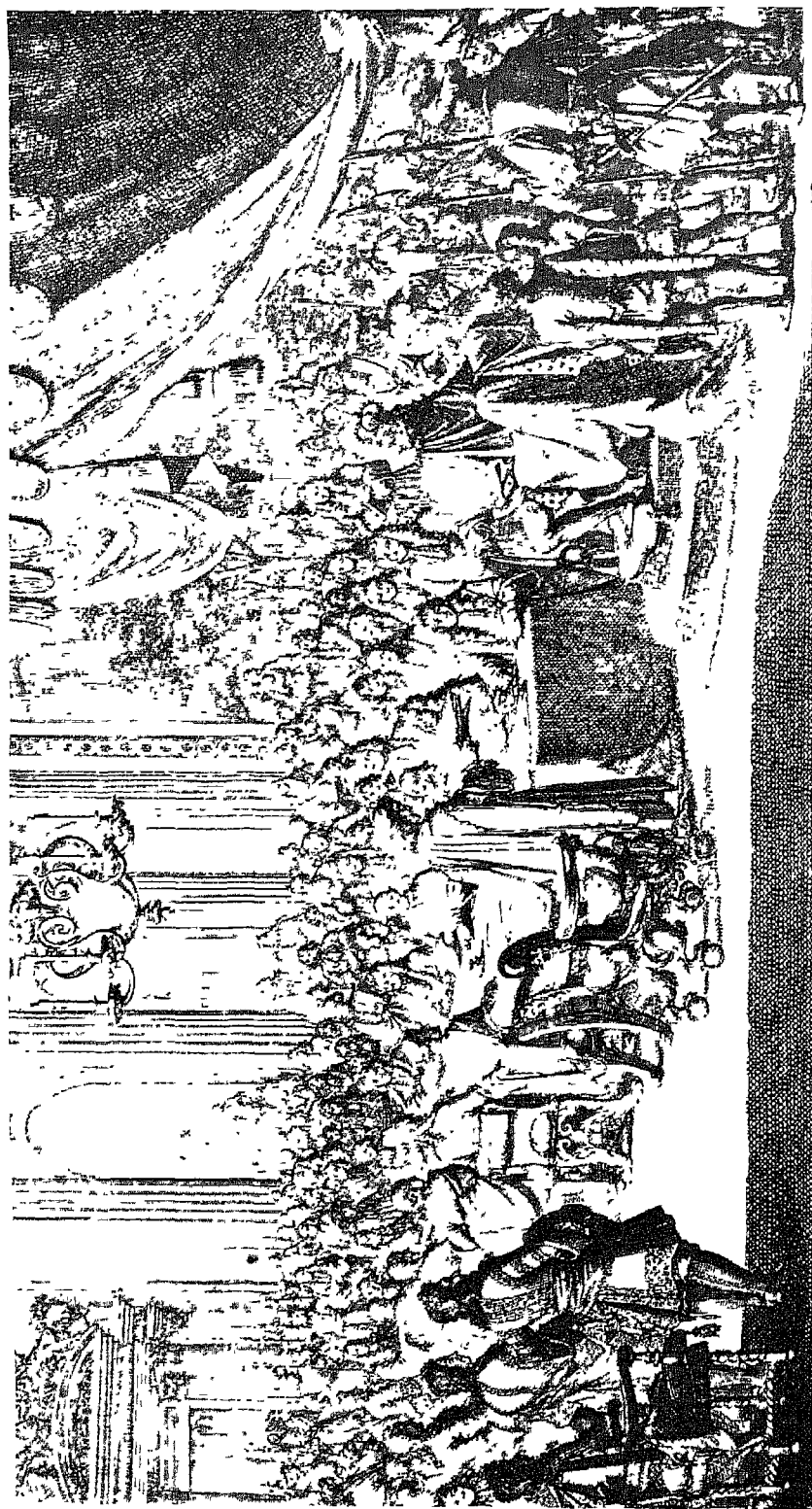
narrowest limits compatible with justice and decency. As to my own dependence from myself alone, I took the first decision to grant none, and this in kindness, not in anger.

The whole point lay of course in what the terms guarantees, favours, justice, decency would mean. But it must be stated very emphatically that Louis XIV was in no sense wholly responsible for the policy of repression. It would have needed an amazingly tenacious grasp of the principles of religious toleration for him to withstand the pressure that was put upon him. As early as 1651 the Assembly of the Clergy had begun to petition for the removal of even the limited freedom allowed by the 1598 law:

We do not ask that your Majesty should banish at once from your kingdom this unfortunate liberty of conscience which destroys true liberty of the children of God, because we do not think this would prove easy in practice, but we do wish that if your authority cannot destroy this evil at one blow, it should cause it to wither and gradually to decay.

It was this policy of 'killing legality by law' that Louis XIV adopted as soon as Mazarin was out of the way. It was really both **Louis XIV's ingenious and simple: ob-** **religious policy** serve strictly a sixteenth-century enactment, without taking into account any change in circumstances, and above all use the loopholes left to you by what the enactment does not state. Deny the Protestants any right not expressly given to them—because the sixteenth-century legislator took it for granted—and you will soon reduce them to helplessness.

The first step was the forbidding of the meeting of the Annual Synod, as not authorised in 1598. Then came the compulsion for Protestant funerals to take place by night, because the Edict did not expressly allow funerals by day. Still observing strictly the letter of the Edict, churches not in existence in 1598 were pulled down one after another; children were removed from their parents' care to be educated as Catholics, 'in order that the clergy might be allowed to give the bread of life to those poor innocents who asked for instruction' (how otherwise



LOUIS XIV'S ATTEMPT TO EXTINGUISH PROTESTANTISM . REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

From the beginning of his reign it was the firm determination of Louis XIV to suppress the freedom of worship granted to French Protestants by Henry IV's Edict of Nantes in 1598. Fiercely intolerant, he secured the passing of measure upon measure to restrict the liberties of the Protestants and finally, in October 1685 his policy achieved its culmination in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes which prohibited Protestant worship and forbade Protestants to leave the country. This engraving by Jan Luiken shows the king formally revoking the Edict in the presence of a large assembly

L. Luiken del. Nationalde, Pari. . photo. G. rauten

could they have the freedom of conscience for which their fathers craved? Further measures closed to Protestants all liberal professions, all official posts, all trade guilds—this, however, in violation of the Edict—limited the number of those allowed to attend even authorised meetings, closed their schools, prevented their ministers from remaining in any one place more than a limited time, prohibited all books that seemed to attack the Church. In short, social and economic life was made impossible.

In 1677 a special fund was opened for subsidising conversions; in 1681 actual persecution began by the billeting of dragoons in Protestant households, with freedom to act as 'booted missionaries' to their heart's content. Many conversions resulted from both those sources. The next year the Church Assembly warned Protestants they must 'expect worse misfortunes,' and that 'the angels of peace would weep if they did not yield.'

In 1685 the Assembly announced that the Edict, 'the intention of which was to reunite the Protestants to the Church,' had fulfilled its work, and on October 22

Louis XIV formally revoked the Edict. All Protestant churches were

to be pulled down; no Protestant worship allowed; all ministers were to leave the kingdom within fourteen days under pain of death, but no other Protestants were to attempt to leave the country under pain of prison for women and the galleys for men. 'Let us,' exclaimed Bossuet, 'pour out our hearts about the piety of Louis, let us raise our shouts to Heaven, and tell this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Martian, this new Charlemagne. Thou hast destroyed the heretics; it is the worthy achievement of the reign.'

Whether or not Louis really thought there were virtually no Protestants left, he was soon undeceived, and the results of the Revocation were very different from anything he seemed to have anticipated. Many Catholic 'converts' returned to the Huguenot faith; the laity left the country by thousands, while the clergy refused to leave. Their flocks' worship was carried on in secret conventicles.

Some years later a terrible guerilla war broke out in the Cevennes led by Jean Cavalier and subsidised by English and Dutch money. It held up for many months troops that were badly needed for the foreign war, and only came to an end when Marshal Villars offered an amnesty to those who would leave the country. Later again, after 1711, fresh repressive measures were taken, forbidding doctors from attending Protestants, making all Protestant burials and marriages illegal. It will be noticed, however, that no law ever made attendance at mass compulsory, presumably because the large number of nominal Catholics who never went to church made the enforcement of such a law impossible.

It is generally admitted that about half a million Protestants became Catholics, another half million remained in the country (mainly small landowners, who were less hit by economic persecution), and a third half million emigrated, mainly to England, Prussia, Switzerland and Holland, thus providing the enemies of France with skilled artisans and keen soldiers. The Coalition gained 12,000 soldiers, 9,000 sailors and 600 officers; the economic consequences of the Revocation we have already seen.

And what of the spiritual consequences—not merely of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but of the whole of Louis XIV's religious policy? The fundamental consequence of the Revocation was that the Church was left with an apparent absolute monopoly of religious truth. From her only could religious opinions be heard; the religious life of the country was in her sole keeping; Christianity was the Church, and (as we saw) the Church was the State.

It followed that any attack on the teaching of the Church on any point, religious or political, could not but be an attack on Christianity. The revolt of eighteenth-century philosophy against ecclesiastical intolerance or dogmatic rigidity became a revolt against all religion, since it knew no religion but that of the Church. The complaint of the oppressed against the political and social tyranny of

a system upheld and blessed by the Church turned inevitably into a bitter cry that Christianity stood in the way of social reform and political progress; and there grew up in France what Belloc calls 'that by-product of Catholicism,' anti-clericalism, the identification of political freedom with the denial of religion, and particularly of Christianity.

The story of the clash between the forces of Catholicism and anti-clericalism is the history of modern France. The legacy of the wars of religion and of the religious policy of Louis XIV is still present. Says Vogué, in *Les morts qui parlent* :

If you wish to understand the real cause of French political quarrels, get into your mind this axiom: that there is but one question, the religious question. It is usually hidden under other labels, but it is always at the basis of all our strifes. We believe the dead are dead; they are not; they surround us, they oppress us; they smother us under their weight; they are in our bones, in our blood, in the substance of our brain; and particularly when great ideas, great passions, are in sway, listen well to the voices that speak: It is the dead that speak.

'Now at last we come to the solid achievements of Louis XIV,' the reader may exclaim at this point, increasingly puzzled at the ruthless stripping of the glamour usually associated with the Sun King; 'no one can deny that the reign was one of military glory and territorial expansion.'

It is of course true that Louis had indeed something to show for the almost continuous fighting of that half century, but before we pass a final judgement three questions have to be answered: First, were the gains worth the cost? Secondly, were the actual results really proportionate to what could have reasonably been expected? Thirdly, how much was achieved of what it was intended to get? The answer to all three questions is easy: Louis got but little of what he set out to obtain, and of what he could easily have obtained had he really been prepared to concentrate upon the task; and the price he had to pay for the little he did get was absolutely out of proportion to the value of his gains. The mis-using of opportunities, the ignoring of vital issues, the frittering of his resources

on unessentials, and on showy undertakings that proved valueless—such is the summary of the foreign policy of the reign. Like Napoleon, Louis XIV made conquests, but failed to achieve what he set out to do, both in the end lost most (in Napoleon's case, all) of what they had originally gained, and both made France pay utterly disproportionately in men and money for the show of military glory that they gave her.

'Everything elsewhere was perfectly quiet; there was in the kingdom no agitation or appearance of agitation that could disturb me or oppose my schemes; peace with my neighbours was established, in all likelihood, for as long as I personally liked.' In such terms did Louis himself summarise the situation in 1661, thus apparently taking upon himself the responsibility for the coming wars. To take him at his word would, however, not be fair to him; there was undoubtedly no desire for peace in his mind, but there was little desire for peace elsewhere; Mazarin had left France too powerful for her neighbours to allow her for long the enjoyment of her preponderance; Europe was still full of rivalries that must issue in wars. Even had Louis desired to make a fresh start, and begin a policy of peace, he would have found it virtually impossible. France was entangled in a network of conflicting alliances and rivalries that was bound to drag her into further complications.

It is probable that the principle of continuity in foreign policy has never been as closely followed in practice as we are apt to think; yet it is possible to discern some general aim running as a connecting thread between apparently conflicting policies and alliances. We can see that for many centuries England has successfully endeavoured to prevent any one power from controlling the whole coast from Rotterdam to Havre; and this zealous guard of England over the Channel coasts involved opposition to one of the chief aims of French policy, namely, expansion of France to the mouth of the Rhine as one of her 'natural frontiers.' It has pleased Frenchmen to give to this policy a pseudo-historical sanction by describing

it as 'the restitution of those lands that once belonged to her' (Sully), or 'the placing of France in all such parts in which was Ancient Gaul' (Richelieu).

We need not discuss here the assumption that modern 'France' is the same as 'ancient Gaul,' and that the fair Celt was the 'ancestor' of the dark-eyed and dark-haired daughters of Provence, of the stolid peasants of the Beauce, of the wary mountaineers of the Alps or Cevennes, of the small, lively Parisian. Nor need we argue why, in one case, a river, the Rhine, should form a natural frontier, while elsewhere the rivers Rhône and Garonne must be crossed and the natural frontiers carried to the mountain ranges of Alps and Pyrenees; it need only be pointed out that every argument put forward for France reaching these mountain boundaries could be advanced by Germany for reaching the Vosges.

Putting aside these trifling arguments, we may start with the general fact that

France had been endeavouring for many years to incorporate within her boundaries a whole string of provinces, ranging from the Channel to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic via the Vosges, Alps and Pyrenees, provinces which had been for centuries a kind of debatable land between her kings and the emperors of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire.

Now Louis XIV had faithfully followed the traditional aims of French policy; and in a sense indeed had not been wholly unsuccessful. Territories had been added to France, many great victories won by French armies; and France could undoubtedly claim to be considered as the chief power in Europe. Spain had been defeated in many battles, great coalitions built up under French suzerainty; the king of France had successfully withstood the Papacy and made a pensioner of the king of England. But Louis had failed to get what he mainly wanted. The Netherlands were still Spanish, Holland was still an independent country, more powerful in fact than before. The first phase of his foreign policy thus ended in practical failure; and, as recounted in Chronicle XXVI, the second phase,

embodied in the War of the Spanish Succession, was equally fruitless.

The final questions may therefore be asked: Was the Rhine frontier policy a practicable policy? Was there no other line of action that might have achieved more tangible results?

We have already seen how Colbert had urged Louis XIV to ignore military glory and to concentrate on making France really powerful by commercial and naval supremacy. The task was not impossible; the only rivals, England and Holland, were themselves enemies and it was easy to use one to destroy the other, and then to turn round on the ally and destroy him in his turn. This done, you could indulge in extra-European conquests: the British settlements in North America, the Spanish colonies in South America, the Near East—all these would be virtually defenceless.

But, as we saw, Louis XIV never responded to these suggestions. The cost to pay—few, if any, continental wars and rigid economy at home—was not to his liking. The policy failed to satisfy his desire for pomp and show.

As he remarked in 1685, **Louis' thirst for admiration** 'a king cannot command on sea'; and Louis must be, in the words of Sir William Temple, 'not only contemplated but even admired by the whole world.' Nor indeed would he have been likely to awaken general enthusiasm in support of such a policy: the disinclination of the French for commercial enterprises and colonial ventures has already been discussed. However possible in theory, a policy of colonial and naval expansion ran too much counter to the traditional lines of French development ever to become a national policy.

On the other hand, before we condemn as hopelessly chimerical the attempts to extend France to the Rhine, we must remember that there were two moments in history when it seemed possible that the goal would be reached—1670 and 1790.

Louis XIV himself undoubtedly had for one precise moment the power to achieve this. Had he used his forces wisely and efficiently there is little doubt he could have succeeded both in conquering and in keeping the Spanish

Netherlands and the Rhineland. Thus annexed before they had really developed a strong national feeling of their own, the inhabitants of those provinces would probably have become welded into the French nation as quickly and easily as those of Alsace or of Franche-Comté. All this was lost by the silly pride, the vanity and the military inefficiency of the monarch in whom some would make us see a great conqueror.

Over a century later, in 1790, Rhinelanders and Belgians welcomed the French revolutionary armies as their deliverers from tyranny. A common belief in political freedom would have then easily turned them into zealous Frenchmen, and they did indeed become for a time citizens of the French Republic. When in 1799 General Bonaparte was called to rule France, the Rhenish and Flemish provinces formed part of the land entrusted to his care. But intoxicated with conquest and unable to refrain from war, Napoleon I could not keep what he had received, and left France smaller in 1815 than she was in 1799. The opportunity was never to return; the Netherlands became the Belgian nation and the Rhinelanders were soon welded into the new German people. The Rhine frontier was thus lost by the lust for military glory of the two monarchs who are commonly supposed to have been the two greatest military rulers of France. Idealism and legend are hard to kill.

'Not only were great things done during his reign, but himself did he do them,'

Conclusion : Effects of Louis' reign says Voltaire of Louis XIV, and the judgment holds good, provided that in the term

'great' we include greatness of failure as well as of achievement. For the good and ill of his reign Louis XIV must be given a responsibility which he was certainly enough of a king not to try to shirk.

Any final weighing up of achievement against failure must be largely determined by personal views as to what constitutes achievement and failure. The standpoint of the writer has already been made clear. No considerations of internal unity and order, no alleged national interests, no appeal to reasons of state, can stand for

one moment against what we cannot but call the great crimes of the reign: the waging of wars for sheer lust of conquest, the persecution of Protestant and Catholic dissenters, the oppression of the poor, the crushing of liberty. And, if this condemnation of the royal policy on moral grounds seems prejudiced or overstated, one must remind the objector that it had not even the relative defence of success. The France of 1715 was less powerful externally, less prosperous economically, less united socially or religiously than the France of 1661. The royal authority even, which was for Louis XIV the real test of national greatness, was far weaker at the end than at the beginning of the reign. In his old age Louis XIV may still be obeyed as a matter of habit; he is no longer obeyed through respect of authority; tyranny has destroyed any true spirit of obedience, and never again will any king of France be really obeyed, if we except the Bonaparte emperors, whom the great monarch would scarcely have recognized as his legitimate successors. Therein lies the condemnation of kingship as he saw it.

The historian who analyses the ultimate causes of the French Revolution will find all its roots, political, social, economic, religious and philosophical, in the France of Louis XIV. This is the fundamental, unanswerable fact to be opposed to all references to the pomp of Versailles, the show of authority, the glamour of great victories and even the work of Colbert and the magnificence of French classical art and letters. In an amazing apologia for Louis XIV, a modern French writer states that 'Louis XIV is to France what Homer is to Greece, Vergil to Rome, Shakespeare to England, Dante to Italy and Goethe to Germany; he exhausts in himself the whole idea of what is French; he is the great Frenchman before History.' If the statement had to be accepted as exact, it would form a more damning indictment of France than her worst enemy would dare to formulate. Fortunately, however, even the France of the so-called 'Great Monarch' has a more abiding claim to greatness than to have been governed by Louis XIV.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVII

- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht ends War of Spanish Succession. Duke of Savoy becomes k. of Sicily. Bourbon dynasty established in Spain.
- 1714 Prussia: Frederick I d.; acc. Frederick William I. Philip V of Spain m. Elizabeth Farnese. Alcron becomes first minister.
- Treaty of Rastadt complementing Utrecht.
- Turco-Venetian War.
- Charles XII quits Turkey, reaches Stralsund.
- Queen Anne d.; acc. George I of Hanover.
- 1715 Northern League against Sweden.
- Jacobite rising (the 'Fifteen'); Sheriffmuir.
- Louis XIV d.; acc. Louis XV (his great-grandson).
- Philip of Orleans becomes regent and heir-presumptive, Philip V having abjured the succession. Rapprochement between French and British governments to maintain the Hanoverian and Orleanist successions.
- 1716 Charles XII attacks Norway.
- Eugène's victory over Turks at Peterwardein.
- Leibniz d.
- 1717 Eugène's decisive victory of Belgrade.
- Triple alliance of Great Britain, France and Holland.
- Spanish forces occupy Sardinia, where they are welcomed.
- 1718 Charles XII killed at Fredrikshald.
- Peter the Great puts his son Alexis to death.
- Treaty of Passarowitz marks end of Turkish aggression westwards.
- Spaniards occupy Sicily, but their new fleet is destroyed at Cape Passaro.
- 1719 Collapse of Alberoni's projects; his fall.
- Sweden: Acc. Ulrica Eleanor and Frederick of Hesse. Oligarchical rule established.
- 1720 Austria exchanges Sardinia for Sicily, the house of Savoy becoming kings of Sardinia with Savoy and Piedmont.
- 'Northern War' concluded by treaty of Stockholm.
- Charles VI issues Pragmatic Sanction to secure Austrian succession to his daughter.
- 1721 Walpole's ministry begins in England.
- Sweden concludes treaty of Nystadt ceding Baltic provinces to Russia.
- 1722 Peter the Great attacks Persia through Caucasus.
- 1723 Louis XV comes of age; end of Orleans regency.
- 1724 Immanuel Kant b.
- 1725 Louis XV m. Maria Leszcinska; causing a breach with Spain.
- Treaty of Vienna between Spain and Austria.
- Opposition league of Hanover between Great Britain and France joined by Prussia and minor powers. Spain guarantees Pragmatic Sanction.
- Peter the Great d.; acc. Catherine I.
- 1726 Fleury becomes Louis' minister.
- 1727 George I d.; acc. George II. Walpole retains power.
- Catherine I d.; acc. Peter II.
- Isaac Newton d.
- 1729 French dauphin b., excluding probability of a disputed succession in France.
- Treaty of Seville between France, Spain and Great Britain.
- Lessing b.
- John Wesley starts Methodist Society at Oxford.
- 1730 Russia: Peter II d.; acc. Anne (Ivanovna) of Courland who recovers supremacy of the crown.
- 1731 Carlos (younger son of Philip V) established in duchy of Parma.
- 1733-38 War of the Polish Succession.
- 1733 Secret (Bourbon) family compact between France and Spain against Austria and England.
- Augustus of Poland and Saxony d.; Stanislaus Leszcinski, supported by France and Spain, is again elected but expelled in favour of Augustus III maintained by Russia and Austria. War of Polish Succession begins.
- 1734 Carlos of Parma captures Naples.
- 1735 Carlos retains Naples and Sicily but has to surrender Parma. Augustus retains Poland; Stanislaus is given Lorraine with reversion to France, and Francis of Lorraine gets Tuscany and the hand of Charles VI's dr. Maria Teresa; but hostilities drag on.
- 1736 War between Russia and Turkey.
- 1737 Austria joins Russia in Turkish war.
- 1738 Polish Succession War ends with treaty of Vienna, confirming the arrangements of 1735. France guarantees Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1739 Nadir Shah the Persian sacks Delhi but retires, having ended the Mogul's effective authority, which survives in legal theory.
- War (of Jenkins' Ear) between England and Spain.
- Austria deserts Russia by separate treaty of Belgrade with Turkey. Russia has to accept the Turkish terms.
- 1740-48 War of the Austrian Succession.
- 1740 Anne of Russia d.; acc. Ivan VI (a child).
- Charles VI d.; acc. Maria Teresa, principal counter-claimant being Charles Albert of Bavaria.
- Frederick William I d.; acc. Frederick II.
- Frederick marches into Silesia and demands its cession as the price of his support of the claims of Maria Teresa. She refuses. The 'Silesian War' begins the war of the Austrian Succession.
- India: Dupleix at Pondicherry plans the ejection of the British.
- 1741 Ivan VI deposed; Elizabeth tsaritsa.
- Frederick wins battle of Mollwitz, establishing reputation of Prussian army.
- The war becomes general, France and Spain siding with Bavaria, England with Maria Teresa, as auxiliaries.
- Maria Teresa appeals to Hungarians, who respond with enthusiasm. Frederick makes agreement of Klein-Schnellendorf and withdraws (Oct.), but re-enters in Dec. French take Prague.
- 1742 Charles Albert of Bavaria emperor as Charles VII; the only breach in the Hapsburg continuity after Frederick III.
- Austrians overrun Bavaria; Frederick's Moravian campaign fails but he defeats Austrians at Chotusitz, obtains treaty of Breslau, and again retires. Austrians recover Prague.
- 1743 British squadron imposes neutrality on Carlos at Naples. Battle of Dettingen. Alliances revised by treaties of Worms and Fontenoy and the auxiliaries become principals.
- 1744 Frederick re-enters the war.
- 1745-6 The 'Forty-Five.'
- 1746 Charles VII d.; acc. (Bavaria) Max Joseph, (Emperor) Francis I of Tuscany. Prussia and Bavaria both retire permanently from the war. French successes (Fontenoy).
- Jacobite rising; Prince Charles Edward lands at Moidart, captures Edinburgh, marches to Derby, and then retreats.
- 1746 Jacobitism finally crushed at Culloden (April).
- Philip V d.; acc. Ferdinand VI. Spain retires.
- India: La Bourdonnais captures Madras.
- 1747 Orange stadtholdership restored in Holland.
- 1748 War ended by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; Prussia retains Silesia.
- 1749 Goethe b.
- 1750 Rise of Kaunitz, who plans 'Diplomatic Revolution.'
- India: renewal of Anglo-French hostilities, on pretext of supporting rival claimants to native thrones. French gains.
- 1751 Capture and defence of Arcot by Clive.
- 1754 Dupleix recalled; hostilities suspended.
- 1755 Hostilities in America; Braddock's disaster. Great earthquake at Lisbon.
- 1756-63 Seven Years' War.
- 1756 Anglo-Prussian Treaty of Westminster.
- Kaunitz completes circle of alliances for the crushing of Prussia, including France, Russia and Saxony.
- India: Tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta.
- French squadron captures Minorca. First action of the Seven Years' War.
- Frederick invades Saxony; takes Dresden.
- 1757 Frederick invades Bohemia; wins battle of Prague but is defeated at Kolin.
- William Pitt the elder heads British ministry.
- India: Clive overthrows nawab of Bengal at Plassey and becomes master of Bengal.
- Command in western Germany given to Ferdinand of Brunswick.
- Frederick defeats French at Rossbach and Austrians at Leuthen.

TABLE OF DATES (*continued*)

- 1758 Ministry of Choiseul in France.
Development of British naval attacks on French ports.
Frederick defeats Russians at Zorndorf, and effectually checks Austrian advance in spite of a reverse at Hochkirch.
India: Lally commands French in the south, and takes Fort St. David but fails at Madras.
- 1759 Frederick defeated by Russians at Kunersdorf; French defeated and driven behind Rhine at Minden by Ferdinand; French Toulon fleet broken up by Boscawen off Lagos (August).
Volte takes Quebec (Sept.).
Hawke shatters French fleet at Quiberon Bay; Prussian force capitulates at Maxen (Nov.).
Ferdinand VI d.; Carlos of Naples acc. as Carlos III. His younger son Ferdinand succeeds at Naples.
Pombal suppresses Jesuits in Portugal and sets about vigorous reforms.
James Watt begins experiments in steam power.
Robert Burns b.
- 1760 India: Decisive defeat of Lally by Eyre Coote at Wandewash.
Frederick checks Austrians at Liegnitz and Torgau (last pitched battle).
George II d.; acc. George III.
- 1761 Pitt resigns; Frederick's subsidies withdrawn.
Ahmad Shah from Afghanistan invades Upper India and shatters Maratha armies at Panipat.
British take Pondicherry.
Second Bourbon Family Compact.
- 1762 War declared between Great Britain and Spain.
Tsaritsa Elizabeth d.; acc. Peter III who reverses her policy and allies with Frederick, but is deposed and put to death by his wife Catherine II, who assumes neutrality. Frederick holds his own against Austria.
Publication of Rousseau's *Contrat Social*.
- 1763 Seven Years' War ended by Treaties of Paris between Great Britain, France and Spain, and Hubertsburg between Austria and Prussia.
France cedes Canada and is excluded from rivalry in India; Frederick retains Silesia.
Polish crown vacated by d. of Augustus III.
- 1764 Catherine secures Polish succession for her favourite Stanislaus Poniatowski.
Suppression of Jesuits in France.
Hargreaves invents spinning jenny.
India: British ascendancy in Bengal finally established by battle of Baksar.
- 1765 Francis I d.; Joseph II elected emperor, his brother Leopold taking Tuscany. Maria Teresa retains her crowns and supremacy.
Grenville's Stamp Act opens quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies.
Clive obtains from the Mogul for the East India Company the Diwani or official financial control of Bengal, placing the British position on a legalised footing.
- 1766 Leeczinski d.; Lorraine passes to France.
Chatham's second ministry formed, known as the Grafton ministry; his health breaks down.
- 1767 Carlos III suppresses Jesuits in Spain.
Charles Townshend imposes tea and other minor import taxes on American colonies.
- 1768 Turkey as liberator of Poland declares war on Russia in support of Polish insurgents.
France acquires Corsica from Genoa.
- 1769 Napoleon Bonaparte b. in Corsica.
Frederick II and Joseph II in conference.
James Watt's steam-engine patented.
- 1770 Choiseul having restored French navy is dismissed.
North's ministry of 'King's Friends'; George holds ascendancy in parliament till 1782.
Frederick initiates conspiracy with Catherine and Joseph for partition of Poland.
Beethoven b.
- 1771 Maupéou's ministry; suppression of 'parlements.' Acc. Gustavus III in Sweden.
- 1772 First partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria, a remnant remaining as Kingdom of Poland.
Gustavus III restores absolutism in Sweden.
- 1773 Pope Clement XIV suppresses Jesuit Order. It nevertheless survives.
'Boston tea-party.'
North's Regulating Acts for controlling Indian administration of East India Company; the first experiment of the kind since Rome.
- 1774 Canada Act establishing Roman Catholicism in Canada.
Boston Port Act and other penal acts to bring American colonies to submission; colonists call a general 'Continental Congress.'
Warren Hastings first governor-general over British presidencies in India; with a council which can and does outvote him.
Russian treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji with Turkey.
Louis XV d.; acc. Louis XVI. Maurepas' ministry.
Parlements recalled. Turgot finance minister.
- 1775 83 War of American Independence.
- 1775 Turgot's reforms.
American war opened by skirmish at Lexington.
George Washington in command. B. of Bunker Hill. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada.
- 1776 Turgot dismissed; Necker finance minister.
American Declaration of Independence. British evacuate Boston and occupy New York.
Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* published.
- 1777 Joseph II claims Bavarian succession, arousing Frederick's antagonism.
British force surrenders at Saratoga; France resolves to enter the American War.
- 1778 French treaty with Americans: French fleet dominant in western seas.
Voltaire d.
- 1779 Spain comes into the war; opens three years' siege of Gibraltar. Indecisive military operations.
Bavarian question settled by treaty of Teschen.
- 1780 Haider (Hyder) Ali of Mysore invades the Carnatic.
Maria Teresa d.; Joseph II rules alone.
Armed neutrality of North Sea powers; war declared between Great Britain and Holland.
- 1781 Dutch fleet disabled by battle of Dogger Bank.
Cornwallis, blockaded by Washington and the French fleet at Yorktown, surrenders; ensuring American independence.
Joseph II allies with Catherine.
Resignation of Necker.
Kant's *Critique* published.
- 1782 Rodney's victory of The Saints over de Grasse restores British naval ascendancy. Spain takes Minorca; Gibraltar is relieved.
Fall of North's ministry ends George's supremacy in parliament. 'Grattan's Parliament' set up in Ireland.
Mysore treaty. Haider Ali d.; acc. Tippu Sahib.
- 1783 Treaty of Versailles ends war. American independence recognized. Migration of loyalists to Canada and New Brunswick.
Turkey cedes Crimea to Russia.
Seventeen years' ministry of William Pitt the younger begins.
Calonne's ministry in France.
- 1784 Pitt's India Act sets up dual control of British administration in India (ends 1858).
- 1785 Joseph's schemes of Hapsburg aggrandisement checked by French guarantee of the closed Scheldt to the Dutch, and by Frederick's League of Princes ('Fürstenbund').
- 1786 Cornwallis first governor-general under new Indian system.
Frederick II d.; acc. Frederick William II.
- 1787 Assembly of Notables; fall of Calonne; ministry of Brienne.
- 1788 Joseph joins Catherine in Turkish war: the campaigning goes favourably for Turks against Joseph, untavourably against Russia.
Necker recalled; Parlement demands summoning of States-General for the first time since 1614.
India: Cornwallis begins administrative reconstruction.
Great Britain annexes Australia; first convict settlement.
- 1789 George Washington first president of the United States of America.
French States-General assemblies May 5.

Chronicle XXVII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT POWERS: 1713–1789

FOR nearly fifty years out of the long reign of Louis XIV, the politics of Europe were dominated by the French king's ambitions. After the Treaty of Utrecht it was not till France herself had overturned everything in France which was most characteristic of the Grand Monarque, his ideas and his system, that Europe was again seriously threatened with a French dictatorship. Utrecht, in fact, marked the decisive defeat of his schemes. It is true that it set a Bourbon on the throne of Spain, but for twenty years the fact was the cause of discord between the French and Spanish governments; and afterwards, though a hostile Spain might have been a source of danger, her alliance could be of little positive value.

In no other respect was the power of France greater at the setting of her 'Sun King' than it had been at his rising, though she was still actually the most powerful state on the Continent, with no rival save Austria—as we may thenceforth conveniently name the heterogeneous dominion of the house of Hapsburg, since the unity of the Holy Roman Empire was purely fictitious.

Great Britain's Supremacy at Sea

ON the other hand, Great Britain had definitely emerged from the struggle as a European great power, whenever she chose or might be forced to play an active part in European affairs. She had definitely won her place as mistress of the seas—a position which she could lose only by reckless mismanagement. In quality her fleets might be matched by the Dutch, but Holland was too small to maintain a competition on equal terms; and France, with the constant drain of her armies, never attempted a sustained maritime rivalry, though there was no comparison between the military forces available for the two nations. Moreover, during the

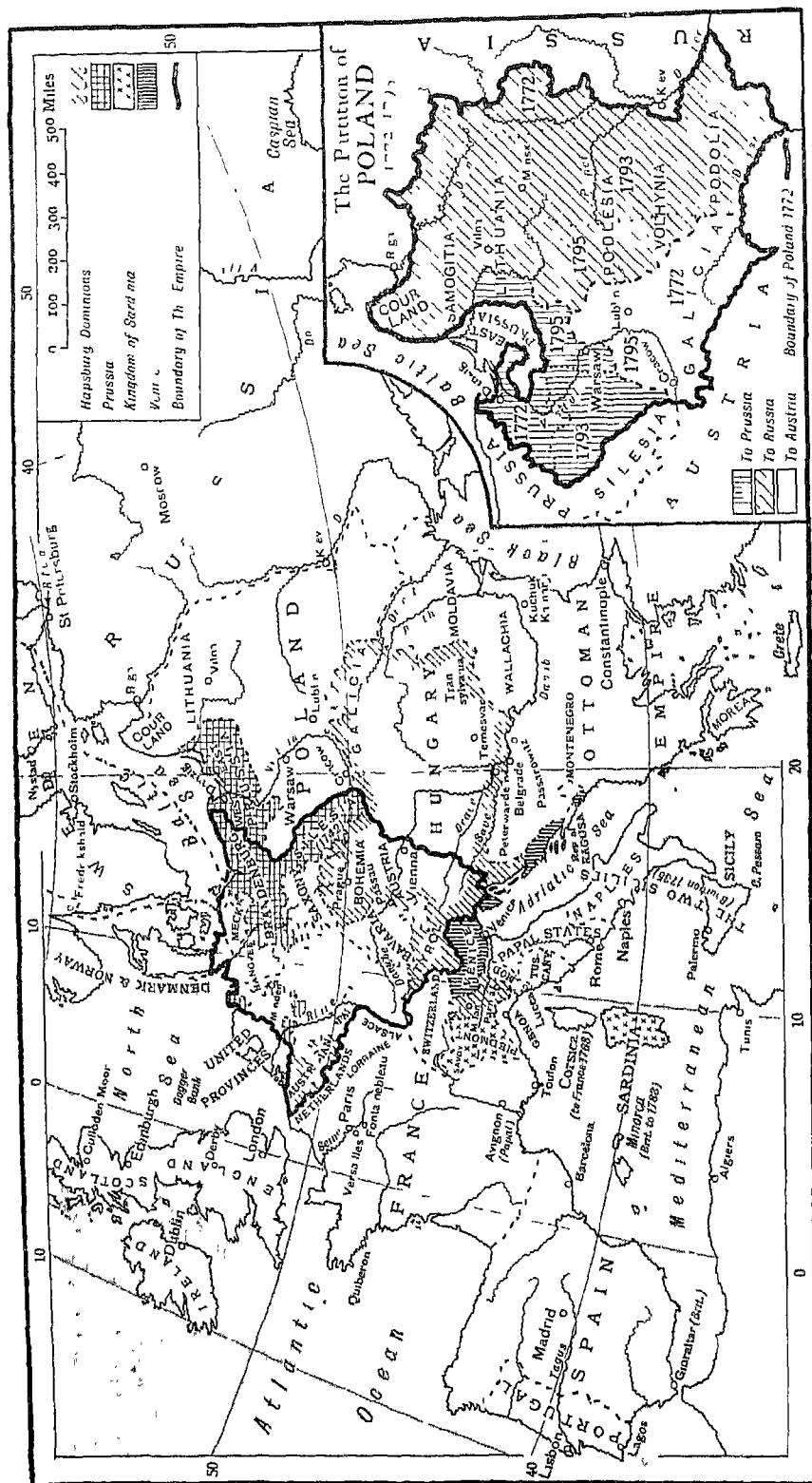
last half century the British mercantile marine had not only overtaken the Dutch but gained a great lead, and the country was rapidly increasing that wealth which was to provide her allies with the sinews of war.

It was difficult always for Austria to be dangerously aggressive, constantly hampered as she was by the doubtful loyalty of Hungary and the problem of maintaining communications with Italy and the Netherlands, now hers but offering a standing invitation to France for attack.

Two other powers, however, had come into being, though not yet fully developed. In Russia there was manifestly a power potentially of the first magnitude, though still only in the making. The second was the new kingdom of Prussia, whose capacities were so far undeveloped and unsuspected. Turkey as an aggressive power was on the point of receiving her coup de grâce at the hands of Prince Eugène, though, like Poland, she was to be a source of plentiful contention among her neighbours in the future. Sweden without Charles XII was negligible—but Charles himself was incalculable.

European Situation after Utrecht

THE immediate position, however, after Utrecht, was curious. Philip V of Spain and the emperor Charles VI each considered that he had been robbed of the benefit of the other, and was waiting to snatch back something of what he regarded as his own. The old king of France was near his end—actually he died in 1715—his heir was his infant great-grandson, and, till that infant should be grown up, a 'French succession' problem might at any moment become acute; since it was unlikely that Philip of Spain would hold himself bound by the renunciation of title which had been forced upon him, while his cousin Philip of Orléans was by the European treaty recognized as the heir presumptive. Great Britain had fixed her



FORTUNES OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS IN THE CENTURY PRECEDING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the period under review in this Chronicle, France gradually receded from her predominant position in Europe, and Russia and Prussia emerged as first-class powers. Austria was occupied in resisting disintegration after the death of Charles VI. The Ottoman power was cleared out of Hungary. Sweden ceased to count as a serious factor after the death of Charles XII. The sea power of Spain was destroyed, and Poland suffered the first of her partitions, all three of which are shown with dates in the inset map. Meantime, the sea power and wealth of Great Britain were increasing steadily.

Development of the Great Powers



PHILIP OF ORLÉANS REGENT

Nephew and son-in-law of Louis XIV, Philip duke of Orléans was regent of France from 1715 until his death in 1723. His engaging personality is apparent in this portrait by J. B. Santerre, engraved by F. Chéreau.

own succession, when Queen Anne should die, on George of Hanover, whose title was similarly recognized by the treaty, but would always be open to challenge by the exiled princes of the house of Stuart.

When Louis XIV died Philip of Orléans became regent for the infant Louis XV, and George I was already on the British throne, but it was so obviously in the interest of both George and Philip that the successions as laid down in the Treaty of Utrecht should be maintained at all costs, that the French and British governments entered upon a close alliance. And to this it had to be added that, the elector of Hanover, a prince of the Empire, being also king of Great Britain, neither of those two governments could disregard the interests of the other, if either or both should be involved in any European complications. On the other hand, it was not yet apparent either to the French or to the British government that the antagonistic interests of the two nations in America and India foreboded a duel for oversea empire.

In spite of Jacobite intrigues, George of

Hanover succeeded to the British throne a year after Utrecht. Next year a Jacobite rising was suppressed without difficulty. For thirty years more, any foreign power hostile to Britain could provide her with a menace of civil war by fostering Jacobite intrigues—a menace which did not finally disappear till the desperate attempt of Prince Charles in 1745 had been crushed at Culloden. But the material prosperity of the country counted for more than the sentiment of loyalty to the exiled dynasty, the people at large could never be roused to an active hostility to the house of Hanover, and Jacobitism, till its final suppression, was a source of constant uneasiness rather than of actual danger.

Louis died in 1715, Philip of Orléans, the heir presumptive of the child Louis XV, became regent. His dynastic interests and the dynastic interests of George I in England bound the two governments close together, while in each country there was a legitimist party zealous in the one for recognition of Philip V of Spain's title to the succession, in the other for a Stuart restoration.



KING GEORGE I OF ENGLAND

George of Hanover (1660-1727), son of the electress Sophia, succeeded Queen Anne in 1714 by virtue of the Act of Settlement of 1701. This portrait of him as king of Great Britain was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Guildhall London



ECCLESIASTIC AND DIPLOMAT

Giulio Alberoni (1661-1752) rose from humble beginnings to be as prime minister and cardinal a principal agent of Elizabeth Farnese in her Spanish-Italian policy. G. B. Busch engraved this 'true and not false' portrait of him.

From Oncken, 'Friedrichs des Grossen'

Meanwhile, Philip V had taken for his second wife Elizabeth Farnese, an ambitious lady who was determined that in course of time her husband should be king of France, and that her own children, whose chance of succession to the Spanish crown was remote, should succeed to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany—and of course that the Sicilies should come back to Spain. At the moment, it must be remembered, Naples and Sardinia had gone to the emperor while the duke of Savoy had become king of Sicily. Incidentally, the marriage raised the Italian (cardinal) Alberoni to the position of chief minister and actual director in Spain.

Simultaneously the Turks were embarking on their last attempt to reverse the decisions which had been reached by the treaty of Carlowitz. Hitherto they had refrained from challenging the Western powers; but they had doubtless derived encouragement

from the war in which they had recovered Azov from Tsar Peter; in 1714 they picked a quarrel with Venice and promptly reconquered the Morea which the treaty of Carlowitz had given to the Venetians. Venice appealed to her old ally Austria to maintain the treaty; Austria answered the appeal, war was declared, and Eugène took command of the Austrian armies.

In 1716 a great Turkish force was besieging Peterwarden in Hungary. On August 5 that army was shattered by Eugène, who then besieged and captured the only fortress remaining to them in Hungary, Temesvar. In the next spring Eugène laid siege to Belgrade, and on August 16, 1717, shattered the Turkish army advancing to its relief, Belgrade surrendering on the next day. In 1718 the treaty of Passarowitz confirmed Austria in her possession of Temesvar and Belgrade. It did not restore the Morea to Venice, but it cleared the Ottoman permanently out of Hungary. And it again set Austria free to safeguard her interests against Western aggressors.

Those aggressors had been active; for Spanish ambitions required in every direction the reversal of the Utrecht settlements, and the foresight which was not lacking in Alberoni's schemes was traversed by the impatient temper of the king and queen. He was forced to open his attack, which was not itself unprovoked,



AUSTRIAN CAVALRY IN ACTION

Several times during the eighteenth century Austria was involved in war with Turkey. This engraving by G. C. Bodenehr, from an original drawing by G. Phil Rugendas the elder, a contemporary South German artist, depicts a cavalry engagement in the Turco-Austrian war of 1738-9.

From Erdmannsdörffer, 'Deutsche Geschichte, 1648-1740'



ADMIRAL BYNG'S VICTORY OVER THE SPANIARDS OFF CAPE PASSARO

In furtherance of Queen Elizabeth Farnese's ambition to recover Sardinia and Sicily, Cardinal Alberoni reorganized and revived the Spanish navy, and in 1718 dispatched a large fleet to Palermo. On August 11, Admiral Byng engaged the Spaniards off Cape Passaro, completely defeating them and compelling their withdrawal from the invasion of Sicily. This picture of the battle was painted by Richard Paton. To Admiral Byng is due the final destruction of the naval power of Spain.

Greenwich Hospital; by permission of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty

before he was ready, by invading Sardinia in 1717. As the population preferred the old Spanish to the new Austrian connexion, the conquest of the island was completed in a few weeks. Spanish enthusiasm was aroused; unable to resist it, Alberoni threw all his energies into preparation for the coming struggle; while Austria, engaged in her settlement with the Turks, appealed to the 'Triple Alliance' which had been formed by Great Britain, France and Holland, to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Triple Alliance proposed terms to the emperor, who accepted them, and the Triple became the Quadruple Alliance. But meanwhile Alberoni's energy had recreated a large though untrained fleet which sailed for Palermo, and landed a large Spanish force, to which the Sicilians submitted as readily as the Sardinians. An English squadron was dispatched to the Mediterranean to watch the fleet. There had been no declaration of war, but the English admiral, Byng, found an excuse for engaging the Spanish fleet, and wiped it out off Cape Passaro, practically without loss. Alberoni had been intriguing on every side—for a

French rebellion, a Jacobite rebellion and Swedish co-operation under Charles XII. All the schemes broke down. Charles was killed at Fredrikshald, French troops entered Spain, Austrian troops entered Sicily.



ENGLAND'S FIRST 'PRIME MINISTER'

Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) was head of the government from 1721-42, being generally regarded as the first 'prime minister.' This picture of him while premier conversing with Speaker Onslow in the House of Commons was painted by William Hogarth and Sir James Thornhill.

Engraved by A. Fogg



CARDINAL DE FLEURY

André Hercule de Fleury (1653-1743) became chief minister to Louis XV in 1726. His administration was economical, but his pacifist foreign policy was over-ruled and he died a disappointed man. This portrait is by Hyacinthe Rigaud.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.

At the beginning of 1720 Philip made his peace with the allies, having dismissed Alberoni two months before. He accepted the terms on which the Quadruple Alliance had agreed. By the new treaty, Victor Amadeus of Savoy became king of Sardinia instead of Sicily, which went to Austria in exchange; the emperor Charles renounced all claims on the dominions which Utrecht had allotted to Philip, and the reversion of Parma and Tuscany was secured to Carlos, the eldest son of Philip's second marriage. Superficially the European harmony was restored. In the following year began the twenty years' ascendancy in England of a minister, Walpole, whose aim was to develop the material wealth of Great Britain to the utmost extent possible, and, with that end in view, to keep her at peace with the rest of the world at all costs.

The regency of Orléans ended in 1723 with the official coming of age of Louis XV. Orléans died and the Orleanist interests ceased to dominate French policy; for three years the government was in the



LOUIS XV AND HIS CONSORT MARIA LECSZINSKA

Problems of paramount international importance were involved in the selection of a consort for Louis XV, whose health in boyhood was precarious. Plans for his marriage to the little infanta Maria of Spain had been maturing for some time, but in 1725 the duke of Bourbon opened negotiations with other European courts and the choice finally fell upon Maria Leeczinska, daughter of Stanislaus Leeczinski, ex-king of Poland, and the nuptials were solemnised at Fontainebleau, September 4, 1725.

Portraits by Jean-Baptiste Vanloo (Musée de Versailles) and, right, Charles Van Loo (the Louvre; photo, Alinari)



JENKINS' EAR: A POPULAR SATIRE ON PACIFISM IN HIGH PLACES

Walpole's and Fleury's pacifist policy is satirised in this contemporary caricature. Walpole 'in place' is waving aside Captain Robert Jenkins, who, in proof of the Spanish ill treatment of British mariners, produces the ear severed from his head by a Spanish naval officer in 1731. A servant ejects another merchant complainant, and in front of the table Fleury's emissary offers French mediation. This incident of Jenkins' ear was a contributory cause of the Anglo-Spanish war in 1739.

hands of the duke of Bourbon, who in 1725 married Louis to Maria Leeczinska, daughter of the ex-king of Poland. In 1726 Bourbon was dismissed, and Louis' old tutor Cardinal Fleury became first minister; but it was not till a son was born to the king in 1729 that the prospect of a possible Spanish claim to the French succession disappeared from the complications of international politics, and a secret rapprochement between the two Bourbon monarchies took its place.

Yet there were two other dynastic complications already threatening. When the emperor Joseph of Austria had died in 1711, he had been succeeded, having no sons, by his brother, Charles VI; but he left two daughters. By 1720 Charles also had two daughters; the chance that he would ever have a son was remote; and in that year he issued a decree known as the Pragmatic Sanction, declaring that the Austrian succession lay in his own daughters and only after them in the daughters of his elder brother.



EMPEROR CHARLES VI

Charles VI (1685-1740) is chiefly remembered as the author of the Pragmatic Sanction—a decree (1720) securing the Austrian succession for his daughter that proved a fertile cause of European dissension. The portrait above is by Auerbach.

National Gallery, Vienna; photo, Kunstverlag Wollrath

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Whatever renunciations might be formally made, it was certain that the husbands of the latter—they married respectively Charles Albert of Bavaria and Augustus the younger of Saxony—would denounce and resist the Pragmatic Sanction; and it became the ruling desire of Charles VI to have his decree guaranteed by all available powers against such opposition. Consequently the guaranteeing of the Pragmatic Sanction figured in all diplomatic bargaining between Charles and other European governments. The decree of course concerned not the imperial but only the Austrian succession, though that included the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary; in respect of which there lurked always in the background the time-



A SHUTTLECOCK KING

In the vicissitudes of the Polish monarchy in the eighteenth century Stanislaus I played an undignified part, and was finally dispossessed of the crown in 1739. He retained the empty title of king and was given the duchy of Lorraine.

Painting by L. M. Van Loo, Versailles; photo, Gnaudon



KING GEORGE II

George II (1683-1760) became king of Great Britain and Ireland in 1727. His sympathies were strongly German, but he had the sense to recognize the power of the popular will and acted consistently as a constitutional sovereign.

Painting by R. E. Pine

honoured doctrine that those crowns were not hereditary but elective. The remaining dynastic problem was that of Poland; where the crown was indubitably elective, but the de facto king, Augustus of Saxony, was bent on making it hereditary.

Fleury, who was already past seventy when he became his former pupil's first minister, shared Walpole's desire to keep the peace, and the two worked harmoniously as pacificators. But Fleury was embarrassed, as Walpole was not, by European ambitions, as a result of which he found himself forced into wars, while Walpole was strong enough to prevent George II (who succeeded his father in 1727) from plunging into the fray. Actually Fleury's secret project took shape in a secret treaty with Spain, known as the Family Compact (1733); its aim was the disintegration of Austria, which (having been accomplished through England's failure to come to her assistance under Walpole's pacific regime) would alienate her from England, and would establish

Development of the Great Powers

in Europe a United Bourbon supremacy in which it would be easy to force Walpole to acquiesce. In actual fact, the attempt to break up Austria failed; the accord between Britain and Austria survived; and Walpole himself discovered, to his extreme chagrin, in 1739 that when the English fell into a war fever, with or without reason, the British government would be forced to fight willy nilly.

War of the Polish Succession

FLEURY, however, must be acquitted of having organized or initiated the attack upon Austria. The European conflagration from which Walpole succeeded in holding aloof is known as the War of the Polish Succession. Augustus wanted his son to be elected as his successor; the rival candidate was his own former rival Stanislaus Lecszinski, the father of the queen of France. The Polish question affected both Russia and Prussia, who did not wish French influence to dominate Poland, and would have set up another foreign candidate. Charles VI did not want the French candidate but tried in vain to persuade Augustus to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction as the price of his support. The Poles were tired of foreign kings and wanted Lecszinski—in the lack of a stronger candidate.

The question was still unsettled when Augustus the Strong died in February, 1733. His son, another Augustus, gave Charles his price, thereby becoming the Austrian candidate; but the Poles elected Stanislaus. Russia under a new tsaritsa, Anne, supported Augustus. French public opinion forced Fleury to send Stanislaus support, but what he sent was very inadequate. The Russians and Saxons drove Stanislaus in flight from the country to Prussia, and the Poles—having no option—recognized Augustus III. The king of Prussia, Frederick William, gave Stanislaus his protection, but declined otherwise to intervene on his behalf.

France and Austria, however, had both committed themselves to the war, and France struck at Austria by sending armies not to Poland but to Italy. The annexation of Austrian provinces in Italy was eminently attractive both to the king

of Sardinia and to Carlos, that son of the king and queen of Spain to whom Parma and the succession in Tuscany—not yet vacant—had been assigned. Spain and Sardinia joined with France. The War of the Polish Succession became a war for the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from Italy.

That object was not achieved. The war was extraordinarily devoid of interest, and was carried on without energy or skill on either side. The Spaniards practically conquered Naples and Sicily much as they had before conquered Sardinia and Sicily in the days of Alberoni, and the Austrians were almost driven out of Lombardy; but Fleury was in constant fear of the British intervention for which King George in his loyalty to the emperor was eager. Diplomacy took the place of fighting, and when peace terms were arranged in 1735 Italy was very thoroughly redistributed, but Austria was very far from being ejected. Lombardy was restored to her. Carlos got Naples and Sicily, but gave up Parma, which went to the Hapsburgs, and the reversion of Tuscany, which went to Charles' prospective son-in-law,



AUGUSTUS THE STRONG

Augustus of Saxony (1670–1733), shown in this engraving by Wortmann after the portrait by Louis de Silvestre, was elected king of Poland in 1697. Compelled by Charles XII of Sweden to give up his crown in 1702, he regained it in 1709.

From Seditz: 'Porträtwerk,' Bruckmann A.G.

Francis of Lorraine, who resigned Lorraine to Stanislaus, who resigned the Polish crown to the *de facto* king of Poland, Augustus. But France had made one invaluable acquisition: Lorraine, long coveted, was to go to her on the death of Stanislaus, whose daughter was the queen of France. Walpole and Frederick William I had successfully kept Britain, Hanover and Prussia out of the embroilment which had been bleeding all their neighbours in men and money.

Consequences of the Pragmatic Sanction

THE war was practically ended in 1735, though the peace terms were not fully ratified till four years later. In the course of the negotiations Charles had collected various additional paper guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction, but had very completely alienated Prussia by the consistent duplicity of his dealings with her extremely narrow-minded, dull-witted and honest monarch Frederick William I. He had also joined the tsaritsa Anne in a very ill-conducted war with the Turks which again lost him Belgrade. In 1739 the endless quarrel between the Spanish government and the British people over trading rights and wrongs in the South Seas reached such a pitch of blind hostility that Walpole, very much against his will, was forced by the popular excitement to declare war on Spain, with every prospect that France would join forces with the Spanish Bourbon.

In 1740 the tsaritsa Anne died and it was not till some years had passed that Russia had a government which could play an active part in western politics. Frederick William died and was succeeded by his son Frederick, who was as unscrupulous as his father had been honest, and as astute as his father had been stupid. Charles VI died, and under the Pragmatic Sanction his daughter Maria Teresa, not long married to Francis of Tuscany, succeeded to the Austrian inheritance. Out of the next twenty-three years fifteen were filled with the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War; Prussia took her place as a military power second to none; and France and Great Britain fought their duel for supremacy in

North America and India. Before entering on that story, we must review the development of Prussia under Frederick William and of the tsardom under Peter the Great and his successors.

Decline of the Swedish Power

IN 1713 Frederick William I succeeded his father Frederick I as the second king of Prussia. In that year Charles XII of Sweden was still a very unwelcome guest in Turkey, engaged in fruitless efforts to persuade the sultan to renew the war with Russia which had been brought to an end by the treaty of Pruth in 1711. Peter, having thereby obtained a fortunate release from the Turkish imbroglio, had devoted himself anew to the recovery or capture from Sweden of the provinces on the east of the Baltic, while Augustus II of Saxony and Frederick IV of Denmark were engaged in a similar process on the south and west, and Frederick William was soon persuaded to join them for the recovery of Pomerania.

In 1714 Charles, who had hitherto resisted all attempts to eject him from Turkey, suddenly resolved to return to Sweden, now all but stripped of her trans-Baltic possessions, raced with one companion across Europe to Stralsund, which was being besieged, threw himself into the town, and carried on the struggle with desperate energy. But Sweden, single-handed against encircling foes, had no real chance. Charles had to evacuate Stralsund. His minister, Gortz, however, struck a bargain with Peter, and Charles was already invading Norway when he was slain, probably by the bullet of a traitor, before Fredrikshald in 1718.

His heir was a nephew, son of his elder sister; but the depressed nobles found their opportunity, and raised his younger sister Ulrica Eleanor to the throne upon terms which practically divested the crown of all power. Ulrica herself abdicated in favour of her husband, Frederick of Hesse-Cassel. Largely through the friendly mediation of England the series of treaties known as the Peace of Nystadt (1721) ended the 'Northern War.' Peter kept his provinces; Frederick William got Danzig with access to the Baltic; Frederick of Denmark kept

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Slesvig. But Peter's hope of acquiring Mecklenburg and with it a status as a prince of the Empire was foiled. With the death of Charles XII Sweden ceased to be a serious factor in European politics.

Achievements of Peter the Great

THE figure of Peter the Great is an extraordinary one. Physically and intellectually the man was a giant, a personality of overwhelming forcefulness: an outer barbarian dwelling among barbarians on the outskirts of an extremely sophisticated civilization, yet of a genius that could realize the effective superiority which that civilization gave to the nations of the West. He never became civilized himself, but he was entirely resolved that his people should be compelled to discard their own traditions and imitate that civilization so far as he understood it, utterly alien though it was. What he imposed upon them was not assimilation—that was impossible, for he could not in fact assimilate it himself—but imitation: and he effected his purpose. He revolutionised the Russian social and political system on Western lines; but he did it without transforming the Russian into a Western. And what he did could have been accomplished by no man with a less torrential will overriding all opposition, or with a less capacity for learning from defeat the way to victory, and from his own errors the way to success.

What Peter did achieve in political and social reconstruction is told in Chapter 149. How he extended his dominion to the Baltic (where he planted his new imperial capital on the Neva) we have already seen. The remainder of his reign, which ended with his death in 1725, was largely occupied in extending his dominion eastward by wars with Persia.

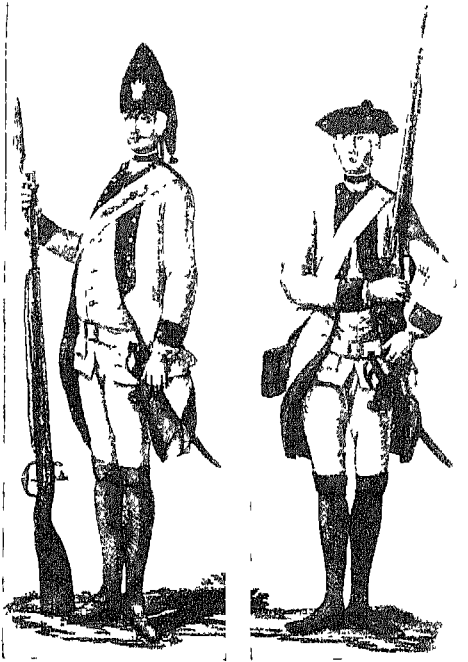
What Peter had wrought mainly through the force of his own personality was not destroyed by his death; but it was gravely imperilled by the character of his successors and the difficulties they had to face. The succession itself was a serious problem. He had himself put to death, in circumstances of great brutality, the son Alexis whom his first wife had borne to him, and Peter (afterwards Peter II) the son of Alexis was an infant. He had taken as his second wife his low-born but very able mistress Catherine, who actually did succeed him with the support of Menschikov, the minister who had been his right-hand man in carrying through the reforms. By her Peter had two daughters, of whom the elder, Anne, was married to the duke of Holstein, whose son later became Peter III, on the death of the younger, Elizabeth, who succeeded



FREDERICK WILLIAM I OF PRUSSIA

Rigid economy characterised the administration of Frederick William I (1688-1740), who became king of Prussia in 1713. His passion for military life led him to develop a highly efficient army, but he guarded its perfection by avoiding wars. This engraving by Wolfgang is from the painting by Antoine Pesne.

From *Schilder.* 'Porträtkunst,' Bruckmann A.G.



RECRUITING PRUSSIAN INFANTRY

These figures form part of an eighteenth-century poster seeking the enrolment of soldiers in Prince Anhalt-Zerbst's infantry regiment. The rigorous training of its creator made this regiment notable in the service of Frederick William I

From Erdmannsdorffer 'Deutsche Geschichte', 1648 1740

before him. But besides Peter's own descendants, there were the daughters of his own elder brother Ivan, Catherine of Mecklenburg, whose grandson became Ivan VI, and Anne of Courland, who was Ivan's predecessor on the throne.

The actual order of succession was: Catherine I, widow of Peter the Great, 1725; Peter II, his grandson, 1727; Anne of Courland, 1730; Ivan VI, 1740; Elizabeth, Peter's own daughter, 1741; Peter III, his grandson, 1762. Peter III married a German princess, Catherine of Anhalt, who promptly superseded him, and reigned as the great tsaritsa Catherine II, 1762-1796.

Catherine I carried on her husband's policy for two years; on her death, the reactionaries got the upper hand. When the boy Peter II died after three years, the same party set Anne of Courland on the throne; they had hardly done so when she recovered the supremacy by a coup d'état, reverted to the policy of

Peter to the best of her not very conspicuous ability, and fought with no great success against the Turks. Her infant great-nephew, Ivan I, was only a phantom, who was deposed in 1741 by a palace revolution which set the great Peter's daughter Elizabeth on the throne.

Organization of the Prussian Army

FREDERICK WILLIAM of Prussia was not a man of genius like Peter the Great; but he was a man of one idea, which he pursued with such concentration that he made Prussia into a first-class power. That one idea was the organization of an invincible military machine. He created it, but he had no use for it; it was an end in itself. He made no wars; but he felt that he was surrounded by cleverer men than himself, and that his one security against being robbed by them was an army which they would encounter at their peril. He did not save himself from being robbed, but he left to his son an instrument of vengeance and reprisal of which Frederick II made full and effective use.

He had no sense for any of the amenities of life, whether for himself, for his family or for his subjects; art, music and letters had for him no meaning; commerce and indeed all foreign intercourse were to be shunned. Industry was to be encouraged so far as it provided the necessities of life; Prussia must be made self-sufficing, wholly independent of foreign supplies, as she must be made irresistibly secure against foreign attack. The superfluities would do her more harm than good; she must neither purchase them nor produce them; and all things were superfluous which did not fit in with a more than Spartan rigidity of discipline. All virtues were summed up in unquestioning obedience. So he built up his fighting machine, the perfecting of which was the absorbing passion of his life, without any desire to put its perfection to the proof.

It did not save him from being duped, as his father had been duped before him, by Austrian craft. Charles got promises out of him—the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction for one—knowing that he would keep them, by himself making promises

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which he neither kept nor intended to keep, but, unfortunately for Austria, Frederick William's son was entirely free from those conscientious scruples on which Charles reckoned in his dealings with the father, and Leopold before him in dealing with the grandfather. There were certain heritages which had been promised to one or the other and then disposed of otherwise. And Frederick meant to have them. His chance came when in 1740 he succeeded his father in Prussia and Maria Teresa at the end of the year claimed the succession to her father in Austria.

European Rivalries in East and West

IT was not only in Europe, however, that the coming collision was to take effect. In fact, the first actual outbreak of hostilities was occasioned by the failure of the treaty of Utrecht to satisfy British trading demands in Spanish America. Moreover, British and French commercial rivalry in India had reached a pitch that set the East India Companies fighting as soon as open war was declared between the two nations in the west; and the British and French colonial expansions in North America had so converged that neither could make further advance save at the expense of the other's claims.

Of these three causes of quarrel, the first had been active for nearly two centuries. It had begun when English mariners enforced at the sword's point what they claimed as their 'right' to trade with the Spanish colonies in defiance of the Spanish government. In the seventeenth century it had degenerated into the piracy of the buccaneers; the refusal of Louis XIV, when he accepted the Spanish crown for his grandson, to relax the Spanish policy of exclusion had been a potent factor in swinging English public opinion over to the support of William's policy when he organized the Grand Alliance of 1701. Some trading concessions had been secured by the treaty of Utrecht which from the English point of view proved very inadequate; English ships evaded the treaty regulations, and Spanish officials exercised their powers with intolerable arrogance and severity. Both sides lost their tempers and refused to listen to

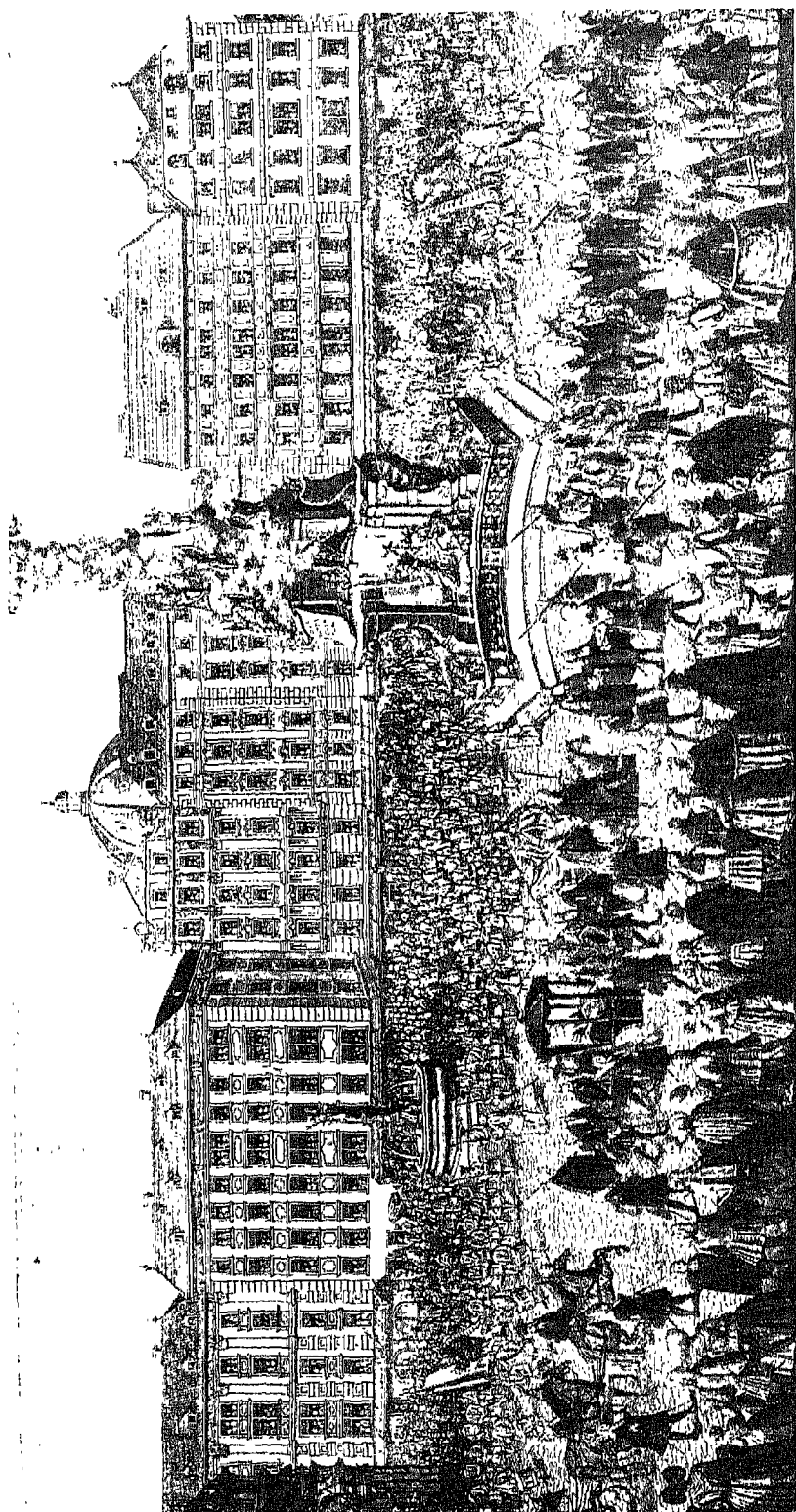
reason, and both countries went wild with joy when their governments yielded to popular clamour and declared war in 1739.

Status of Europeans in India

THE Indian position was the outcome of the disintegration of the Mogul Empire. When Aurangzib died in 1705, the vast dominion theoretically recognized the supremacy of the Mogul; practically the governors of its great provinces were already independent princes, each one bent on establishing a dynasty, while he was nominally no more than an official holding office during the Mogul's pleasure. The Europeans in India were merely a few traders established in some half dozen 'factories' on the coast by grace of the native rulers, with some scores of soldiers who might perhaps have seen some service in European wars. The companies' servants were allowed to defend themselves—always on the understanding at home that they must not involve their respective national governments in military adventures. All the territory either of them owned was a few square miles. Among the Indian powers, they had neither political nor military status; they were upon Indian soil merely on sufferance.

No French and no British government dreamed of conquest, though local 'governors' had dreamed of acquiring influence at native courts that would further the interests of their companies. This was the dream that was brought nearer by the disruption of the empire and the feebleness of the central authority; and what remained of that central authority received a shattering blow in 1739 when the Persian Nadir Shah swept through the north-western passes, swept through the Punjab, swept upon Delhi, put the capital once more to the sack, and bore away with him its vast treasures, including the famous Peacock Throne. At that disastrous moment in the history of the Moguls, the governorship of the French Company at Pondicherry passed into the hands of François Dupleix, of whose imperialist visions the British were destined to reap the fruits.

Finally, in North America the French colony on the St. Lawrence, small in



THE OATH OF FEALTY : MARIA TERESA AS ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA RECEIVES HER PEOPLE'S HOMAGE

On November 22, 1740, the orders of Lower Austria took an oath of fealty to Maria Teresa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia. This picture shows part of the procession on its way to the Cathedral of S. Stephen, with the city guards of Vienna drawn up on two sides of the Trinity Column which Leopold I had erected in 1682 in gratitude for deliverance from the plague. Maria Teresa is carried in a sedan chair, preceded by public officials and members of the nobility. The captain of the imperial horse guards, Count von Daun, and Count von Cardana, captain of the life guards, follow the royal chair.

From Georg Christoph Kriegel, *'Erb-Huldigung welche Mariae-Theresiae als Erz-Herzogin zu Oesterreich abgelegt worden,'* Vienna, 1740

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numbers but highly centralised and with a military organization, had extended past the Great Lakes blocking the westward expansion of the northern British colonies; away in the south on the Mexican Gulf they had planted the colony of New Orleans; they had traced the course of the Mississippi, claimed the whole of its basin for their own, and were now claiming the basin of its great tributary the Ohio. If that claim were admitted, the British would be shut in for ever between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Atlantic. Canada was under a single government; the British colonies between the St. Lawrence and Florida, now thirteen in number, were very much the more populous, but they were under thirteen separate governments without any common authority or machinery for joint or military organization. If a collision should come, it was by no means a foregone conclusion that the British would have the best of it. The decision would turn upon the amount of active support which French or British received from Europe.

England, it may be remarked, had at this time sunk, under Walpole's extremely materialistic regime, to an abnormally low state of spiritual and moral lethargy. This year, 1739, was curiously also the birth-year of a movement which revived in the masses that sense of things spiritual which seemed moribund; for in it the brothers John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield may be said to have opened the first campaign in that evangelising mission the meaning and the effects of which are studied in Chapter 158.

War of the Austrian Succession begins

IN 1740 British and Spanish were fighting each other, with no great credit to either, in the West Indies; both in full expectation that it would not be long before France intervened on the side of Spain. Before Charles VI died he had procured guarantees of his Pragmatic Sanction for the disposition of the Austrian inheritance from everyone except Spain, Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia and Charles Albert of Bavaria, the husband of Charles's niece, Maria Amelia, his elder brother's

daughter. He had failed to procure any guarantee of the imperial succession for his daughter's husband Francis of Tuscany (formerly of Lorraine).

On his death Maria Teresa was proclaimed his heiress and queen of Hungary and Bohemia; the male line of the house of Hapsburg had come to an end. Charles Albert claimed the whole inheritance; Spain and Sardinia were eager to assert claims in Italy. But they were not strong enough to make those claims good on their own account in the face of the guaranteeing powers. An appeal to arms appeared, on the whole, improbable.

But the young king of Prussia had no qualms and no scruples. He marched his hitherto untried army into Silesia, announced his own claim to that and other provinces, and declared his readiness to support Maria Teresa in all her other



MARIA TERESA OF AUSTRIA

The empress Maria Teresa (1717-1780) was about twenty-three years of age when Martin Meytens painted this portrait of her. It represents her as queen of Hungary with one hand resting upon the crown of S. Stephen (see page 3151).

Photo Reiffenstein Vienna

claims if those provinces were ceded to him. The young queen repudiated the insolent offer with indignation; an Austrian army marched to suppress the upstart; and the upstart's troops shattered it at the battle of Mollwitz (April, 1741).

The aged Fleury was still at the head of the French government, but he was unable to make head against the ambitious Belle-Isle. The opportunity had arisen for dismembering the Austrian dominion and dividing Germany into independent principalities, none of which could make head against France. Prussia, after Mollwitz, must be taken into account; before it, Frederick's proceedings had looked like midsummer madness. No one, doubtless, would give him anything but a very qualified support; but he had a surprisingly efficient army and in Silesia he was actually in possession. Great Britain was committed to the Austrian side, but Walpole, the man of peace, was still at the head of her government. France could nullify her own guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction by explanations ingenious if unconvincing.

Results of Belle-Isle's Diplomacy

BELLE-ISLE'S diplomacy had a difficult task, but it was successful. Frederick, indeed, had no mind to be turned into a tool for carrying out Belle-Isle's plans: the cession of Silesia would have set him firmly on the side of Maria Teresa; but her resolute refusal, in spite of pressure from Great Britain and Hanover, drove him to accept the French terms—with mental reservations. Charles Albert was to receive the bulk of the inheritance, including Bohemia, and was to be emperor; Frederick was to surrender part of his claims to Augustus of Saxony and the elector palatine, and Sardinia and Spain were to share the spoils in Italy. France was to keep whatever she could take in the Netherlands. The compact being arranged, France entered the war not as a principal but as an 'auxiliary' of Bavaria. Great Britain and Hanover did likewise, as auxiliaries of Maria Teresa; the auxiliaries, technically, were not 'at war' with each other.

Maria Teresa's prospects were black enough, for little effective aid could be looked for from the maritime powers, and the accession of Elizabeth in Russia removed the hope of help from that quarter. But she faced the circle of foes with undaunted courage and her bold appeal to her down-trodden Hungarian subjects was answered with an enthusiasm wholly unexpected. Also she yielded to her advisers and made offers to Frederick to detach him from his allies. It suited him to accept them—the allies were not making the rapid progress expected—and by the compact of Klein Schnellendorf the Austrian force in Silesia was released to defend the Austrian territories against the advancing foes, while Frederick sat still.

Charles VII elected Emperor

FREDERICK was obviously playing a double game; but the French were only roused to greater activity. Prague was captured. Frederick threw over his compact, which had never been made public, and at the imperial election in January, 1742, the elector of Bavaria became the emperor Charles VII. But if Maria Teresa's friends failed her, her own courage and energy were unshaken. Troops were hurried together from every quarter, and Passau, which had been occupied by the Bavarians, was recaptured on the day of Charles's election.

Frederick attacked Moravia, but in three months he had made up his mind that the game was not worth the candle; there was no love lost between him and the allies, who naturally distrusted him utterly. He dropped the Moravian campaign. The war party in England was at this moment greatly strengthened by the retirement of Walpole; but even his successor Carteret insisted that terms must be made with Frederick as the price of British activity; Hanover could not afford to lay herself open to his attack. The terms proposed did not satisfy him, and he proceeded to rout an Austrian army at Czaslau, reckoning that this would bring Austria to reason. He left the Austrians to drive back the French, while he reopened negotiations before their successes should go too far. By midsummer

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he had got his terms practically accepted. In return for the cession of the greater part of Silesia in full sovereignty, he retired from the war. The treaty of Breslau was signed in June, 1742, and in September Saxony followed Frederick's example and assumed neutrality.

France, thus deserted, and with her troops in a very precarious position, made overtures for peace, but would not herself desert the emperor. Maria Teresa, now full of the hope of obtaining in other directions compensation for the territories she had ceded, refused the proffered terms; but the campaigning continued to be indecisive, while Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia was engaged in extracting terms to his own advantage alternately from Austria and Spain, the two powers directly concerned in the redistribution of Italian territories. Carlos at Naples was put out of action by the British Mediterranean fleet, whose commander gave him an hour to decide whether he would engage to remain neutral or subject Naples to bombardment. He chose neutrality, but he did not forgive the indignity.

Treaties of Worms and Fontainebleau

THE war dragged on, with varying fortunes which it would be superfluous to follow in detail, till a new treaty—'of Worms'—between Maria Teresa's supporters revived the never very quiescent fears of Frederick that if the allies were too successful his own acquisitions would be threatened. The treaty of Worms was countered by the treaty of Fontainebleau—a curious agreement by which France engaged to secure for Spain whatever she wanted, while she took her own chance of gaining something in the Netherlands. The fiction that most of the belligerents were merely the auxiliaries of someone else was dropped, France declaring war upon England and Hanover (1744).

Before the summer was over Frederick cast off his neutrality and invaded Bohemia. The French concentrated their efforts upon the Netherlands, where they gave the command of their armies to Maurice of Saxony—commonly referred to as Marshal Saxe—an illegitimate half-brother of Augustus of Saxony, who for



MARSHAL SAXE THE COURAGEOUS

This pastel portrait by La Tour shows Maurice of Saxony (1696–1750), marshal of France and one of the first generals of his age. Afflicted with dropsy, he was carried to Fontenoy in a wicker chariot and won a decisive victory (1745).

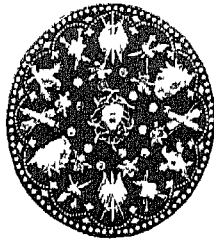
The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

his part definitely attached himself to Austria out of his fear and jealousy of Prussia. Frederick was now posing as the champion of the imperial rights of which the emperor Charles VII was being deprived. Of course he made his bargain with that unlucky prince, who had already lost his own Bavaria to the Austrians.

Frederick's Bohemian campaign was foiled, partly because the French repaid his previous desertion by failing to help him, partly by the skill of the Austrian Traun. Then at the beginning of 1745 the emperor died. His son Maximilian Joseph had no imperial ambitions, though reluctant to resign his claims on the Austrian inheritance. That reluctance was removed by the rapid movement of Austrian forces. An Austro-Bavarian reconciliation in April, by incidentally ensuring the imperial succession to Maria Teresa's husband Francis, deprived Frederick of the pretext that he was the constitutional defender of the emperor's authority.

The French were fighting for their own hand in the Netherlands. The destructi

of Frederick had become Maria Teresa's primary aim ; he was fighting for life now, and he got no help from France. But Traun was no longer directing the Austrian armies, and at Hohenfriedberg Frederick won a decisive victory. Maria Teresa's principal ally, England, had always refused to engage in hostilities with him, and now England was distracted with domestic alarms caused by the great Jacobite insurrection headed (July, 1745) by Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' of the Highland clans and the 'Young Pretender' of English and Scottish Whigs. Charles invaded England with a small army of his clansmen at his back, having routed such troops as had opposed him ; but the English Jacobites did not rise, and when he reached Derby (November) the momentous decision to retreat was taken. Advance



A PRINCE IN PETTICOATS

This engraving by J. Williams shows the female disguise adopted by the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, when he fled from Scotland after his defeat at Culloden in 1746. Above : the prince's 'medusa head' targe.

Photo (below), W. F. Maussell

would probably have meant annihilation ; retreat meant inevitably the abandonment of the adventure—though it was not altogether abandoned till the clansmen had been cut to pieces at Culloden (April, 1746), and the prince was a fugitive. Thenceforth Jacobitism was not even a potential political force, but only a sentimental memory.

The rising, however, was only at its beginning when George II and Frederick came to terms in the Treaty of Hanover. From the British-Hanoverian point of view it was absolutely necessary to compromise the quarrel between Frederick and Maria Teresa, nor did this view involve any departure from the attitude taken from the outset by the British government. Maria Teresa must yield to their representations. She declined, however, and made a fresh compact with Saxony.

Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle ends the War

THE French overran the Netherlands, from which British forces were withdrawn to deal with the Jacobites. While Austrians and Saxons were endeavouring with greatly superior forces to crush Frederick, the Spaniards were rapidly gaining ground in Italy. Frederick, instead of being crushed, not only defeated the Austrians but invaded Saxony and entered Dresden. With Saxony in Frederick's grip, and England refusing subsidies as long as the Prussian war continued, Maria Teresa was forced to give way, and in December the treaty of Dresden ended the Prussian war. Frederick, confirmed in possession of Silesia, retired for the third time and remained thenceforth a neutral.

Still the war dragged on for nearly three years. By the end of 1746 nearly the whole of the Netherlands was in possession of the French, who were without allies except the Spaniards. On the other side the Austrian campaign was mismanaged, and Sardinia was inactive. Maria Teresa wanted terms which France and Spain were not ready to concede ; and negotiations which her own allies Great Britain and Holland initiated broke down in 1747. English and French were fighting each other by this time both in America, where

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FREDERICK II IN YOUNG MANHOOD

This engaging portrait was painted by Antoine Pesne in 1739, the year before Frederick ascended the throne. It shows the prince, then twenty-seven years of age, powdered and wearing the ribbon of the Order of the Black Eagle

State Museum, Berlin

the British captured Louisbourg, and in India, where the French captured Madras. At last in 1748 England and Holland came privately to terms with France, and the pressure they brought to bear on Maria Teresa forced her to give way. The War of the Austrian Succession was brought to an end by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed by the various powers in October and November, 1748.

For eight years Europe had been expending a vast amount of blood and treasure. The results were singularly barren. Sardinia had absorbed a few more leaves of the Lombard artichoke, the price paid by Maria Teresa to Charles Emmanuel for his alliance. Austria had rather gained and France had definitely lost prestige. Neither Bourbon nor Hapsburg had gained territory, but Prussia had

robbed Austria of the greater part of Silesia. The one prince who had gained, and gained heavily, was—as concerned his relations with other powers—the most cynically unscrupulous of all, Frederick II. He had made his name and won his prize. But he had done it by methods which made it absolutely certain that sooner or later he would have to fight his hardest to keep it. For the rest, practically all conquests made during the war were restored as before the war began.

Frederick had "a respite of eight years which he devoted to the recuperation and reconstruction of which Prussia was sorely in need. He had no friends on whom he could rely, because none could place reliance upon him; he could only be sure that Hanover would not embroil herself



AUSTRIAN DIPLOMATIST

An Austro-French alliance against Prussia was effected in 1756 by the skilful diplomacy of Wenzel Anton Dominik von Kaunitz (1711-94), minister to Maria Teresa for forty years. This portrait of him is by Steiner.

National Gallery, Vienna, photo, Kunstverlag Woflrum

with him, if she could possibly avoid doing so, and that he could count upon British support if he were attacked by France. No one else would move a finger to help him if he got into trouble unless his enemies happened to be their enemies as well. On the other hand his own and his army's military prestige was security enough against any attack unless by a coalition which he would have to face single-handed. The formation of such a coalition was at the same time the primary aim of the very able minister Kaunitz, who was beginning to take the leading place in the councils of Maria Teresa.

DURING the years of peace, while Kaunitz was weaving his diplomatic web, the contest between French and British in India was passing through its second phase. The first phase had begun with the declaration of war between France and England in 1744. It was initiated by the French governor at Pondicherry, Dupleix. His idea was to establish a dominant French influence at the courts of the two most powerful governors in southern India, the Nizam of the Deccan at



ROBERT LORD CLIVE

The chief founder of British Empire in India was Robert Clive (1725-1774), shown in this portion of a picture by Nathaniel Dance. His defence of Arcot (1751) and victory at Plassey (1757) are his most famous military exploits.

National Portrait Gallery, London; photo, Emery Walker



GOVERNOR OF FRENCH INDIA

The territorial ambitions of Joseph François Dupleix (1697-1763), governor-general of French establishments in India, were frustrated by the genius of Clive and lack of support from officials in France. This drawing of him is by Sergent.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Hyderabad and his subordinate lieutenant-governor, the 'nawab' of the Carnatic at Arcot. The British Company had three 'presidencies' in India, at Bombay, at Fort William (Calcutta) on the Hugli (Hooghly), one of the mouths of the Ganges, and at Madras in the Carnatic. The French headquarters were at Pondicherry, also in the Carnatic. Dupleix's plan was to eject the British under favour of the nawab. When the rival was disposed of, diplomacy would establish French influence at Arcot, then at Hyderabad, and then——

Dupleix sought and obtained the favour of Nawab Anwar ud-Din. He concerted his attack on the British with La Bourdonnais, the French admiral in command at the Isle of Mauritius, which lay on the flank of the sea route from the Cape to India. He got leave from Anwar ud-Din to attack Madras; the squadron came up from Mauritius, there was no British squadron in Indian waters, and Madras fell. Dupleix intended to keep it. He had taken a leaf out of the Portuguese book in the past, and drilled some

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hundreds of natives under French officers in the European discipline. Anwar ud-Din proposed to take over Madras. Dupleix declined to hand it over. The nawab sent ten thousand men to wipe him out, and Dupleix's little force of sepoys put them to rout. The nawab, whose position was not too secure, did not renew the attempt, and the fame of Dupleix and the French was noised abroad.

To his disgust the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle compelled him to restore Madras to the British. His scheme took a new shape. The succession both to the nawabship and to the nizamship was in dispute. He could not now attack the British, since the two nations were at peace; but he offered his support, which was joyfully accepted, to two of the claimants. If they secured the succession through him, his influence at both courts would be supreme and the British would be eliminated. The British offered their support to the rival pair of candidates.

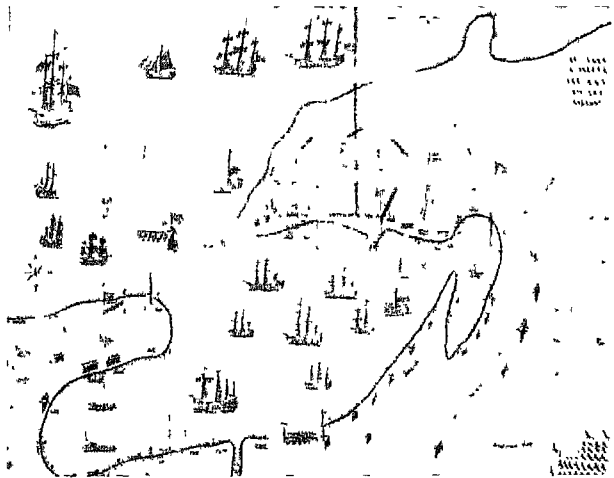
It appeared that victory was going decisively in favour of Dupleix, when the governor of Madras allowed Robert Clive to march with five hundred sepoys against Arcot—the French nawab was engaged in besieging the British nawab far away at Trichinopoli. Clive captured Arcot; a great force was marched up from Trichinopoli to recapture it. Clive held the place for seven weeks, repulsed a great attempt to storm it, then sallied out and scattered the besieging force, joined hands with the commander of a small force recruited from England, and marched to the relief of Trichinopoli. The French got their candidate on to the throne at Hyderabad, the British at Arcot, but the prestige had passed from the French to the British. The hostilities were stopped by the recall of Dupleix in 1754, and so ended the second phase.

In America, too, there were preliminary skirmishes during the Austrian Succession war, when a British colonial force

captured Louisbourg, which was restored to the French by the peace treaty as on the other side of the world Madras was restored to the British. The skirmishing continued in desultory fashion during the peace. The French set up Fort Duquesne on the Ohio; a small expedition sent under the English General Braddock to eject them was cut to pieces—an event which incidentally gave the colonists a very poor impression of the British regular troops and their officers. It was becoming manifest that a critical conflict between French and British both in America and in India could not long be deferred. It was not, but should have been, equally obvious that in their conflict sea power would be the decisive factor

Diplomatic Revolution and Seven Years' War

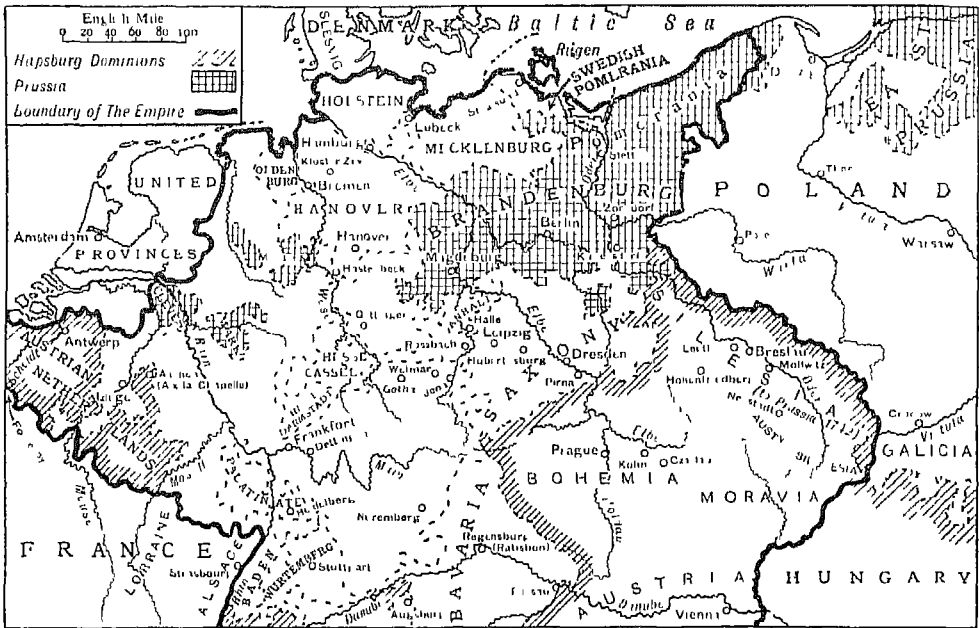
MEANWHILE the 'Diplomatic Revolution' was taking place in Europe. Its master spirit was the Austrian Kaunitz, its aim the destruction of Frederick. But Austria's old ally Britain had also been persistently friendly to Prussia, would not help to destroy her, and was from the military point of view a valuable ally only against France or Spain, by reason of her navy, which could operate effectively against them. To destroy



THE 'DUNKIRK OF THE NORTH'

Louisbourg was strongly fortified by the French in 1720. In 1745 it was invested by British land and sea forces and after a siege lasting forty-eight days surrendered to General Pepperrell. An account of the operations in which this plan was included was published in London the same year.

From James Gibson, 'A Journal of the Late Siege'



COCKPIT OF CONTENDING DYNASTIES IN FIFTEEN YEARS OF WARFARE

Prussian territorial ambitions and Bavarian claims to the Hapsburg succession consequent upon the death of Charles VI led in 1740 to the War of the Austrian Succession, in which Great Britain took sides with Austria and France with Prussia. In the event the war was barren of results, the principal territorial gains being Prussia, which acquired the greater part of Silesia. The carnage of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) was hardly more productive of changes, the territorial distribution of Europe remaining much what it was before.

Prussia, Austria must have allies. She could make sure of Saxony's good will; the most promising quarter was Russia, where the tsaritsa, Elizabeth, was imbued with an intense personal hostility to

Frederick, who had made caustic comments on her character. On the other hand, the Bourbons were Austria's traditional foes, who had quite recently been the allies of Prussia and might easily become so again.

Still, if France and Prussia combined, neither would have any real trust in the other. But suppose France could be induced to reverse her traditional policy, and join Austria? The worst that could befall would be the intervention of Britain, which would hamper France but otherwise would be of no great consequence. British administration throughout the last war had been incompetent; there was no British army to speak of; the British navy was large but it had accomplished singularly little. Kaunitz resolved to abandon the British in favour of a French alliance.



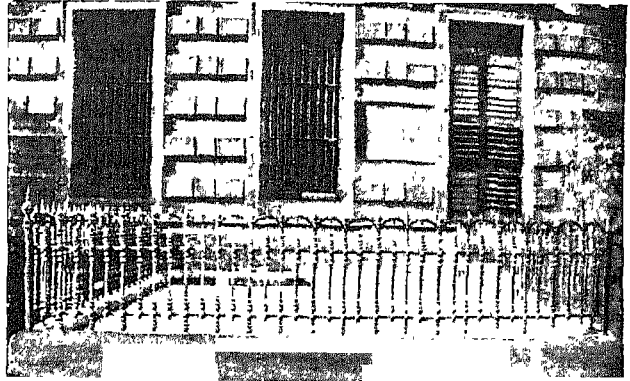
ADMIRAL BYNG AND HIS ACCUSERS

Tried by court-martial for failing to save Minorca from the French in 1756, Admiral John Byng was sentenced to death and shot in March, 1757. In this bitter and unjust caricature, 'Cowardice Rewarded, Justice hailes him to execution while Neptune, Mars and the Devil point derisive fingers at him.

Development of the Great Powers

The procuring of that alliance was a brilliant diplomatic achievement. But Frederick had alienated France generally by the vagaries of his policy in the late war, and the French king's latest mistress, Madame de Pompadour, by his caustic tongue. Louis himself discovered that he might balance accounts with Heaven by crusading against Protestant powers.

Frederick, on the other hand, came to the conclusion that the British-Hanoverian alliance would serve him better than the French. He wanted money badly, and Britain was the only ally who could finance him. The British government was in a state of chaos, sure that it would have to fight France, but extremely anxious to quarrel neither with France nor with Prussia. While Kaumtitz was pulling the last strings which brought France into the Austrian league, Frederick was overcoming British hesita-



SITE OF THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

Within the railings shown in this picture is enclosed the site of the ghastly dungeon known as the 'Black Hole' at Fort William, Calcutta. On June 20, 1756, the nawab of Bengal, to whom the British fort had surrendered, confined 146 prisoners in this narrow space. Only 23 survived until the morning

tion. Great Britain and Prussia signed the defensive Treaty of Westminster in January, 1756; in May France and Austria signed the defensive Treaty of Versailles. Both Prussia and Austria excluded the oversea quarrels of Great Britain and France from their bargains. And every one was arming hastily.

The first move was made by France against England; in itself it involved none of the other powers. A French squadron sailed from Toulon for Minorca. The English admiral in the Mediterranean would not risk a decisive engagement, and Minorca fell to the French. Byng was tried for his blunder, condemned, and shot on his own quarter-deck. In America the French governor Montcalm attacked and captured two British forts. In India a native potentate, the nawab of Bengal, seized Fort William, shut his prisoners up in a small windowless chamber, and forgot them—most of them died that night in the famous 'Black Hole of Calcutta.' For Great Britain, 1756 was a year of disaster.

France had started a war of her own with Britain, where the government remained in a condition of utter confusion till the voice of the country irresistibly summoned William Pitt to the helm at the midsummer of 1757. Within six months of the first outbreak Frederick started the war on the Continent. He was thoroughly aware that Austria was only waiting to attack till the armies of



THE ELDER PITT

Richard Brompton's portrait shows William Pitt, earl of Chatham (1708-1778), a man of integrity in a corrupt age. His conduct of the Seven Years' War, in collaboration with Frederick the Great, restored Britain's foreign prestige.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Chronicle XXVII. 1713-1789

Russia, France, Saxony and others were ready to act in concert, and he resolved to strike first. Bohemia was his objective, and the way to Bohemia lay through Saxony. In August he invaded Saxony and marched on Dresden. His sole excuse was the certainty that Saxony was in the league against him. The Saxons blocked his passage at Pirna. Relief from the Austrians came too late. They were starved into surrender; Frederick occupied Dresden and impressed the Saxons into his own service. But they had held him up long enough to deprive his attack on Bohemia of surprise.

In the spring of 1757 the whole coalition was moving upon Frederick from every side; the only cover he had was Hanover on his western flank. Austria, Russia and France, each of them had armies double the size of his own. His only chance was to attack them in detail with shattering blows, and so prevent their concentration. Saxony, at any rate, was off the board.

As soon as possible he flung himself on Bohemia and won a brilliant victory

before Prague in May. But Prague defied him; a month later, attempting too much, he suffered a disastrous defeat at Kolin and had to retreat to Prussia. The slowness of the Austrian commander saved him from immediate destruction. The covering army of German auxiliaries on the Weser under Cumberland was defeated by the advancing French force at Hastenbeck, and was forced to capitulate at Kloster Zeven in September.

Brilliant Victories of Frederick

A SECOND French army advanced upon Saxony; but Frederick enticed it to a pitched battle at Rossbach in November, and won a brilliant victory against greatly superior numbers. Meanwhile, the Austrians were pouring over Silesia—the activities of the Russian army had been fortunately checked by a report that the tsaritsa was dying and that on her death the Russian policy would be reversed. A month after Rossbach Frederick won, over the Austrians in Silesia, a victory even more brilliant at Leuthen. The French first army had not turned its success to account, and the army on the Weser under a new commander, Ferdinand of Brunswick, was joined by a substantial British contingent. The news had not yet arrived of Clive's great victory in June over the nawab of Bengal at Plassey, which practically placed the rule of that great province in the hands of Clive himself.

Clive's victory did not affect the war in Europe; Frederick's brilliant victories could do little more than relieve now on one front and now on another the pressure which would be renewed as soon as his back was turned. But in 1758 Pitt's methods at last came into full play. The fleet distracted France by perpetual descents upon the naval ports which, though they came to little enough, kept masses of French troops perpetually locked up. The tsaritsa had recovered, and the renewed Russian advance was checked by a hard-won victory at Zorndorf, while the Austrians were advancing into Saxony; and when Frederick dashed back to oppose them he met with a defeat, and was again saved from disaster only



FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER

The duc de Choiseul (1719-85), shown in this portrait after Louis-Michel Van Loo, directed French foreign policy during the Seven Years' War. His efforts to revive the French fleet received a crushing blow at Quiberon Bay in 1759.

Musée de Versailles



BRITISH TRIUMPH IN AMERICA : THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC

The year 1759 witnessed a series of British victories of which the taking of Quebec was one of the most notable. This contemporary print shows the English ships advancing up the St. Lawrence to the spot where General Wolfe climbed the Heights of Abraham. The French forces, under Montcalm, were routed on the summit. Both Wolfe and Montcalm fell during the battle, but Wolfe rallied beneath his mortal wound long enough to know that the English were victorious.

by the excessive caution of their commander, Daun.

In 1759 the toils were tightening about Prussia, for to Frederick victories were only less exhausting than defeats, since his enemies had incalculably larger reserves to draw upon. France, however, was becoming practically absorbed in the duel with Great Britain, which in this year achieved a series of triumphs. She had a substantial share in the victory of Ferdinand of Brunswick at Minden (August) which drove the French permanently behind the Rhine; in two engagements, off Lagos and in Quiberon Bay, she annihilated the French fleet, which the French minister, Choiseul, was zealously reviving; and the hitherto indecisive campaigns in America were crowned by the capture of Quebec. In the second month of the next year, the French suffered their coup de grâce in India at Wandewash.

Frederick, however, met with a series of misfortunes. The Russians were again advancing; he flung himself against them at Künersdorf; not content with a hard-won victory, he tried to annihilate them; they rallied, and the victory was turned into a complete rout. Again he

was saved by the expectation of a change of government in Russia. He had fallen into despair, but Russia's inaction revived his courage; he failed, however,



AN INDEPENDENT MONARCH

Homely and blameless in private life, George III (1738-1820) was determined to direct policy, though he cannot be held responsible for all the misfortunes of his reign. This engraving by W. Holl is from the portrait by Sir T. Lawrence.

to prevent an Austrian advance into Saxony, which passed into their hands. But for his subsidies from England he could hardly have maintained the struggle; as matters stood he was still able, though with difficulty, to hold his own and a little more against the Austrians alone through 1760; since the Russians did not move again and France was now wholly absorbed in the vain endeavour to strike at England.

No material change arose in the situation during the next year, apart from the facts that there was a new king in England, George III, that alarm was being taken in certain quarters at the country's enormous war expenditure, and that the retirement of the great war minister, Pitt, was clearly impending. On the Continent Russia was kept inert by the uncertainties of her domestic situation; it was impossible for Frederick to strike with the old vigour, and Austria, which had never at any time known how to make use of any advantage she gained, was suffering from the lassitude of exhaustion.

Futile Intervention of Spain

CHOISEUL, the French minister, was about to play his last card, by bringing Spain into the war. Ferdinand, the successor of Philip V, was a resolutely pacific monarch, bent not on aggression but on recuperation. Spain's 'vigorous' foreign policy had ceased with his accession while the War of the Austrian Succession was still in progress, and Ferdinand remained deaf to every invitation to join leagues or embroil himself in the quarrels of his neighbours. But in 1759 Ferdinand died. The heir was his half-brother Carlos of Naples. A condition on which he had received his Italian kingdom was that the Spanish and Sicilian crowns should never be united. Succeeding in Spain as Carlos III, he resigned the Sicilies to his younger son Ferdinand.

Like his elder brother, Carlos cared more for wise administration than for aggression, but against England he cherished an ineradicable grudge. In 1762 Spain declared war against England. In fact, the sole result was to lay her own

colonies at the mercy of the British fleet, which set about appropriating them one by one. Her intervention was not even an embarrassment. But Pitt had already resigned, and vigorous action on the part of the British government was no longer to be looked for.

Russian Situation favours Frederick

OF very much greater importance was the death of Tsaritsa Elizabeth, which set on the throne her nephew Peter III of Holstein, who had made a hero out of his aunt's bugbear Frederick the Great. For the moment Russia became Frederick's active ally, just as the new government in England was persuading itself that it had no obligations to Prussia. The British subsidies were withdrawn, and Frederick was thereby transformed into a bitter enemy of the power without whose help in the past he must have been annihilated, but which was undoubtedly in a great degree indebted to him for the overwhelming character of her own triumphs. Six months after his accession, Peter was deposed and put to death by his wife, Catherine II; but though she withdrew her support from Frederick she declined to renew the alliance with Austria; and Frederick still proved himself more than a match for his inveterate enemy.

Great Britain, Prussia and Russia acting in concert could have prolonged the war to their own territorial advantage and with the certainty of success. The British government could have imposed almost any terms it chose upon France and Spain, and Austria isolated must have yielded to her pressure. But Russia did not mean to fight, and King George and his ministers were eager only for peace. By the terms of the treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg (February, 1763), Great Britain, enormous as were her spoils, restored much that she could legitimately have claimed from France or Spain by 'right of conquest'; but except by the British government itself her moderation was attributed not to magnanimity but to a pusillanimous economy. She left Frederick to take care of himself, and he remained in possession of precisely what he possessed when the war began; the Saxon, Austrian and

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Russian territories also remained as before. Prussia's position was completely established, Austria's position was unchanged.

Apart from the enormous wastage of the Seven Years' War, the one serious sufferer was France, who found herself shut out of both North America and India; the one power which had made positive gains was Great Britain, left without a rival in North America or a European rival in India, where the East India Company was now definitely recognized as one among several territorial powers; while by the treaty she recovered the one serious loss with which the war had opened—her Mediterranean naval station, Minorca.

Every one of the powers was suffering from exhaustion except Russia; none was ready to enter upon a new armed conflict. Nearly thirty years passed before there was another general European conflagration, the outcome of the French Revolution. Yet, before that event took place, the British Empire had on the one hand been rent in twain, and on the other had established its footing, though not yet its irresistible ascendancy, in India; and the intervention of France in the American quarrel had brought the Revolution itself appreciably nearer. During the same period the new application of power to machinery in England and Scotland was developing the industrial revolution which was to change the economic basis of the world.

Problems occupying Great Britain

GREAT Britain after the Peace of Paris ceased to interest herself in the affairs of Europe at large. She was absorbed in two constitutional struggles; one directly concerning the relations between

the crown, parliament and the electorate, the other the relations between the mother country and her colonies; while incidentally she was forced to make tentative efforts to deal with the new obligations imposed on her by the unprecedented situation in India. Her three problems, domestic, colonial and Indian, directly concerned no one but herself, though the two latter presently brought her into conflict with France, which saw in her troubles the opportunity at least of avenging, and possibly of recovering, her own lost position in the West and in the East, though bringing herself thereby to the verge of bankruptcy.

The industrial revolution (Chap. 164) was a world revolution which had its birth in Britain at this time, because it was there that the inventions were made which multiplied production by the substitution of machinery, driven first by water power and then by steam power, for tools or instruments operated by hand, and the accompanying substitution of iron and steel for wood; while there also the necessary iron could be produced in abundance, and in proximity to the great coalfields from which the fuel required for the new manufacturing processes could be procured. The British mercantile marine was already the world's carrier; the new development of the machinery of which Britain had the practical monopoly turned the island into the world's workshop; and the simultaneous development of Adam Smith's new economic doctrine of wealth, displacing the hitherto unchallenged mercantilist creed, rapidly enriched—though for time at the expense of the welfare of the labouring classes—the country, which was

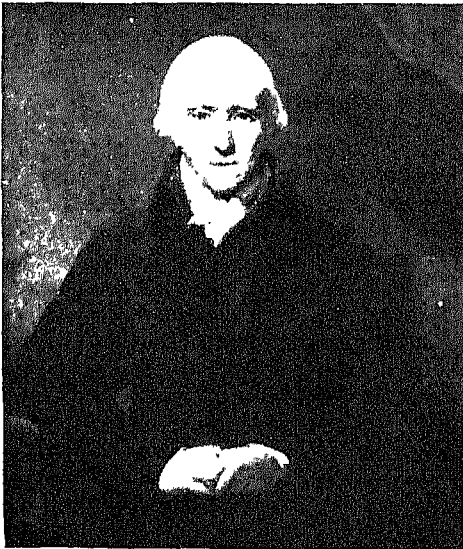


A GREAT ECONOMIST : ADAM SMITH

A portrait medallion by Tassie shows Adam Smith (1723–90) in profile. His reputation rests chiefly on his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), a powerful defence of free trade. *Scottish National Portrait Gallery; photo, Annan*

already much wealthier than its Continental rivals.

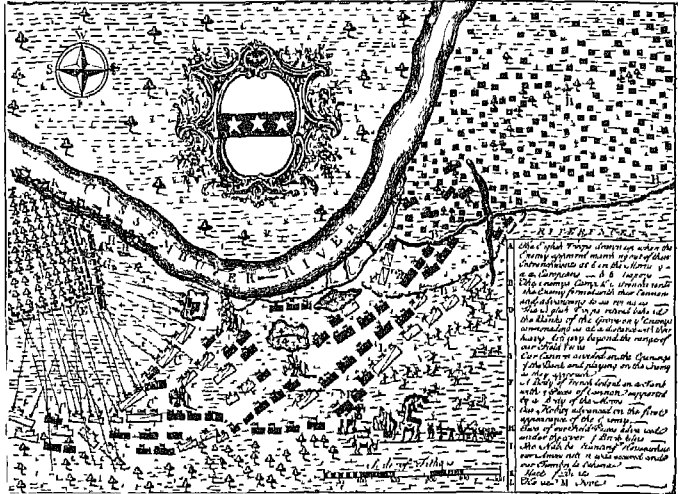
The domestic problem turned upon the attempt of George III, foreshadowed by Charles II, to recover the supremacy of the crown, not by overriding parliament after the fashion of Charles I and James II, but by himself procuring that power of controlling parliamentary majorities which the great land-owning Whig families had been able to exercise for half a century. Within ten years of his accession, George had attained his object; for some twelve years the king's ministers were the men of his own choice and were supported by unflinching parliamentary majorities; then the system broke down because the 'king's friends' proved intolerably incapable administra-



FIRST GOVERNOR OF BRITISH INDIA

The forceful policy pursued by Warren Hastings (1732-1818), first governor-general in British India, in a difficult situation, evoked criticism, a protracted trial and, finally, in 1795, acquittal. This portrait is by Sir T. Lawrence.

National Portrait Gallery London



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

Robert Clive's brilliant victory over the nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah, on June 23, 1757, at Plassey, made the British masters of Bengal. This plan gives the disposition of the opposing armies. The enemy's camp and entrenchments are on the right, while Clive's forces are drawn up on the outskirts of a grove on the left.

Memorials of the Revolution in Bengal, 1760

tors; the king chose a minister who was never a figure-head and presently became a dictator, and the new royalist system went the way of the old Whig system. Both rested upon recognized methods of corruption which, effective in ordinary times, gave way in the face of intense public feeling; the rights of free speech and free criticism having been established.

THE popular impression that Clive at the head of a handful of Englishmen overthrew a great empire and conquered India has not, perhaps, been wholly eradicated even now. In 1740 the Mogul empire was in a state of complete disintegration; the great governorships had already become in effect independent kingdoms under Mahomedan rulers each of whom intended to establish his own dynasty, though none of them held his position by any kind of hereditary right. The Mogul had neither the power nor the will to control them, though they might occasionally appeal to his authority to provide a legal sanction for what they had done or intended to do.

British and French began to fight each other under the pretext of maintaining the lawful authority of rival claimants to

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governorships; the result of the fighting was the elimination of French influence. The nawab of Arcot had become a puppet in the hands of the British at Madras; their influence dominated the Nizam of Hyderabad. The crazy aggression of the half-mad nawab of Bengal had necessitated an armed expedition thither under Clive's leadership; he had associated himself with a native conspiracy for the deposition of the nawab whose forces he routed at Plassey; and he found that he had thereby made himself responsible for the preservation of law and order in that great province where he had in effect set up a new nawab. To retire was impossible, and to remain was profitable. He obtained legal sanction for the position of the East India Company as rulers of Bengal from the legal sovereign, the Mogul at Delhi, by negotiation. He and subordinate officers, Eyre Coote and Monro, established a reputation as invincible captains.

British Government in India

THUS a company of traders in London found itself responsible for the administration of a huge province with a mixed population of millions of Hindus and Mahomedans, with laws, customs and diversities of religion for which Europe provided no parallel. A government had to be created, and the British government at home had an uneasy sense that it could not escape responsibility for the character of that government. The result was the enactment of the lame constitution of the 'Regulating Acts' of 1773, under which Warren Hastings was made governor-general of the three British presidencies.

Clive had not conquered India. The British authority did not extend beyond Bengal, with the towns of Madras and Bombay and the immediately neighbouring districts. It did not extend even over Arcot. India was covered with potentates great and small, Hindu or Mahomedan. The Hindu Maratha confederacy was recovering from its disaster at the hands of Ahmad Shah, and was dominating central India and the Mogul himself at Delhi. Oudh under a nawab-wazir lay between Delhi itself and Bengal; its

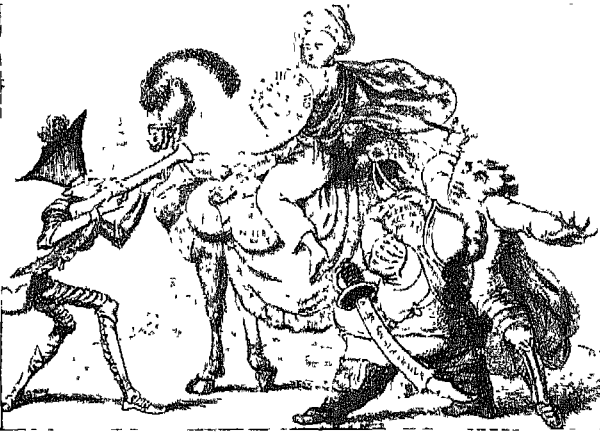
wazir had very soon made up his mind that the British were the rising power, and cultivated their friendship from fear of the Marathas. In the south, a Mahomedan adventurer, Haider Ali, was making himself master of the Hindu kingdom of Mysore. The Nizam, with the Marathas on two flanks and Mysore on another, also cultivated British friendship, for a similar reason, though not so whole-heartedly as the Oudh wazir. Over none of them had the British any authority. None of them wished to quarrel with the British; but all looked at them askance as possibly useful allies but certainly dangerous rivals.

As for the British, neither the Madras government nor the Bombay government had the least compunction in traversing the policy of the governor-general and involving him in quite needless complications with the country powers; his hands were tied by the Calcutta Council, nominated from London, who could and did habitually outvote him; while he was obliged to raise from the country the necessary funds for administration, for maintaining the needful military establishment (mainly sepoy), and for



HAIDER ALI KHAN

The activities of Haider (or Hyder) Ali (c. 1722–82), a low-born adventurer who became the powerful sultan of Mysore, were an obstacle to British progress in India. This sketch of him was drawn by J. Leister in 1776



IN DEFENCE OF WARREN HASTINGS

This satirical print by Gillray, published in 1786, represents Warren Hastings as the saviour of India repelling a violent assault made upon him by a gang of political banditti, Lord North, Burke and Fox. It satirises the impeachment of Hastings for the methods which he employed as governor.

providing a surplus out of which the Company might pay handsome dividends to its shareholders—besides working out the principles upon which administration must be organized. It is small wonder that he was driven occasionally to expedients excusable only on the grounds of sheer necessity: much more astonishing that he was able to create in Bengal a better government than it had known since the days of Akbar, to increase British prestige, to defeat the powers with which he was forced to fight, and to leave the British established as the ascendant power in India; though he neither extended nor sought to extend the British territory. For which services he was duly impeached on his return to England in 1785. Pitt (the younger) had already passed the India Act, setting up the revised system of government that lasted till 1858.

GREAT BRITAIN's first problem was merely a reactionary episode in the story of her constitutional development. The issue of her second problem was the European penetration of India. The issue of the third was the birth of a nation.

At the close of the seventeenth century the twelve British colonies in North America—Georgia had not yet come into being—were separate communities, each of them having a form of government

modelled with diverse variations of detail on that of the English constitution at the accession of James I; that is, before the developments which issued in the Revolution of 1688; with executives responsible not to the representative assemblies but to the governor who represented the crown. The assemblies taxed themselves for their own purposes; but the royal prerogatives ran in the colonies as they ran in England.

The colonies held their privileges under charters granted by the crown, without detriment to the rights of the crown, which included that of

regulating trade. Technically the charters implied that the ultimate inclusive rights of the English 'King in Parliament' extended to the colonies; but in practice it was assumed that the home government would no more claim to levy supplies—to tax for revenue—than the king in England could levy supplies by his own authority. The right of regulating trade, even when the regulation was avowedly intended to benefit English at the expense of colonial trade, was constantly practised, and its legality was never disputed, though it was resented as unjust and irksome. Ireland always, and Scotland until the Union of 1706-7, had a similar grievance, though England claimed to regulate trade not in, but only with, Scotland. The Revolution in England brought no change; but the doctrines laid down at the Revolution were clearly incompatible with the right, never abrogated but never practised, to levy revenue otherwise than by consent of those from whom the taxes were levied, given by their representatives: the doctrines summed up in the phrase 'no taxation without representation.'

Not only technically then but actually the 'rights' of the colonies remained after the Revolution as they had been before it; whereas in England the powers of parliament as against the crown had very substantially advanced, however the

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parliamentarians might claim that the revolution settlement only gave statutory form to what had always been the law. The colonies had not acquired for themselves the liberties which the English parliament had acquired for itself in the struggle with the Stuarts; and the fact was a constant source of irritation, somewhat mitigated by the deliberate abstention of the home government for fifty years from anything beyond the most perfunctory enforcement of its own regulations. Moreover, whatever irritation the colonists might feel, they also felt that their grievances were the price they paid for security under the British flag against the increasingly aggressive expansion of the French colonies on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. In the last resort they had behind them in that rivalry British troops and the British navy. The result was shown in the Seven Years' War. British troops and the British navy removed the Canadian menace—but by so doing they also removed the principal reason which had induced the colonies to submit to the grievances. Colonial loyalty to the empire now was certain to break down unless the grievances themselves were removed.

Friction with the American Colonies

INSTEAD of removing the grievances, the British government, alarmed by the debts it had incurred through the war, and hunting for additional sources of revenue, began to enforce vigorously the trade regulations which in practice had become almost a dead letter. Then it put forward a novel though by no means unwarrantable demand that the colonies should make a voluntary contribution to the expenses of the war by which they had so greatly profited; coupled with the unfortunate threat that if the voluntary contribution were insufficient a compulsory contribution would be levied. Then the compulsory contribution was levied by Grenville's Stamp Act, palpably and avowedly a tax to raise revenue for the British Treasury.

Pitt, now out of office, Burke the rising orator, and many others recognized the injustice or the folly, or both, of the government measures: in America public

opinion was, of course, solid, but unfortunately found expression in action actually illegal, or legal but palpably hostile. Grenville was forced to resign and a new ministry repealed the Stamp Act, but was immediately ejected. Pitt formed a new ministry, accepted the title of earl of Chatham, and forthwith became incapacitated for the conduct of the government by gout. The ministry was without leadership except such as it got from King George; it went on to substitute for the Stamp Act a series of duties trivial in themselves, as, in fact, the Stamp Act had been, but open to the same criticism. Exasperation, agitation, retaliation, denunciation developed rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic; the king was obstinate, the Americans became every day more hostile. Boston in particular set the law at defiance; the British government retaliated by suspending the charter of Massachusetts and closing the port of Boston.

The colonies had no central government, but they created one for themselves. Representatives from nearly all of them



ADVOCATE OF THE COLONISTS

Sir Joshua Reynolds painted this portrait of Edmund Burke (1729-97), who consistently advised an indulgent colonial policy. His speeches urging the conciliation of the American colonies are considered his masterpiece

National Portrait Gallery, London

assembled in a congress at Philadelphia ; it had no legal powers, but was at once treated almost universally as the sovereign authority, the only one which could be acknowledged in the existing emergency. The home government would certainly apply coercion and the colonies armed to resist coercion. Peace-makers endeavoured to make themselves heard on both sides, but their voices were drowned by the agitators and the reactionaries. The British government persisted in its belief that resistance would collapse in face of a small display of force. A troop of soldiers was sent by the governor of Massachusetts to destroy an arms depot at Concord ; on its return it was fired upon by colonial sharpshooters, who inflicted on it considerable loss without suffering any themselves. The skirmish of Lexington opened the War of American Independence (April, 1775).



AMERICAN COMMANDER IN CHIEF

At the outbreak of the American War of Independence George Washington (1732-99) was appointed to the chief command of the American forces, and his skilful generalship largely contributed to their success. In 1789 he became the first president of the United States.

Painting by John Jenninbull

The newly acquired colony of Canada showed no disposition to make common cause with the old British colonies. The population was mainly French, and under the new British rule it enjoyed practically all the liberties to which it was accustomed under the French system. Its religion was Roman Catholic, whereas the northern British Colonists were the descendants of the English Puritans. The English governor had not attempted to Anglicise its French institutions ; it had no traditions of parliamentary government ; it was, in consequence, not hostile to its British rulers, and had no sympathy with the motives which inspired the British colonies to rebellion, no desire to be assimilated to them—which would have been the inevitable result of union with them. When those colonies tried to win them over, the attempt recoiled on their own heads. So far as Canada entered into the war, it was as a military base for the British.

The American War of Independence

AT the outset, public opinion in America was not yet determined upon separation, and a very substantial body of public opinion in England denounced the war and sympathised with the colonists. Being in arms against the government, they must be forced to give way—but to fight them at all was very much against the grain. No energy was thrown into the campaigning ; no large forces were raised to effect an immediate and decisive conquest. British regulars, supplemented by soldiery hired from Germany, or still more unhappily by Red Indian allies, would bring them to submission, since their own troops were merely civilian volunteers, without military discipline, called away from their normal avocations which they could not afford to desert for long, and commanded by amateurs. The amateur-in-chief appointed by the Congress was George Washington.

The resistance, however, did not collapse. With inexhaustible patience and infinite tact, Washington, loyally supported by the Congress, kept together the troops, which were elated by finding that they could hold their own against the regulars. Fifteen

Development of the Great Powers



THE MARQUESS CORNWALLIS

Painted by Gainsborough, this portrait of Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) shows a man of character and integrity. Leader of a British force in America, he was compelled to capitulate to the French and Americans at Yorktown

National Portrait Gallery, London

months after Lexington the Congress had made up its mind and issued the Declaration of Independence which definitely made separation the American goal. In 1777 came a decisive event. The British commander, Sir William Howe, had one plan of campaign which he carried out. The British government had another; the attempt to carry out the latter while the former was in progress was a disastrous failure resulting in the surrender of a British force at Saratoga, which proved that bringing the colonists to submission would be a much more difficult matter than had been anticipated and deprived Howe's success of all its value.

But it did more; it brought the Americans an ally. France had been watching the conflict with interest. Saratoga suggested that intervention on behalf of the colonists would almost certainly deal a deadly blow to the power of Great Britain. Choiseul had once again given France a powerful navy: the British navy was still powerful, but maladministration had seriously weakened it. France entered the war in 1778 in

alliance with the Americans, sent them troops, successfully challenged the supremacy of the British fleet in American waters, and thereby turned the scale decisively in their favour. One British force was shut up in New York, while a second under Cornwallis was endeavouring to conquer the south. As it was too small to plant garrisons, Cornwallis might win but could not hold what he had won. He retreated to Yorktown; but a larger French squadron was there first. Cornwallis was blockaded on the land side by troops drawn from before New York, on the sea side by the French, and he was forced to surrender (October, 1781). As far as concerned American independence, the fall of Yorktown was decisive.

But Britain was by this time fighting not so much for victory over the Americans as for her life, so completely had the situation changed since the days of Pitt's supremacy. She had no friends; she had her old enemies; she had incurred by her conduct at the end of the Seven Years' War the ill will of her former ally, Frederick. France, with a new navy, had opened her attack in 1778; Spain had followed suit in 1779, and was endeavouring



ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE RODNEY

The victory won by Sir George Rodney (1718–92) over the French fleet off Dominica in April, 1782, was the crowning achievement of a distinguished naval career. This portrait of him is by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

National Portrait Gallery, London

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to recover Gibraltar and Minorca; the enemy fleets in European waters were already larger than her own when the Dutch joined the circle of her foes in 1780, and the fleets of the other Baltic powers were threatening to come in.

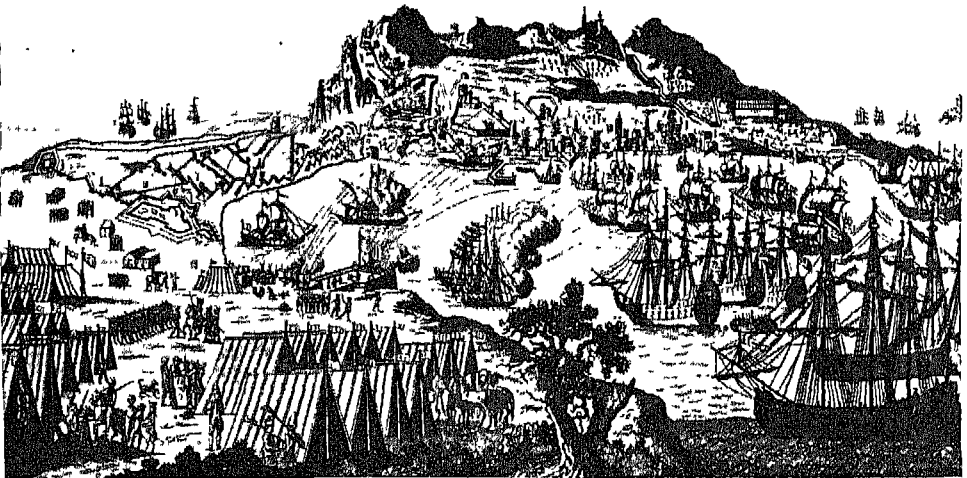
The disaster of Yorktown, however, was followed by a naval recovery. The intended junction of the French and Spanish fleets was foiled by a decisive action off the Saints in the West Indies, in which Rodney broke up the French fleet (April, 1782); Gibraltar was relieved and the grand attack on it of the Spaniards was foiled in October; the Dutch fleet had already been put out of action by its losses in a stubborn fight off the Dogger Bank in 1781. These victories came too late to affect the American situation, but they recovered for Great Britain the ascendancy on the seas which she had lost for a time, and was in danger of losing permanently. A new government in England was ready to acknowledge American independence. Peace preliminaries were signed with the Americans in November, 1782, and with France and Spain in February, 1783, the Treaty of Versailles following in the same year.

Minorca was lost to Spain, Senegal and Gorée in Africa, with the island of

Tobago, to France. The British conquests from the Dutch in the East Indies were restored. Apart from the sundering of the British Empire there was little enough to show as the result of seven years' fighting. William Pitt the younger came into office and set about the restoration of the national finances with amazing success, while France sank deeper and deeper into the financial morass in which she had been immersed by her military policy; of which her participation in the American War had been the last and perhaps the most fatal manifestation. Some five years after the Peace of Versailles—in 1788—Great Britain almost unconsciously began her next stage of colonial development by annexing the Australian continent, where hitherto no European settlement had been attempted.

Events in Russia and Poland

IN 1762 Catherine II became tsaritsa. In 1765 the emperor Francis died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Joseph II, while the grand duchy of Tuscany went to his second son Leopold. The Hapsburg possessions remained under the rule of their mother, Maria Teresa, and her minister, Kaunitz, though formally she associated Joseph with herself. The actual



RELIEF OF GIBRALTAR: ENGLISH FLEET BRAVES SPANISH BATTERIES

Disastrous as was the issue of the War of American Independence to Great Britain, yet towards the end of the struggle some memorable victories restored her naval ascendancy. This illustration, which appeared in the *European Magazine* in 1782, depicts the relief of Gibraltar by the English fleet under Admiral Darby on April 12, 1781, and gives a perspective view. Stores for the starving garrison were landed amid a heavy bombardment, all the Spanish batteries having opened fire.

Development of the Great Powers



WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER

Thomas Gainsborough painted this portrait of the gifted William Pitt (1759-1806), who became prime minister at the age of 24. He was distinguished for his brilliant oratory and unfailing devotion to his country's interests

Iveagh Bequest; photo, Pullman

rule did not pass to him till her death in 1780. Some vigour and vitality were restored to the Swedish kingdom by the accession in 1771 of Gustavus III, who effected a coup d'état whereby the power of the crown, in abeyance for the last half century, was recovered. Augustus III of Poland and Saxony died in 1763; the youth of his sons prevented their candidature for the Polish succession to which Stanislaus Leczinski (who died in 1766) made no claim; and the Polish crown was secured by Catherine of Russia for her creature and puppet, Stanislaus Poniatowski.

The main objects of Catherine's foreign policy were two—to establish Russian domination in Poland, and to expand the Russian power at the expense of Turkey. In both projects Austria had a lively interest, because Poland and trans-Danubian Turkey were buffers between her and Russia, which she did not wish to be removed. In Poland, Frederick II had a lively interest, because Polish Prussia, which he wanted for himself, lay between his own East Prussia and Brandenburg.

Polish Prussia under Russian control would always be a potential menace to the Prussian kingdom.

Poland herself was a menace to the general peace, not because of her strength, but because of her weakness. Theoretically she was a monarchy; virtually she was an aristocratic republic, because the crown had no power. Her sovereign was the diet of nobles; but Protestants and Orthodox 'Greeks' were excluded from all public office; and the power of the diet was limited by the 'liberum veto'—any legislation could be vetoed by a single vote. There was a constitutional party which wanted to reorganize the political system and make it practically workable. There was a 'dissident' party which desired to enfranchise the non-Catholics. There was a party which wanted no change because any change would place some sort of limiting control over them.

Catherine wanted control in Poland, and being an Orthodox Greek she favoured the dissidents. Frederick wanted control, and as a Protestant he, too, favoured the dissidents. Neither favoured the con-



JOSEPH THE BENEVOLENT

This painting by Anton von Maron shows Joseph II of Austria (1741-90), eldest son of Maria Teresa, and her successor in 1780. He was industrious and beneficent, but his reforms for the people's welfare were not appreciated

Photo, Kunstverlag Wolfm



FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

A contemporary engraving by Le Mire satirizes the partition of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1772, and shows Catherine II, Maria Teresa, Joseph II and Frederick II apportioning the spoils with the aid of a map.

Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Grandon

stitutionalists, because Frederick wanted Poland kept weak, and Catherine wanted a government which she could control either in person or through her nominee. The third party could call themselves 'patriots,' because they were opposed to foreign influences altogether. Catherine had got Stanislaus on to the throne, because he was connected with the leading constitutionalists, who expected him to give effect to their policy, which they soon found that Catherine would by no means permit.

The scheme Frederick had in mind was an agreed partition of Poland, which would, however, probably involve taking Austria into the syndicate. Nobody else would interfere, Great Britain and France being preoccupied. From this point of view Russian friendship was immediately essential to Prussia, while an increase of Russia's power would make Austria's friendship still more essential, in spite of Maria Teresa's life-long hostility, in case the other friend should find occasion

to turn enemy. Catherine preferred Frederick's partnership to his hostility, and she did not want Austria to intervene in her anti-Turkish schemes.

Stanislaus, with Catherine behind him, found himself forced to support the dissidents. Constitutionalists, and patriots when they began to grasp the situation, revolted. Russian troops intervened, and in so doing violated Turkish territory. Making this a *casus belli*, Turkey—instigated but not aided by France—declared war on Russia in the rôle of liberator of Poland (1768). Russian troops overran Wallachia. Turkey appealed to Frederick and the emperor Joseph. Frederick had already made overtures to Joseph, who did not share his mother's hostility. The two were actually in conference at Neustadt when the Turkish appeal reached them in 1770. Frederick opened negotiations with Catherine; Kaunitz overcame the scruples of Maria Teresa. In 1772 the treaty of partition was signed. Russia retired from Wallachia and took the biggest share of the spoil. Frederick took West Prussia, Austria took Galicia, and Stanislaus was allowed to keep what was left of the kingdom of Poland.

In 1774 the Russians won a victory over the Turks which enabled Catherine to dictate the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. She kept faith with her allies and retired from Wallachia on the Turkish promise of full toleration for the Christians; but she retained Azov, with the right of free navigation in Turkish waters.

Frederick and the Holy Roman Empire

THE accord between Frederick and Joseph did not last long. Joseph was one of those idealists who do most honestly desire to set a crooked world straight, and are convinced that that aim will be immediately accomplished under their own dictatorship. As emperor he was very far from being a dictator. To establish his effective ascendancy he must strengthen Austria; to strengthen Austria he wanted Bavaria; the distant Austrian Netherlands were a source rather of weakness than strength. The reigning Bavarian line was exhausted: Bavaria

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reverted to the Palatinate branch of the house of Wittelsbach, and Joseph wanted to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. But he began by putting forward an ancient Hapsburg claim to the Bavarian succession. Frederick, on the other hand, while anxious to strengthen Austria as against Russia, intended Prussia, not Austria, to be the effective head of Germany. At the same time there was an increasing rapprochement between Joseph, who wanted a free hand in Germany, and Catherine, who wanted a free hand against Turkey; this, too, was by no means what Frederick wanted.

So when Joseph backed his claim to the Bavarian succession by force, Frederick declared himself the champion of the constitutional rights of the German princes, and Joseph had to withdraw (1779). Then Joseph tried to strengthen his position in the Netherlands, where there was no love for the Austrian rule, by ousting the Dutch from the 'barrier fortresses' and compelling them to open the navigation of the Scheldt, where they had treaty-right of control. But here he was faced, not only by the Dutch, but by both French and British protests; and when the Anglo-French war ended France, Britain and Prussia united to guarantee the treaty rights of the Dutch in the Scheldt by the treaty of Fontainebleau (1784), which was torn up by the French republican government eight years later, with momentous consequences. But here, again, Joseph was foiled, though the barrier fortresses were evacuated.

Joseph's next move was to arrange, instead of enforcing, the exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria; again Frederick intervened as the constitutional champion and formed a league of the German princes, the 'Fürstenbund' (1785), to resist imperial aggression; and again Joseph was foiled. Frederick had actually achieved for Prussia the hegemony within the Empire. But what he had achieved was not secure. Next year he died, and the nephew, Frederick William II, who succeeded him, was not the man to carry Frederick's ambitions to completion. Eighty years passed before the Prussian supremacy was established.

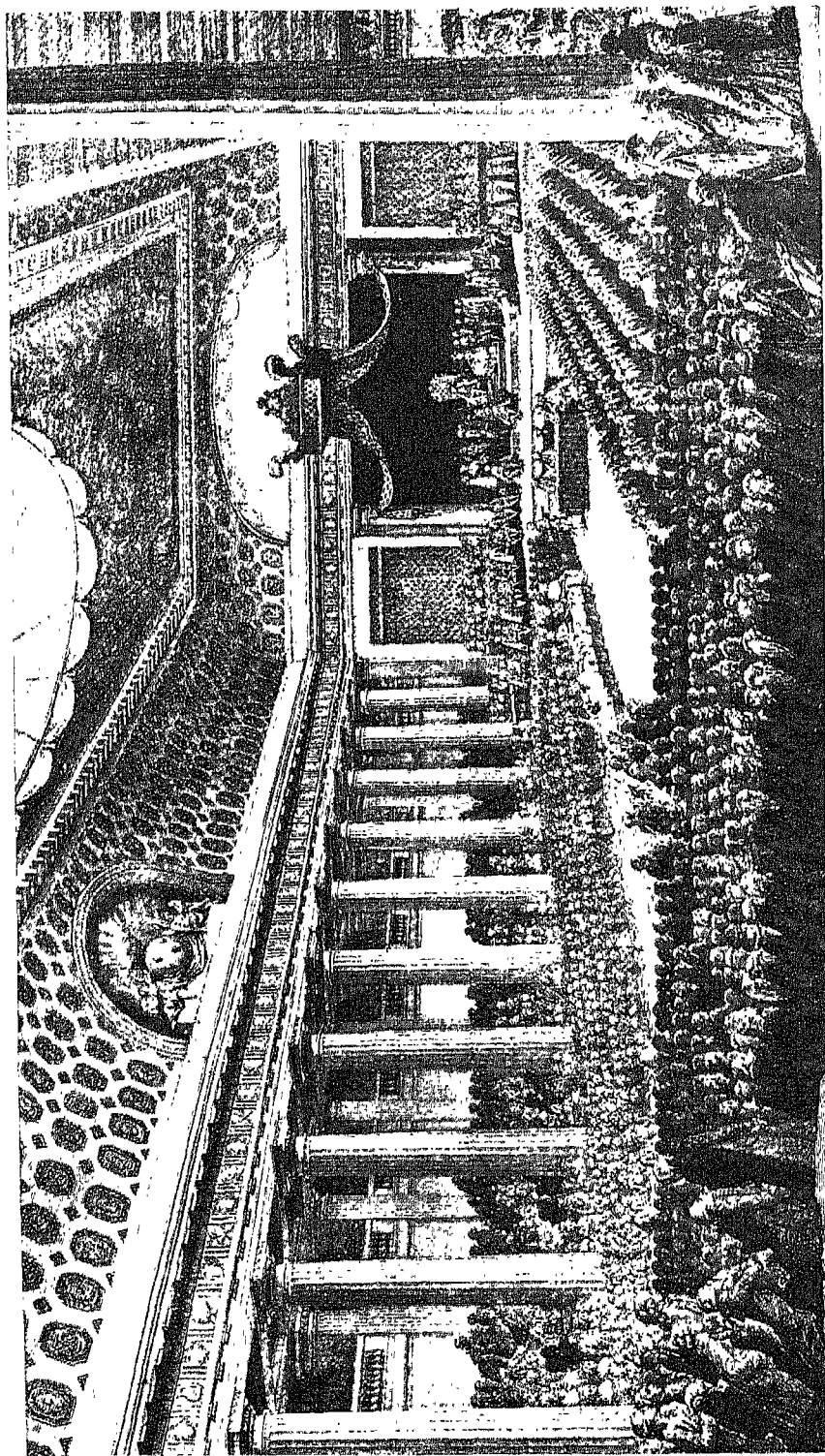
In the next year (1787) war again broke out between Russia and Turkey. Catherine the astute had no intention of arousing the antagonism of the other powers to her aggressions; as in the case of Poland, she preferred to get what she wanted for herself, bribing them, if necessary, with a share of the spoils. Joseph swallowed the bait, and the Austrian declaration of war with Turkey followed the Russian. When the States-General met in France in 1789, Austria was engaged in a war in which her own armies were being beaten by the Turks, while the Turks were being beaten by the armies of the tsaritsa.

BEFORE tracing the course of events in France between the Peace of Paris and the meeting of the States-General we must deal briefly with those in the Spanish peninsula. In Spain, Carlos III succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand VI in 1759, resigning Sicily to his younger son. His hostility to England involved him in the last phase of the Seven Years' War, and again brought him, in the wake of France, into war with Great Britain (1779-82). The Peace of Paris left him still in



FREDERICK THE GREAT

This striking portrait is of Frederick the Great in later life, at about the time when he was forming the Fürstenbund or league of German princes. The facial expression reveals both the strength and the cynicism of the ambitious Prussian monarch.



HISTORIC MEETING OF THE FRENCH STATES-GENERAL AT VERSAILLES IN 1789

The refusal of the Parlement of Paris to register fiscal edicts led to the convocation of the French States-General on May 5, 1789. The last States-General had been summoned in 1614 and the rarity of the event made the occasion especially notable. This engraving by Helman, after C. Monet, the court painter, shows the assembly of the three estates of nobles, clergy and commons before Louis XVI at Versailles. The first and all-absorbing question facing the members concerned procedure, and discussion arose as to the method of voting. It was finally agreed that the deputies should deliberate in a single chamber.

Photo, W. F. Vansell

Development of the Great Powers

possession of the conquests the British fleet had achieved while the peace negotiations were in progress, and the Peace of Versailles restored Minorca to Spain. Otherwise his reign, like his brother's, was mainly devoted—with considerable success—to administrative and financial reforms; his death in 1788 left the crown to a son, Carlos IV, who unhappily proved wholly incapable of carrying on the father's useful work.

In Portugal a brilliant minister, Pombal, also carried out reforms, but of a character too drastic to last after his hand was withdrawn. But it was Pombal in Portugal who led the way in breaking down the political power of the Jesuit organization which had for so long exercised an immense influence, especially among the Latin peoples. The lead given by Pombal in Portugal was followed both in Spain and in France; so that in 1773 Pope Clement XIV was induced to issue an official decree suppressing the order. The order in fact survived the decree, and recovered some of its influence, but never to the old extent.

THE French Revolution, which was inaugurated by the meeting of the States-General on May 5, 1789, was the product of many causes—political, social, economic, speculative—some of long standing, some of recent development; studies of most of them are to be found in Chapters 148, 155 and 156; here we are mainly concerned with the political outline from 1763 to 1789.

France in the Seven Years' War had suffered heavy losses; her treasury was depleted; the normal peace expenditure was greatly in excess of the normal peace revenue; yet she laboured under a very heavy load of taxation, nearly all of which was borne by those who were least able

to bear it. Technically her peasants were not for the most part in a state of serfdom, but practically they were hardly less at the mercy of their seigneurs than if they had been, and they lived in a state of grinding poverty from which there was no escape. The first necessities for the

country were the release of industry from its fetters, the relief of those who bore the burden of taxation by something approaching an equitable distribution of that burden, and the reduction of that burden by a rigid economy. The failure of successive governments to effect the necessary reforms made the Revolution inevitable; and in the meantime the empty treasury made a vigorous foreign policy wholly impracticable.

Choiseul, the minister who had risen to the chief control during the war, could do no more

than tinker with the rotten financial system, while endeavouring to restore efficiency in the national services. In that particular reform he was so successful that the fleet of his creation was able, after he had been retired, to play a very effective part in the American War. But Frederick and Catherine could work out their plans in the east of Europe without fear of French intervention. Choiseul was dismissed in 1770 because he refused to bow down to the last and the most despicable of the king's mistresses. There was no one of equal capacity to take his place. The Paris Parlement, supported by the provincial parlements, tried to assert itself, but with the object not of tackling financial reform but of getting more political power into its own hands. There was no other check upon the crown's absolutism; and the result was the suppression of the parlements.

In 1774 Louis XV died. Louis XVI was a young man who would have



PORTUGUESE STATESMAN

Chief minister of Joseph I of Portugal, the marquess of Pombal (1699-1782) carried out drastic internal reforms and successfully attacked the Jesuit organization in his country.

From John Smith, 'Memoirs of Pombal'

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meritoriously adorned any private station; his intentions were excellent, and his moral virtues were unimpeachable; but he was quite incapable of devising or of carrying out the solution of an enormously difficult political problem. His queen was the clever, self-willed sister of the emperor; the marriage was the outcome of the Austrian alliance, which was never popular in France; and Marie Antoinette's imperial brother was imbued with the most elevated ideas of divine right. The queen's sympathies were entirely monarchical and aristocratic, and Louis was very much under her sway.

Something was to be hoped for when Maurepas became the king's minister and the financial direction was placed in the hands of Turgot, who set about reforms more drastic than the privileged classes would tolerate. Turgot's economies were sound but they deprived aristocrats of their sinecures. His free-trade measures loosened the industrial fetters, but at the expense of vested interests. He held back the country from plunging into the American War, but against its will. When he began to tax the noblesse, it was too much. Maurepas dared not support him, and he was dismissed after eighteen months (1776). Against his advice, the ministry had already sought popularity by reinstating the parlements, which proved not a help but a hindrance. Necker took Turgot's place; the British disaster at Saratoga made the war party irresistible,

and for four years the debt piled up, while Parisian society lavished enthusiasm on the homespun-clad sons of liberty, the envoys from America. The name of liberty had not yet become ominous.

Necker had effected some economies, raised loans with surprising success, and produced an ingeniously misleading

national balance sheet which convinced the public that he was a heaven-sent financier; but before the war was over he resigned. Then matters continued to go from bad to worse. The debt accumulated; no devices effected anything to remedy it. At last a minister, Calonne, who had started with the theory that wasteful expenditure is the soundest economy because it inspires confidence, changed his view and proposed to outdo the most drastic methods of Turgot. Calonne was promptly flung out of office. He was succeeded by the leader of the opposition party, Loménie de Brienne,



LOUIS XVI OF FRANCE

A mezzotint by R. Brookshaw, published at Paris in 1774, shows Louis XVI in the year of his accession to the French throne. Well meaning but incompetent, he fell a victim to the guillotine in 1793

though public opinion was already demanding the return of Necker. Brienne fared no better, for he had to propose new taxation which the Parlement refused to register; and though it gave way under pressure, it met the next demand by itself demanding the summoning of the States-General—which had not met since 1614. The king yielded; Brienne resigned; Necker was recalled; the instructions were issued for calling the Assembly of the Three Estates. On May 5, 1789, the curtain rang up for the drama of the Revolution.

